EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXI

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110 011
1987
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XXXI

1955-1956

EDITED BY

Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.
Government Epigraphist for India

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1960
CONTENTS
(The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically)

P. ACHARYA, M. SO., Bhubaneswar—
No. 3. See under D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Bhubaneswar

A. M. ANNIGERI, M. A., Dharwar—
No. 32. Two Grants of Bhoja Kings—
1. Arga Plates of Kaspalivarma

2. Kaspali Plates of Anankitavarman

P. BANERJEE, M. A., Ph.D., New Delhi—
No. 43. Kalabandi Plates of Anantavarman Vajrahsena, Ganga Year 833

The Late Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M. A., Ph.D., F. A. S., New Delhi—
No. 23. Brahmi Inscriptions from Bandhogarh

P. D. CHAUDHURY, M. A., LL.B., Gauhati—
No. 10. See under D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati

M. G. DIKSHIT, M. A., Ph.D., Raipur—
No. 5. See under M. G. Dikshit, Raipur, and D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

... 25. Sirpur Inscription of the time of Balajirama...

... 35. Kurud Plates of Narasimha, Year 24

M. G. DIKSHIT, M. A., Ph.D., Raipur, and D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph.D., F. A. S., Ootacamund—
No. 6. Sonakapet Inscription of the time of Sivagupta Balajirama

A. S. GADRE, M. A., Baroda—
No. 14. Brahmi Inscription from Selhundam

... 39. Two Valabhi Grants from Moti Machhala—
A. Grant of Dhruvasena I, Year 206
B. Grant of Dhruvasena II, Year 252

B. C. JAIN, M. A., Raipur—
No. 29. Adhahara Plates of Maha-Narayana

S. L. KATARE, M. A., D. Lit., Jabalpur—
No. 11. Tahri Plate of Chandala Trailokyavarman, Samvat 1264

... 18. Sirpur Plates of Mahasundarvaraja, Year 7

... 22. Kalaniara Inscription of V. S. 1147
The Late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., ll.B., Rajahmundry—

No. 1. Two Salarayana Charters from Kanakcallu—
A. Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14
B. Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

A. N. Lahiri, M.A., Ootacamund—
No. 42. Kauvatal Plates of Sudeva, Year 7

T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D. Litt., Madras—
No. 16. Two Eastern Ganga Inscriptions at Ranchorpuram

R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., Nagpur—
No. 7. Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakheti

H. K. NarasimhaSwami, B.sc., Ootacamund—
No. 12. Konatki Grant of Vishnuradhana II

K. A. NilaKanta Sastri, M.A., and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras—
No. 30. Note on Palanpurapettai Inscription of Rajadhira II

The Late Mr. V. Rangacharya, M.A., Madras—
No. 6. Mangalur Grant of Amma II

Sadasiva Rath Sarma, Puri—

Nirit Bandhu Sanyal, M.A., ll.B., Navadvip—
No. 9. Sultanpur Copper-Plate Inscription

M. Somasekhar Sarma, Madras—
No. 20. Three Grants of Chalukaya Jayasimha I—
A. Grant No. 1, Year 18
B. Grant No. 2
C. Grant No. 3

K. N. Sastri, New Delhi—
No. 4. Three Paramara Inscriptions from Malwa—
A. Mahakaleshvara Temple Inscription
B. Dhar Inscription
C. Un Inscription
CONTENTS


No. 2. Ghumli Plates of Bhojadeva, V.S. 1046

3. See under D. C. Sircar, C-to-Camund, and P. Acharya, Bhubaneswar

5. See under M. G. Dikshit, Raipur, and D. C. Sircar, C-to-Camund

9. Note on Madagama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakshi

10. See under D. C. Sircar, C-to-Camund, and P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati

13. Jain Inscription from Shergarh, V.S. 1101

15. Pedha-Dugan Plates of Satrudama, Year 9

17. Note on Two Eastern Ganga Inscriptions at Kanchipuram

19. Asanakhal Plates of Narasimha II, Saka 1225

24. Two Grants from Galavali—

1. Plates of Ganga Year 393

2. Grant of Rajaraja I Devendravarman, Saka 928

27. Gujarra Inscription of Asoka

28. Rajula-Mandagiri Inscription of Asoka

31. Brahmi Inscription from Kailvan

34. See under D. C. Sircar, C-to-Camund, and Sasasiva Ratha Sarma, Puri

36. Note on Kurud Plates of Narendra, Year 24

38. Three Plates from Pandukasvar

1. Plate of Lalitamahadeva, Year 23

2. Plate of Padmatadeva, Year 35

3. Plate of Subhikhareshvaradova, Year 4

41. Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Hariraja, V.S. 1040

44. Inscriptions of the time of Xajvapala Gopala—

1. Inscription from Sosai, V.S. 1341

2. Inscriptions from Banga, V.S. 1338 or 1337

APPENDIX


No. 3. Alipur Plates of Narasimha II, Saka 1215


No. 10. Umaothal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman

D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., F.R.I.A., F.A.S., C-to-Camund, and SADASIVA RATHA SARMA, Puri—

No. 34. Daagoba Plates of Rajaraja III, Saka 1129
R. SUBRAHMANYAM, M.A., Ph.D., Guntur—

No. 26. Two Eastern Ganga Grants from Andhavaram—
   A. Plates of Anantavarman .......................... 109
   B. Plates of Vajrabhata ............................ 202

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, Madras—

No. 30. See under K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras

... 37.

AKSHAYA KEERTI VYAS, M.A., Udaipur—

No. 39. Kadmal Plates of Gubila Vigyanamsha, V.S. 1140 ............. 237

INDEX—By K. V. RAMESH, M.A. (Hons.) .......................... 337

Title page, Contents, List of Plates, Obituary Notices, Additions and Corrections .......................... i-x
LIST OF PLATES

No. 1. Two Salankayana Charters from Kanukollu

A. Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14 —Plate I . . . between pages 4 and 5

" 2. " . . . —Plate II . . . " 6 and 7

" 3. B. Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1 —Plate III . . . " 8 and 9

" 4. Ghunni Plates of Baahkaladeva, V. S. 1045 . . . " 14 and 15

" 5. Three Paramara Inscriptions from Malwa: . . . . . " 28 and 29

A. Mahakalesvara Temple Inscription

B. Dhar Inscription

" 6. Senakapat Inscription of the time of Sivagupta Balarjuna to face page 35

" 7. Mangallu Grant of Amma II —Plate I . . . between pages 40 and 41

" 8. " . . . —Plate II . . . " 42 and 43

" 9. " . . . —Plate III . . . to face page 44

" 10. Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakshedi between pages 60 and 51

" 11. Sultanpur Copper-plate Inscription . . . . . " 64 and 65

" 12. Umachal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman . . . to face page 69

" 13. Tehri Plate of Chandella Trailokyavarman, Samvat 1284 . . . "

" 14. Koneki Grant of Vishnusvardhana II —Plate I . . . between pages 78 and 79

" 15. " . . . —Plate II . . . to face page 80

" 16. Jain Inscription from Shergarh, V. S. 1191 . . . between page 84 and 85

" 17. Brahmi Inscription from Salihundam . . . . . to face page 87

" 18. Pedda-Dugam Plates of Satradhaman, Year 9 . . . between pages 92 and 93

" 19. Two Eastern Ganga Inscriptions at Kanchipuram . . . to face page 97

" 20. Sirpur Plates of Mahasudevaraja, Year 7 . . . between pages 106 and 107
No. 21. Asankhali Plates of Narasimha II, Saka 1225

---Plate I

between pages 116 and 127

" 22. "

---Plate II

" 118 and 119

" 23. "

---Plate III

" 120 and 121

" 24. "

---Plate IV

" 124 and 125

" 25. "

---Plate V

" 126 and 127

26. Three Grants of Chalukya Jayasimha I

A.—Grant No. 1, Year 18

---Plate I

B.—Grant No. 2

27. "

---Grant No. 3 and Seals

---Plate II

" 138 and 139

28. Kalanjara Inscription of V. S. 1147

---to face page

165

29. Brahmi Inscriptions from Bandhogarh

---Plate I

between pages 178 and 179

" 30. "

---Plate II

" 180 and 181

" 31. "

---Plate III

" 182 and 183

" 32. "

---Plate IV

" 184 and 185

" 33. "

---Plate V

---to face page

186

34. Two Grants from Galavalli—

1. Plates of Ganga year 393

---Plate I

between pages 190 and 191

35. "

2. Grant of Rajaraja I

---Plate II

Devendravarman, Saka 998

---Plate III

194 and 195

196 and 197

37. Sirpur Inscription of the time of Balarjuna

---to face page

198

38. Two Eastern Ganga Grants from Andhavaram—

A. Plates of Anantavarnadeva

---Plate I

between pages 200 and 201

39. "

B. Plates of Vajrastadeva

---Plate II

202 and 203

40. Gujarrra Inscription of Asoka

---to face page

209

41. Eye-Copy of Rajula-Mandagiri Inscription of Asoka

---§211

42. Rajula-Mandagiri Inscription of Asoka

---§216
### LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Adhabhara Plates of Maha-Nannaraja</td>
<td>between pages 220 and 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Brahmi Inscription from Kailvan</td>
<td>to face page 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Two Grants of Bhoja Kings—Plate I</td>
<td>between pages 232 and 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>—Plate II</td>
<td>236 and 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Kadmal Plates of Gubila Vijayasingha, V. S. 1140</td>
<td>246 and 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Daegoba Plates of Rajaraja III, Saka 1120</td>
<td>254 and 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>—Plate I</td>
<td>258 and 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>—Plate II</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Kurud Plates of Narendra, Year 24</td>
<td>between pages 264 and 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Homavati Pillar Inscription of Kulottunga-chola (III), Year 2</td>
<td>between pages 274 and 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Three Plates from Pandukesvar—Plate I</td>
<td>280 and 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>—Plate II</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Two Valabhi Grants from Mota Machiha—Plate I</td>
<td>between pages 300 and 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>—Plate II</td>
<td>302 and 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>—Plate III</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Peddabammi Plates of Vajrahasta III, Saka 982</td>
<td>between pages 306 and 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>—Plate I</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Hariraja, V. S. 1040</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Kalahandi Plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, Ganga Year 383</td>
<td>between pages 320 and 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Inscriptions of the time of Yajvapala Gopala</td>
<td>326 and 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>—Plate II</td>
<td>330 and 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>—Plate III</td>
<td>332 and 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>—Plate IV</td>
<td>334 and 335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DR. F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Editor of the Epigraphia Indica, 1916-22

Born: 21st March 1867
at Fazely,
Staffordshire,
England.

Died: 6th May 1936
at Branburg,
Oxfordshire,
England.
FREDERICK WILLIAM THOMAS

Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (Librarian of the India Office, London, 1904-27; Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College, 1927-37) passed away at his home near Branburg, Oxfordshire, on the 6th May 1956 at the age of 89. By his sad death, oriental learning has suffered an irreparable loss.

Born at Fazeley in Staffordshire on March 21, 1867, Thomas had a brilliant educational career. He obtained a classical scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and won other laurels in Classical Tripos and Indian Languages Tripos. He knew Greek and Latin as well as Sanskrit, Pali and several other Eastern languages. In 1898 he joined the India Office as Assistant Librarian and succeeded C. H. Tawney as Librarian there in 1904. This post he held for about a quarter of a century. On retiring in 1927 he became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College and continued to serve in these capacities till 1937. In the years that followed, he kept himself busy with his scholarly pursuits, inspiring younger scholars by his shining example.

The name of Dr. Thomas was held very high in the field of Indological learning. As a result of his continued hard work for over half a century, he has left an abiding mark of progressive scholarship specially on Sanskritic and allied studies. He was a pioneer in the field of research pertaining to Chinese Turkestan opened up by the explorations of Aurel Stein and others. A large number of publications (well over 200) on Indian and Oriental subjects, in the form of books and papers, stand to his credit. Some of his important works are: (1) The Harṣacarita of Bāhasa (translated in collaboration with E. B. Cowell), (2) Kuśīndrávacanasamuccaya, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, and (3) Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

In recognition of his manifold academic activities, numerous honours were conferred on Dr. Thomas. He was a member of the council of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, of which he held the offices of Honorary Secretary, Vice-President and Director. In 1938, on the occasion of his 72nd birthday, he was presented with a Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies by his friends and admirers.

Dr. Thomas visited India twice, once in 1920-21 and again in 1937-38 when he was invited to preside over the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department, Government of India. Besides, he was the editor of the Epigraphia Indica from 1916 to 1922. In that capacity, he edited Vols. XIII to XVI of this journal, Vol. XIII jointly with Sten Konow, and Vol. XVI jointly with H. Krishna Sastri. His own contribution to the pages of the Epigraphia Indica relates to certain important Kharoshthi records, viz. Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion-Capital (Vol. IX, pp. 135-47) and on the Relic Casket from Kurram (Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-18).
Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M. A., Ph. D., O.B.E.

Government Epigraphist for India, 1934-40.

Born: 1st July 1893
at Krishnagar,
Nadia District,
West Bengal.

Died: 19th October 1956
at New Delhi.
NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., B.D., O.B.E., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at New Delhi on the 19th October 1956. By his demise, Sanskrit scholars in general and Indian epigraphy in particular have sustained a great loss.

Dr. Chakravarti was born on the 1st July 1883 at Krishnagar in the Nadia District of West Bengal. After passing his M.A. examination, he entered the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali in 1917. He was awarded a Government Scholarship in 1921 for studies in Europe and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) and Berlin Universities. In 1924 he went to England and was admitted in 1926 to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. On his return to India, he entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1929 as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Octacaudum. His zest for documentary and epigraphical research carried him to the post of Government Epigraphist for India in 1932. In this capacity, he edited Volumes XXII to XXVI of the Epigraphia Indica. In 1940, he was transferred to New Delhi as Deputy Director General and became Joint Director General in 1945. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1946.

After his retirement in 1960 from that post, his services were utilized by the Government of India in a number of ways. He was appointed Advisor in the Department of Archaeology and retired from this position in 1962. Thereafter he was appointed Officer on Special Duty to guide the artists engaged in depicting scenes from the history of the country, from the dawn of civilization to the attainment of independence, on the walls of the Parliament House and continued in this post till his death.

Dr. Chakravarti was a member of several learned societies in India and abroad such as the Hakluyt Society, l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, and the International Committee on Sites and Museums set up by the UNESCO. Besides, he was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Vice-President of the Royal Society of India and Pakistan, London, and the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

The range of Dr. Chakravarti's scholarship was extensive. His inspiring address on 'Our Cultural Heritage, Our Future' to the All-India Oriental Conference in 1948 and the learned presidential address he delivered at the Indian History Congress at Ahmadabad in 1954, indicating the important lines of research in Indology, were greatly appreciated by scholars. As regards Indian epigraphy, in addition to his scholarly contributions to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India and Ancient India, he edited the Sanskrit inscriptions from Java in Part II of B. R. Chatterjee's India and Java and contributed the section on inscriptions in Yazdani's Ajanta, Part III. The following learned papers from his pen were published in the Epigraphia Indica.

1. Nivina Copper-plate Grant of Dharmarājadeva (Vol. XXI, pp. 34 ff.).
2. Kharod Inscription of Ratnasēva 111, Chādi Sarvat 933 (ibid., pp. 169 ff.).
3. Two Brick Inscriptions from Nālandā (ibid., pp. 193 ff.).
4. A Buddhist Inscription from Kara (Vol. XXII, pp. 37 ff.).
5. Bhopal Plate of Mahākumāra Hariśchandradeva (Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.).
7. Hewah Plates of the time of Trailokyaśyamaiddadeva, [Kalachuri] year 943 (Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.).
8. A Note on the Halgyūla-stūra in the Amarāvata temple (ibid., pp. 183 ff.).
9. Rājapraśasti Inscription of Udaiyar, jointly with Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra (Vols. XXIX-XXX, Appendix, pp. 1-123).
11. Brāhma Inscriptions from Bāndhōgārh (Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.).

* One of the results was his L'Udānāvara Sanskrit published in Paris in 1930.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME XXVIII

Title Page.—For 1949-50 read 1949-1950

Page 338, line 26.—For bhavē read bhavēt

" 338, line 30.—For eight read eighth

" 338, line 31.—Read—Harikēśā, Harikēla or Harikēlī in the Sylhet region; but he appears

VOLUME XXIX

Title Page.—For 1951-52 read 1951-1952

Page 1, line 6.—For west of read east of


" 8, text line 47.—For bhāvibhiṣaṇa read bhāvibhirṇāpi

VOLUME XXX

Page 3, line 11.—Add editorial note—The discrepancy of one year in the epochs of the Bhāṭika era suggested by the two inscriptions respectively in the Vishnu and Śiva temples at Jaisalmer, viz. 624-25 A. D. and 623-24 A. D., cannot be reconciled, as suggested by Prof. Mirashi, by supposing that the second date is recorded in a current year and the first in an expired year. The language of the inscriptions in question (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 775 and 962) shows clearly that the Bhāṭika years mentioned in both the epigraphs were current only. The year of the first inscription is Bhāṭika Samvat 812 pravartamāṇa and that of the second record Pravartamāṇa-Bhāṭika 933. Besides the two inscriptions dated in the Bhāṭika era, referred to by Prof. Mirashi, nearly a dozen other inscriptions bearing dates in the same era, all found at Jaisalmer and its immediate neighbourhood, have been noticed in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1936; cf. An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1935-36, p. 111; IHQ, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 ff. It is interesting to note that 624-25 A. D. as the beginning of the Bhāṭika era suits some of these inscriptions while others suggest 623-24 A. D. The earliest date supplied by these inscriptions is Bhāṭika Saṁvat 539, Bhāḍrapada sudī 10, Sunday (corresponding to the 11th August 1163 A. D.) found in an inscription on a Govardhana about 10 miles from Jaisalmer. The era seems to have been a solarised modification of the Hijri, the first year of which corresponds to 622-23 A. D.=V. S. 679-80. It appears that the Bhāṭi kings of Jaisalmer fabricated this reckoning about the 12th century by subtracting about 680 from the V. S.
Page 295, foot-note 5.—Add note.—That Bapa applies the name Mālava to East Malwa in his Harshachārika seems to be suggested by the fact that, in his Kādambari, he speaks of Vītiśā on the Vītravati as the capital of the Malāva country (Siddhantavagisa’s ed., pp. 18-19: ma-jau-.Mālava-viśāinī ... Vītravatā pariṣṭā Vītiś-ābhidhānā nāgarī rājāhānay-āsīt) while the same work mentions Ujjayini on the Sīrā as the capital of the Avantī country (ibid., pp. 176-83: Sīrā-parīṣṭā ... viṣṭ-ānārāka-dyutīr-Avantīkā-Ujājānī nāmā nāgarī). The same tradition is referred to by Yāsādhara in his commentary on Vātisāya’s Kāmasūtra (VI, 22 and 24), which explains Avantī as Apara-Malava (i.e., West Malava) and Malava as Pūrva-Malava (i.e., East Malava). It is also supported by the Shatapathaśaddhā-sūtras (Ind. Stud., Vol. VIII, pp. 51-52).

VOLUME XXXI

Page 12, foot-note 5.—For Visali read Visala.

13, line 22.—For inclined read inclined.

13, line 44.—For Chāndānī read Chāndāśī.

18, line 21.—For vitiya read dvitiya.


28, text line 15.—For "n-mātyो read "n-mātyo.

30, line 2.—For tin read tin.

32, foot-note 4, line 6.—For identify read identity.

35, text line 9.—For anāri read "anāri.

43, text line 50.—For "n-yaJasa read "n-yaJasa.

48, foot-note 4.—For tasmāy-ātmanā nāmnā read tsmāi Dommana-nāmnā.

76, line 7.—For September 11 read September 10.

76, foot-note 1.—Add.—The līkhi ku. 10 and the nakṣatra Śravaṇa ended at 33 and 52 respectively of the following day, i.e., Tuesday. See, however, N. Venkataramanaya, The Eastern Chālukyas of Vaiṣṇavi, p. 55.

127, foot-note 2.—For insected read inserted.

135, foot-note 3.—For aggrahra read agraḥāra.

174, foot-note 3, line 1.—Read Prāthiṣṭātiṣṭa.

187, line 2.—For 2 Plates read 3 Plates.

191, foot-note 5.—For Daṇḍimahādevī read Daṇḍimahādevī.


211, line 25.—Read Brāhmaṇa.

215, line 12.—Read svasāstāniya.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 215, line 13.—Read pāvatītātyā

236, line 35.—Read Mādhavadēva for Mādhava

236, foot-note 3, line 5.—Read Brāhmaṇas

264, line 28.—For Parasannamātra read Prasannamātra

269, line 15.—For vyavahāri read vyavahārī
e269, line 21.—For first one read second date

269, foot-note 2, lines 2-3.—Read the Anantapur District of Andhra and parts of the Bellary, Kolar and Tumkur Districts of Mycenae

273, line 17.—For Kalayānrapura read Kalyāṇapura

273, line 18.—For Laṅkāpura read Laṅkāpura

274, line 29.—Read āyirattu

274, foot-note 10, line 3.—For Sittaramēji read Šittiramēli

275, text line 4.—For āna read āna

275, foot-note 2.—For sa read ṣa

325, foot-note 3.—Om it the last sentence.

327, foot-note 1, line 1.—Read Bombay

335, foot-note 4, line 1.—Read cf. No. 15. Add note—For gadāni-vyāpāra or mādāni-vyāpāra, the intended expression seems to be mūdrā-vyāpāra. Cf. mūdrā-vyāpāram paripatayati in the description of viceroyals (see Vol. XXXII, p. 152, note 2).
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXI 1955-1956

No. 1—TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLU

(3 Plates)

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDEY

Two sets of copper plates were found together at Kānukollu, Guḍivāḍa Taluk, Krishna District (Andhra), about fifteen years ago, while digging the old village site for gāṭimānu, 'old earth'. The spot where the two sets were found lies outside the ramparts of the old mud fort which is almost in ruins to-day. The ruined ramparts and the situation of the ancient village plainly indicate that Kānukollu was an important walled town in olden days and that it lay on the highway that connected a big emporium or seaport near the northern mouth of the Krishna on the one hand and the important provincial town of Guḍivāḍa on the other with Vengipura, the capital of the Śaṅkṣāyaṇa kingdom. Even today Kānukollu lies on the trunk road that connects Guḍivāḍa with Bhīmavaram in the West Godavari District. When the plates were discovered, people fondly believed them to be of precious metal and therefore quickly divided them as spoils among themselves. Actually the ring and the seal of the second set, marked here as B, were melted down for the purpose of testing the metal. It is indeed fortunate that none of the plates was destroyed or melted down. The writing on them attracted the attention and curiosity of the more enlightened amongst the villagers. And it was in no small measure due to the intervention of the village Karapam, Mr. Vinnakota Durga Varapradasa Rao, that the charters were saved from any further damage. The Karapam was good enough to secure these two sets for me in 1946 when I happened to visit the place. These were later forwarded to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who kindly got their mechanical impressions prepared in his office.

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14

This is the earlier of the two sets. It consists of eight plates held together by a ring, the ends of which were fastened together under an oval seal. The ring had already been cut open and the plates taken out for examination by somebody even before they reached me. The diameter of the ring is about 3½ inches while its thickness is about ½ inch. The seal is 1½ inches in length and one inch in breadth. The legend and the crest on it are completely worn out on account of corrosion. But we know that the emblem on the Śaṅkṣāyaṇa seals is the bull.4

---

1 I came to learn from the villagers that several gold and lead coins along with other valuable articles were picked up but that they were secreted, appropriated or destroyed. People say that even now coins are found here and there in the ruins of the village.

2 [Mascalls over e and o has not been used in this article.—Ed.]

3 See Bkivati, April, 1950, pp. 60 ff. and Plate; JAHRE, Vol. XX, pp. 87 ff. and Plate.

The plates are rectangular in shape, measuring 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches in length, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in width and \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch in thickness. The left margin of each plate contains a round hole about half an inch in diameter, which is intended for the ring to pass through. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 97 tolas; the ring and the seal weigh sixteen tolas. The hole appears to have been cut after the engraving of the inscription thereon was completed. The size of the letters which are all deeply cut on the plates is roughly \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch. The plates have writing on both sides with the exception of the first and the last which bear writing on their inner side. The inscribed faces of the plates are numbered with the ancient numerals of the akṣarapalli. The numbers appear on the left margin above the hole. The first plate contains the figure 1 on its reverse side, while the number 8 appears on the obverse or inner side of the last plate. The remaining plates have numbers on their reverse side. But a peculiar feature of the numbering of the plates 5, 6 and 7 is that there is a symbol on their reverse side, whose value is not clear. These symbols are not met with elsewhere.

The characters of the inscription belong to the early class of the Southern Alphabet. They resemble closely the letters of the Hirnàdâgallì and Mayidâvulì plates of the Pallava king Śivâkândavârman and the Koṇjâmdû of the Bhûhatphalâyana king Jayaavarman. Some consonants, e.g., kk, b, p, th and dh resemble the earlier forms found in the Bhûthipulù and Jaggayyapeta inscriptions. The vowels a, i and e also retain their archaic character. The medial signs for vowels like â and ì differ from those of the Eilûra plates of Devavarman. Attention may be drawn to the sign for medial ŭ in kittṭap (line 28) and bhûmi (line 36). This may be compared with that in atchitiṭūn (lines 21-22) of the Mayidâvulî plates. As in some other early Prakrit charters, t and n and d and ì are written almost alike. The letter t is to be distinguished from n by a slight curve at the right; cf. t in pariyagdast (line 2), bhûnatinâ (line 6), etasa (line 10), etc., and n in vachâyena (line 3), ṛthiyanâ (line 9), etc. The slight difference between d and ì is that the end of the lower limb of the former is slightly curved upwards. The final forms of t and m also occur in the inscription. They are written in miniature form beneath the line; cf. m in phalam (line 37), halam (lines 33 and 34) and t in dharet (line 32).

The language of the inscription is Prakrit prose with the exception of lines 30-37 which contain two customary imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. The orthography calls for few remarks. The word avatiṣṭhasvānakkain (lines 18-19) is written with i instead of yi. Single consonants between vowels remain unchanged in some cases and modified in others. Thus k is preserved in bhûṭapaka (line 1), ch in vachâyena (line 3), j in mahārāja (line 2, 8) and vijaya (line 1), r in niratassas (line 12), th in rathakāra (lines 13 and 14-15) and d in pāda (line 2); but modifications of kk and ì are noticed in pannākå (line 4) and bhaṭā (line 6) respectively.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Piśhâ as an agrahāra by Mahârâja Nandivarman, for the increase of his merit, strength and prosperity and also for the increase of the fame and fortune of Bâlaka-mahârâjakumâra Khandapotta, to a certain Châtuveja of the Rathakâra caste. The expression bâlaka-mahârâjakumâra seems to suggest that Khandapotta was a son of Nandivarman. The donor of the grant is Nandivarman who may be regarded for the present...
as Nandivarman I, though it may not be possible to reckon him as the first crowned king of the dynasty. His epithet bappabhattāraka-pāda-parīgahita evidently indicates that there was Nandivarman's father who was a king and who probably preceded him on the throne. Although the family name Sālankāyana does not occur in the inscription under study, there is little doubt that Nandivarman belonged to the Sālankāyana dynasty of Veṅgi. The Sālankāyanas must have been there ruling in the province or kingdom of Veṅgi during the first two centuries of the Christian era, first as dependents of the Sātavāhanas and later of the Ikshvakus. They would seem to have assumed independence and sprung into importance in the latter half of the third century. We have yet no means of ascertaining who the first prince was that assumed independence and founded the sovereign state of Veṅgi. Possibly he was a predecessor of Nandivarman I.

The date is: year 24, varāhī 2, day 1. This way of dating seems to be older than that of Devavarman's grant which contains the Sanskrit form of the name of the month Paūsha and is dated the tenth day of the dark fortnight of that month. The mention of months and the dark and bright fortnights is probably to be assigned to a later period than that of the present record.¹

Thus Nandivarman I seems to have been the predecessor of Devavarman. The present record may be assigned to about the same or slightly later period as the Prakrit grants of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Nandivarman I may possibly be regarded as a later contemporary of Śivaskandavarman, to whom I have assigned the period 265-275 A.D., and may be ascribed tentatively to the close of the third century.²

The āgālā (Sanskrit āgāḷāti, 'executor') of the grant was Hatthisāmi. The last sentence of the record is not quite intelligible. Probably the edict was directed to be protected by the local officer Hadappa, son of Mahārāja Pumapakongala.³

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the inscription is the grant of the village as an agrahāra to a Chātuvejja (literally 'one who has studied the four Vedas') of the Rathakāra caste. The donation is said to have been made in accordance with the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the caste of the Rathakāras. Macdonell and Keith cite a number of authorities on the social position and importance of the Rathakāras from the Vedic literature.⁴ Bühler pointed out how the ancient Vedic ritual in certain cases admitted the Rathakāra or carpenter, who had Śūdra blood in his veins, to the participation in Śravaṇa rites, how the Taṇṭiriya Brāhmaṇa gives certain mantras to be recited by the Rathakāras at the Agyāthāna sacrifice, and how Baudhāyana derives the origin of the Rathakāra from a Vaisya male and Śūdra female and explicitly allows him to receive the sacrament of initiation (upanayana which is meant for a dvija).⁵

There is a stone record, of the 48th regnal year of Kulottunga Chola I, from Uyyakondān-Tirunalai in the Tiruchirappalli Taluk, which gives some interesting details about the Rathakāras. It records the decision of the learned Brāhmaṇas of the village in regard to the social position of certain castes and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain aṇumuṇa community called Rathakāra described as the progeny of a Māhishya by a Kāraṇa woman.⁶

¹ [On the grounds of palaeography and language, the present record has to be assigned to the same age as the Elura grant of Devavarman and to a date about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.—D.C.S.]
² Cf. A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhakāra, pp. 250-51. [These dates seem to be too early.—D.C.S.]
³ [See below, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.]
⁶ A. B. R., No. 487 of 1908.
In East Andhradesa, particularly in the Districts of Guntur, Krishna and West and East Godavari, there is a class of Viśva-Brahmāṇas who call themselves Rathakāraṇas and claim descent from the primaeval Viśvakarman. The orthodox among them study the Vedas, particularly the Black Yasurveda, and regard themselves as even superior to the Brāhmaṇas. They follow the Grihya Śūtra of Apastamba in their rituals which are conducted by priests of their own community although, when no such priest is available, they invite a Brāhmaṇa. The Rathakārās or Viśva-Brahmāṇas, also known as the Pañcāgacādāru meaning probably the artisans who use the five kinds of tools, are divided into five groups, namely, the kṣatrapī, kṣamara, kāschara, kāśec and vaḍārāga, and follow respectively the professions of the goldsmith and silversmith, copper-smith, blacksmith, stone-cutter or mason, and carpenter. During the closing decades of the last century, the Viśva-Brahmāṇas claimed certain religious rites and privileges which, they alleged, were denied to them by the Brāhmaṇas and fought their way in civil courts quoting the authority of the Śrutis. At that time the learned among them assembled in meetings held all over the land and published a treatise called Rathakārādikārāyana, consisting of the authoritative opinions of renowned scholars among them, based upon the authority of the Vedas. If such is the social and religious status of the Rathakārās in modern times, it is easy to imagine what it was sixteen hundred years ago in this part of the country. The subjoined record clearly shows that the Rathakārās in East Andhra enjoyed the same rights and privileges they were entitled to in the Vedic period.

Of the localities mentioned, Venkatpur is well known. Piḍilas, the object of the grant, cannot be identified.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Vijaya-Venkatpurā Bappa-bhāṣṭāraka-
2 "pāda-pariggahitassa mahāraja-
3 siri-Namdivarhama vaṣṭaṇa Pl-

**Second Plate, First Side**

4 dhī-ġāme mutyada-papamaho ġāmo
5 "savva-samago savv-aṅga-pesana-

---

1 [See above, p. 2, n. 7. Reference to the grant made in accordance with ąpraṅkura-Rathakāra-śuddhāna, i.e. the custom associated with grants accepted by the Chaturvidya Brāhmaṇas of Rathakāra-ākṣara (cf. Chaturvīdya-grāma-mahāyāna in Sol. Ins., pp. 408, 417, etc.), the epithets applied to them, viz. ḍap-baṅkura-
2 samartika and tapād-saṅkhyatā-śriyā, and the two grants made in favour of them point to their high social
3 position. It is difficult to believe that the Rathakārās or carpenters, even if they claimed to be Brāhmaṇas like so many other aspirants for a higher social status (cf. Sāk. Śat., p. 11 and note), could have ever enjoyed such a position in the Brahmanical society and been especially noted for their mastery over the four Vedas as well
4 as devotion to tapād-saṅkhyatā. A community like the so-called Viśva-Brahmāṇas of Andhra can hardly be described as nāma-guṛa-śarāṇa.—D.C.S.]

2 From the original plates.

3 There is a superficial dot within the u-matra of the letter rā. Similar dots are seen also in other cases (cf. ḍu and rā in line 2 below).

4 Against this line, appears the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1.

5 See Barnett, S. Ind. Pat., p. 185, n. Cf. modern mođa used in some parts of the Guntur and Nellore
6 Districts in the sense of a village official or servant supervising the distribution of water for irrigating rain-fed
7 or tank-fed lands. (The reading is mutuḍa as in many other inscriptions.—D.C.S.)

6 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 2.

7 [Cf. aṇga-piṣṭaka of the Basnai plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151) and pesama-piṣṭaka of the
8 Hiradhagallī plates (ibid., Vol. I, p. 1). The words aṇga, pesama and aṇga-pesama are technically used in the
9 sense of survival.—D.C.S.]
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE I

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14
kula-putta-bhaṣa-manussa ṇhāqita-vvā

Second Plate, Second Side

iha hi amha-dhamu-āyu-bala-vaddha-

Third Plate, First Side

tathā[th]i bālaka-mahā-vijayakumāra-

Khaṇḍapottasse yasattī-sattiyanaṁ
tissa [tissa] sattiyanaṁ

Third Plate, Second Side

ichchhantena mayā tassau sāp-anu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

gagṛha-samatthassa nānā-gotta-cha-

raṣa-tapas-sa[jjha]ya-niratasse

Fourth Plate, Second Side

aggāḷa-Rathā[th]a-kāra-chātuvajjassa

eṣa Pidha-gāma aggāḷa-Ra-

Fifth Plate, First Side

tha[kacca]-vidhānena sampadatto [[*] tassa yu.

Fourth Plate, Second Side

aggāḷaṁsa ime parihāre

vitarāmi appasam an[o]-

māsam a-rons-kaḥtakam a-raṭṭha-

Fifth Plate, First Side

samvinaṁca a-chollaka-kura-khaṭṭa-

parihāraḥ sesaḥ pi a-

lihitacca-khaliteha sa[ven-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

Thusa-gagṛhaṁ adikariṁ etehi

parihāreḥ sesaḥ pi a-

lihitacca-khaliteha savvā-

jāta-parihāreḥ parihara-

aḥa pariharapediha cha [[*] yo cha

khu etam saṇanāṁ appamāṇāṁ

---

1 In place of this rā, the engraver had apparently first engraved ṭo and later corrected it by erasing the left-hand stroke.
2 [Better read ya sandi-sattiyanaṁ—Sanskrit cha śanti-sandhiyannu.—D.G.S.]
3 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 3.
4 The position of this ṭh shows that it had first been omitted and was later supplied.
5 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 3.
6 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears a sign looking like a numeral.
Sixth Plate, First Side

28 kāṭ[i]ja bhāṣṭa-pilam jānejjo
29 'tassā kha na parituṣṣajjāma
30 tti [[*]] bhavati ch-ātra

Sixth Plate, Second Side

31 Sva-dattam-para-dattam va yo nripo
32 'n-oddhāreṇ-dharet [*] jātau jātau

Seventh Plate, First Side

33 sa pibati viśaṁ-hāśabham hā]halaṁ[anāh:
34 'halaṁ[***] Bahubhir-vu[rva]udhā dattā buhu-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

35 bhiś-ch-ānupalitam(tā) [*] yasya
36 yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
37 tata phalam [†]

Eighth Plate

38 sava 10 4 vāsa 2 diva 1 Hattthisāmi
39 'ānāti mahārāja-Pupākongala-
40 putto Hadappaggāha chhetya varoyastā

---

1 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6.
2 A space for two or three letters is left blank. One would expect some such expression as bhavati ch-ātra Vyṣṭa-pilam sikṣav. Mark the use of Sanskrit in this portion.
3 Near the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
4 The position of this word indicates that it had been omitted and was later supplied. The mute ə, indicated by its smaller size as well as by its having been placed below the line, does not have the slanting stroke over it as the same letter in the previous line has. To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 7.
5 [This word is unsuitable in the context. One may suggest dhāraṇa instead. — D.C.S.]
6 To the left of the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
7 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal mark.
8 To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 5.
9 This is a horizontal stroke marking the end of the record. The reading and the meaning of the latter half of the last line is not clear. The expression Hadappaggāha stands for Sanskrit hāṭa-pragāhā, while the following letter is as found in bhāṣṭa in line 28. The whole passage stands for Sanskrit hāṭa-pragāhā-dānāya. Varamāhaatti and suggests that an officer named Vasa was another Śānpati of the charter besides Hāstāvāmī. Hāṭa-pragāhā-dānāya (i.e., an assistant or officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods) reminds us of the Vaksa in charge of pravastī-bāhīṣṭa-dronya as known from the Mahāamatī (VIII, 34) and the police officer called Čaṇḍradhā-ramide in later inscriptions (Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 184). According to the author's reading of line 29, the officer serving under the Śānkhāyana king was the son of a Mahārāja, named Pupākongala whose identity has not been determined. But the reading of what has been read as Pañca may also be pañca. In that case, Vasa may be regarded as a son of Komala who was a Mahārāja-nātha, i.e. the son of the Mahārāja probably indicating the issuing of the charter. This interpretation of the passage involves a case of sthapake-samara which is, however, quite common in inscriptions. There are many instances of members of the royal family being appointed to high offices of administration. — D.C.S.]
A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) From the victorious Vengipura; by the command of the glorious Mahārāja Nandivarman, who is favoured by the feet of his venerable father, the Mutyalas and other villagers, in the village of Pidiha, en masse, (as well as) all the various executive officials, noblemen, and warden (bhada-manusā) are to be informed (thus):

(Lines 7-15) "Hereby I, being desirous of increasing the dharma (merit), longevity and strength of myself, as also of increasing the fame, strength and happiness of Bālaka-mahārāja-kumarā Khamiapotta, have given this village of Pidiha, in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahāra-Rathakāra (class of gift), to the Rathakāra-Chāturvraja (the Chaturvedin of the Rathakāra class or caste) who is endowed with the capacity of cursing and of conferring boons, and is engaged in meditation and in the study of the Vedas ordained (according to rules) for the various gotras and charayas in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahāra of the Rathakāra.

(Lines 16-30) By me this agrahāra has been granted the following immunities:—not to be entered (by royal officers without permission); not to be interfered with; not to be dug for salt; not to be interfered with by the district police; not (to be forced) to supply water-pots, boiled rice and cots; not to supply grass, leaves, vegetables, flowers, fruits, curds, milk, ghee and butter-milk. With these immunities and that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included, (to wit), all classes of immunities, (you) shall exempt (this village) and (also) cause (it) to be exempted. Whosoever transgresses this edict or causes trouble and harassment (to the donees) shall incur our wrath.

(Lines 31-37) [Two imprecatory verses.]

(Lines 38-40) (This is dated) year 14, 2nd (fortnight) of the rainy season, 1st day. Hathiśāmi (Hastisāmin) is the executor (of this charter). Hadappa (1), son of Mahārāja Pūṇakongala, shall (cause this edict) to be protected and preserved.

B.—Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

This is a set of four copper plates which were without a ring and seal when they first reached me. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on their inner sides, while the second and third have writing on both sides. The six inscribed sides of the plates are numbered with numerals like the pages of a modern book. The numbers are incised in the left margin of each plate, just to the left of the hole meant for the seal-ring to pass through. The hole is almost square in shape and measures roughly three-fifths of an inch on each side. It was evidently cut after the engraving on the plates had been executed. The plates measure 7½ inches in length and 2½ inches in width. They together weigh about 78 tolas.

The alphabet closely resembles that of the Kanteru plates of Skandavarman and some other charters of the Śaṅkāyana family. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

[1] Better 'noblemen and warden' in all the services'. See above, p. 4, note 7.—D.C.S.
[2] The reference here is to hti and maṇtyagana, meaning 'good fortune' and 'progress or success'. See above, p. 5, note 2.—D.C.S.
[3] The author's translation is defective. He has taken chuṭraja to be a person whereas it clearly indicates a community as suggested by the reference to niṇā-gotra-charaṇa in its connection.—D.C.S.
[4] The word chuṭāka is the same as Hindi chāk, 'error, fault, mistake, failure', and chuṭṭa-bhatīta may be translated as 'omitted through mistake'.—D.C.S.
[5] See above, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.
The inscription belongs to the Śākunākāyana Māhaśeṣa Skandavarman. It mentions, like the Pedaṛaṇi plates of Nandivarman II, the names of three generations of the donor's ancestors. Skandavarman was the son of Hastivarman (II), grandson of Nandivarman and great-grandson of Hastivarman (I). The date of the charter, given in words, is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika, in the first year of the king's augmenting reign. The grant was issued from the city of Veṇgī. It is possible that the donor of the present charter is the same Skandavarman who issued the Kanderu plates.\(^3\)

Māhaśeṣa Skandavarman is described in the present inscription as a Śākunākāyana, a worshipper of the holy feet of Lord Chitrarathaśvāmin and one devoted to the feet of his venerable father. The Śākunākāyanas would appear to have originally been a Brahmanical dynasty. From the figure of the couchant bull on the seals of their charters, they appear to have been worshippers of Śiva. The term Śākunākāyana, like similar other gotra names such as Bṛhadśeṣaśākhāyana and Ānanda became the appellation of the dynasty. Chitrarathaśvāmin, the family deity of the Śākunākāyanas, appears to be the sun-god.\(^4\)

An important feature of the inscription under review is the pedigree of the donor. As stated above, the present inscription gives the names of four generations of Śākunākāyana rulers, like the Pedaṛaṇi plates of Nandivarman II. Here are the two lists for comparison.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Kānakollu Plates} & \hspace{1cm} \text{Pedaṛaṇi Plates} \\
1 \text{ Hastivarman (I)} & 1 \text{ Hastivarman} \\
(aneka-asamar-mukha-vikhyāta-karman) & (aneka-asamar-aṅgula-vijaya) \\
2 \text{ Nandivarman (I)} & 2 \text{ Nandivarman (I)} \\
(iva-pratāp-āpanit-āhita-varman) & (vividha-dharm-pradāna) \\
3 \text{ Hastivarman (II)} & 3 \text{ Chapḍavarman} \\
(chatur-udadhi-tosang-āṅgina-yakas) & (pratāp-oṣana-sāṃanta) \\
4 \text{ Skandavarman} & \hspace{2cm} \text{Nandivarman (II)} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{other sons} \\
\text{(jyeṣṭha)} & \text{& (jyeṣṭha)}
\end{align*}\]

Hastivarman (I) and his son Nandivarman (I) are mentioned in both the lists. Nandivarman (I) apparently had two sons, viz. Hastivarman (II) and Chapḍavarman. That both of them were crowned kings is borne out by the epithet Māhaśeṣa attached to their names. Besides, Chapḍavarman's coins have been found. Since the custom was probably to name the eldest grandson after the grandfather, it may be suggested that Hastivarman (II) was the first and Chapḍavarman the second son of Nandivarman (I).

Several localities are mentioned in the inscription besides Veṇgī. Kompara, the village granted to the Rathakāra-Chāṭurvaṇḍya,\(^4\) cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it may be modern Komparra, a flourishing ancient village that lies about ten miles to the east of Kānakollu, in the Gujivadī Taluk. The locality called Rathakāra is said to have been the residence of the donor.\(^4\)

---

\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42-43, and Plate.
\(^5\) (See below, p. 10, note 4.—D.C.S.)
\(^6\) The personal name of the donor is not given in the inscription. He is simply called Chāṭurvaṇḍya, i.e. Chāṭurvaṇḍya. It is difficult to trace any connection between the Rathakāra Chāṭurvaṇḍya of the Prakṛta grant and the present dones Chāṭurvāṇḍya, resident of the village of Rathakāra. Perhaps the Chāṭurvaṇḍya was a descendant of the Chāṭurvaṇḍya of the previous grant. [See above, p. 4, note 4.—D.C.S.]
B.—Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

Scale one third
No. 1 | TWO SALANKAYANA CHAPITERS FROM KANUKOLLU

There is no village of that name known to me. Kompara is stated in the record to have been lying in the district of Kudrāhāra. Kudrāhāra and Gudrāhāra are early forms of the name of modern Gudivada. Both are Sanskritized forms of the name known from inscriptions found in the Krishna District as Gudrāhāra, Gudrāvāra or Gudrāra and Gudivāda. It may be noted that Kudrāhāra was different from Kūdūra or Kūdūrapura, the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [\textsuperscript(*)] Vijaya-Voṅgyā aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karmmapah
2 mahārāja-āri-Hastivarmmanapah prepaṅtrasya
3 sva-pratāp-ā[p]aṁit-āhitā-varmanapah mahārāja-āri-Nandiva-
4 rmanapah pautraṣya chatur-udadhi-taraṅg-āṅgītā-

Second Plate, First Side

5 yāṣaso mahārāja-āri-Hastivarmmanapah putraṣya
6 bhagavach-Chāḷjaratrasvāmi-pāḍ-anudya-(dhyā)taṣya
7 bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāḍa-bhaktāṣya Salankāyanasya
8 mahārāja-āri-Skondavarnmanapo vachanena Kudrāhāra-

Second Plate, Second Side

9 Kompara grāmyakā vaktavyā asti[\textsuperscript( )] samabhira-sma-
10 t-kula-yasaḥ-ārī-v[j]ālyā-kalyān-ābhivriddhayā
11 esha grāmā Mahākāra-vājśtaṣṭaṇyāya Chāṭuh[tu]rvvaidyāya

Third Plate, First Side

12 sarvva-pari[r]hārṣc brahmadeyam kṛtvā dattāḥ[\textsuperscript(*)]
13 tad-avagamya sūrvva-maryādayā sādhū prasha-
14 naṁ kartavyam-a[pi] ca sarvva-niyag[a]-nuṣaṇyuktakā-cha

Third Plate, Second Side

15 tad grāmāḥ pariharanā[\textsuperscript(*)] prava[r]ddhamānā-ārī-vijaya-
16 rāya-sarvavatsare prathamme Kārttika-māṣu-
17 śuklo-pakshe-pratipadi dattā pa[į]l[į]k[į][\textsuperscript(*)]

\textsuperscript{1} From the original plates.
\textsuperscript{2} Against this line, a little lower, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1, indicating page 1 of the charter.
\textsuperscript{3} Against this line and the next near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 2, indicating page 2 of the charter.
\textsuperscript{4} Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 3, indicating page 3 of the charter.
\textsuperscript{5} Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 4, indicating page 4 of the charter.
\textsuperscript{6} Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 5, indicating page 5 of the charter.

\textsuperscript{*} A flaw in the plate here is responsible for giving the letter a a rather peculiar look.

\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{(*)}} Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 6, indicating page 6 of the charter.
Fourth Plate

18 Bahubhir-bahudhā dattā vaśudhā vaśudhāhipais [[*]
19 'yasya yasya yadā bhūmih ta(mie)-tasya tasya tadā phalam *]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-9) Hail ! From the victorious (city of) Vedii; by order of the illustrious Śalakañkya
Mahārāja Skandavarman,—who meditates on the feet of the holy lord Chitraratha; who is
devoted to the feet of his royal father; who is a son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman
whose glory was embraced by the waves of (all) the four oceans; who is a grandson of the
illustrious Mahārāja Nandivarman who had completely subdued his foes by his own prowess;*(end)
who is a great-grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman who was well-known
through his deeds (of colour) in the forefront of many a battle-field,—the villagers at (the
village of) Kompāra of (the district of) Kudrāhāra are to be informed as follows:

(Lines 9-15) "We have given this village, for the increase of fame, fortune, victory and welfare
of our family, to the Chāturvaidya,* a resident of Rathakāra, having made it a brahmadeya
and exempting it from all taxes. Having known that, (you) should render proper services according
to the old custom. Besides, all the officers-in-charge and their subordinates should leave that
village alone (without collecting any kind of tax)."

(Lines 15-17) (This) title-deed has been given on the first day of the bright fortnight
of the month of Kārttika in the first year of (our) flourishing, glorious and victorious reign.

(Lines 18-19) [An imprecatory verse.]

---

1 On the left, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6, indicating page 6 of the charter.
2 The punctuation mark at the end is indicated by a single horizontal stroke which is mixed up with the sign
   of the mute m.
3 Literally, 'one who had taken away the armours of the enemies by his own prowess'.
4 *As in the other inscription, the word Chāturvaidya should better be taken in the sense of the community of the
   Chāturvaidya Brahmans residing at Rathakāra.—D.C.S.:
No. 2—GHUMLI PLATES OF BASHKALADEVA, V. S. 1045

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The inscription under study belongs to the Ayurvedic Museum at Jāmnagar. It was read by Pandit Navalkashkar, the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Ḫathibhai Śastri, but was not published. The late Mr. H. R. Mankod, for sometime Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Saurashtra, Rajkot, is known to have prepared an article on the record, although this also remains unpublished. We owe to Mr. Mankod a few informations about the discovery of the record and the location of some of the villages mentioned in it. It is said that the epigraph was found in the course of digging operations at Ghumli in the former Nawanagar State; but nothing more is known. Ghumli is situated amidst hills in the northern valley of the Abhāparā, a summit of the Baradā range, about 3 miles south of Bhānavad in the Hālār District of Kathiawar.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of two thin copper plates strung on two copper rings with loose ends. Each plate measures 3 1/2" by 8". The thickness of a ring is 1/4" and its circumference 3 3/4". The edges of the plates were slightly raised with a view to protecting the writing from being damaged by rubbing. There are thirteen lines of writing on each of the plates. The script is old Nāgari and the language Sanskrit. Some of the letters have been written in the cursive style (cf. 4 in śāra and ṣrī in line 4 with the same letter in Śaṅgajā in line 2) while many of them are carelessly engraved (cf. a passage in line 6, the intended reading of which is Vikrama-samvat 1045 varsha Vaiśākha-sūtra 15). The letters often exhibit additional marks of the engraver's tool. The letter ṭ has been used only in a few cases; it has usually been indicated by the sign for v. There are many orthographical errors in the text of the record. The sign of avagraha has been used thrice (lines 7, 22 and 24), but wrongly in one of these cases.

The date of the charter is given in line 6. It is V. S. 1045, Vaiśākha-sūtra 15, Monday. The date corresponds to the 22nd April, 999 A. D.

The inscription begins with a variety of the Śrīdharm symbol which is followed by the maṅgala: "May there be well-being, victory and prosperity!" Next follow three stanzas in the Anuvātha metre, the first of which is in adoration of the god Vyūmakṣa (Śiva) while the following two give the genealogy of the king who issued the charter under study. It is said that there was a person named Hiranyamukha whose son was the māhī-pati or ruling chief named Jāli (or possibly Jyāla or Jāla). The son of Jāli was the powerful Śūra who was the father of the rāpta or ruler Bāshkala, the issuer of the charter. Whether Hiranyamukha and Śūra were also rulers like Jāli and Bāshkala is not possible to determine from the language of the verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village made by Rāṇaka Bāshkaladeva surnamed-Kuṇikumāla, for the merit of his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Bāshkala, whose capital was at Bhūtāmbili within the Mahādurga adhikarṣa in Jyāṣṭha(sṛṣṭha)ka-dēśa, is stated to have made the grant after taking a bath in the Yajhavātā-śrīthā at a holy place called Pindatāraka. The word adhikarṣa seems to be used here in the sense of an administrative unit probably lying around the dēśa or fortess at Bhūtāmbili where Bāshkala resided. The name of the gift village was Karali which was situated in Jyāṣṭha(sṛṣṭha)ka-dēśa within the Nava-Suruṣṭhra maṇḍala. The name Nava-Suruṣṭhra seems to be a mistake for Nava-Sūrāṣṭhra, although the same form of the name Sūrāṣṭhra also occurs several times in the Ghumli copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vanasa. The donee was Dāmodāri, son

1 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.
of Chañḍāta. He is described as an Adhvaryu-Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and as an
inhabitant of Aṇābilapura. There is an aṅkara, intended for a contraction, before the names of
both Dāmādana and his father. It is possibly śrava ( ś r a ) standing for śravīṛi. The village,
extending up to its boundaries, was granted together with its trees and all income pertaining to
it, but without such land as had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas.

Lines 16-20 of the record describe the boundaries of the gift village. They are: (1) in the
east—a ghastikā (obviously a boundary post) planted near a vaho (streamlet) in the vicinity of
Varadī contiguous or attached to Chañḍāpurāṇa; (2) in the south—a ghastikā planted on the main
road contiguous to Cāhānī (apparently pronounced Cāhāṇīya)-grāma; (3) in the west—a ghastikā
planted in a khāṭi (canal) contiguous to the Paśu-velakūla; (4) in the north—a ghastikā
planted at a place contiguous to Vahakōṇa (possibly a vaho or stream called Kāṇa) adjacent to
Dēvarāṇa. In the description of the eastern boundary of the gift village, what has been read as
Varadī may be a mistake for Varadī which in Gujarati means a narrow passage of water. It
should, however, be noticed that Varadigrāma in Surēṣṭhra-maṇḍala occurs in an inscription
of Chaulukya Bhīma II, dated V. S. 1266, although it has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

The above is followed by the well-known stanza Bahubhīr=īśasūdhā bhūkṣa, etc., in lines 22-24.
It is next said that the dāaka (executor of the grant) was the Prati (i.e. Pratiṣṭhara, ‘officer
in charge of the palace gate’) Dhaśāndhala. The document was written by Pāri. Thā Aṁmāṇa. The
letter Thā is apparently an abbreviation of Thākura used as a title of nobility in the western parts
of India. The contraction Pāri seems to stand for Pārik. In Gujarat, Pārik is now usually the
cognomen of the banker class; but it is derived from Sanskrit Parikhaka which is known to have
been the designation of a head officer or superintendent, a judge, etc. Reference is next made to
the witnesses of the charter, viz. Kailāsa, Kato and others, who are described as sthāna-mahā-
juna, meaning the elders of the locality, although it is difficult to determine whether they were
members of a Board of Elders. The inscription concludes with the aṅkara Śri inscribed in bold
characters which apparently stands for the king’s signature in the original document copied
on the plates. This practice of representing the royal sign-manual by the aṅkara Śri is known to
have been followed by the rulers of some of the native States of Kathiawar and elsewhere.

Bāshkala who issued the charter under study calls himself a Nānaka, i.e. a feudatory ruler,
without reference to his overlord. It is difficult to identify this overlord of Bāshkala; but it is
not impossible that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chaulukya king Mūhāraja who ruled
between circa 951 and 996 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses the existence of a new dynasty
of rulers in the second half of the tenth century A. D. at Bhumilū (modern Bhumilū, the findspot
of the record under study) which is known to have been previously the capital of the Saindhava
kings of the Jayadratha-vañcha. Six copper-plate inscriptions of these earlier rulers of the nāgarī
of Bhumilās, as the name is found in those records, have been published above, although their
treatment suffers from a number of inaccuracies and an amount of speculation. The latest of the
Bhumilā copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings belongs to the reign of Jālika II and is

1 The post was probably marked with the figure of, or was shaped like, a mare.
2 For the expression vēlakūla, see, JBR, Vol. XL, part i, p. 12.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 112-14.
4 Of Wilson’s Glossary, s. v. perichōka, parikhaka; above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 718, etc.
5 It is called Bhūmikā in an inscription (An. Rep. Wat. Mus., Rajkot, 1921-22, p. 15) of the time of Chaulukya-Vaghela Visaladeva, dated V. S. 1315, and has been identified with Bhūmbhūpti mentioned in the Vanshāth
name Ghūmli is a modification of Bhumali or Bhūmīlī.
6 See Vol. XXVI, pp. 188 ff.
dated in the Gupta year 596 which is given in the record both in words and in numeral figures of the decimal system (not in symbols, as read by the learned editor of the inscription). The date of the said record therefore falls in 918 A.D. while Bāshkaladeva's grant was issued in V.S. 1042 corresponding to 999 A.D. There is therefore a difference of about three quarters of a century between the records of Jūkā I and Bāshkaladeva, both issued from the same city. During this period the rule of the Saindhavas of the Jayadratha-vaśya was extirpated from Būtāmbili and a new dynasty of rulers was established at the city. Although the name of the dynasty to which Bāshkaladeva belonged is not mentioned in his record, it is hardly possible to regard him as a later member of the Saindhava or Jayadratha dynasty because in that case he would have traced his descent from the earlier rulers of the land. It may be noticed in this connection that our inscription, the style of which is quite different from that of the Saindhava charters, mentions Bāshkaladeva's capital Būtāmbili as situated in Jyēśṭhuka-śāśa which is stated to have formed part of Nava-Surāśṭrap(a)-manḍala, while the Saindhava Jayadrathavariṣis claimed to have been Būtāmbili-vidhētha-nagarī-yaśa-para-Surāśṭrap(a)-manḍala-nagara. It will be seen that the Saindhava kingdom was called Aparā-Surāśṭrap(a)-manḍala and Bāshkaladeva's kingdom Nava-Surāśṭrap(a)-manḍala, although both indicated the district round Būtāmbili in the western part of ancient Surāśṭra or Kathiawar. What is, however, more interesting is that a smaller geographical unit round Būtāmbili is called Jyēśṭhuka-śāśa in our inscription. This name reminds us of the Jēṭhvaś who are among the inhabitants of the area even to this day.

According to tradition, Gūmli (ancient Būtāmbilika) was the capital of the Jēṭhva Rajputs, the Rājas of Porbandar being their present representatives. The name Jēṭhva has been interpreted by different scholars in various ways. Wilson traced its origin in the name of the Jēṭha while Jackson took it to be a modification of Yēṣṭha which was regarded as the shortened form of Yeṭha-ḥi-ṭo or Ephthalite, the ruling class of the white Huns. According to local bardic traditions, Jēṭhva is derived from the name of Jēṭha who was the 25th ruler in the list of the Porbandar kings. After the discovery and study of the six Saindhava grants discovered at Gūmli, one scholar suggested that the Jēṭhvas were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhava royal family; but another scholar was inclined to believe that the name Jēṭhva is derived from Jayadratha, the name of the ancient Saindhava king from whom the early rulers of Gūmli claimed descent, through Prakrit Jivanṭh and Javasth. All these are no doubt unwarranted speculations as Jēṭhva is certainly the same as Jyēśṭhuka occurring in the geographical name Jyēśṭhuka-śāśa found in our inscription. The present day Jēṭhvās must have been known as Jyēśṭhakas in the tenth century. Whether king Bāshkaladeva belonged to their clan is difficult to determine without further evidence, though that seems quite probable under the circumstances. If, however, Bāshkaladeva was a Jyēśṭhaka, the Jēṭhva Rājas of Porbandar may be regarded as his distant descendants. This further points to the untrustworthiness of the bardic traditions as a source of history. It is also possible to suggest that the Jēṭhvās were so called because they were ruling over Jyēśṭhuka-śāśa. But this does not explain the application of the name Jyēśṭhuka to the land in question in the second half of the tenth century.

Among other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Karail which was the subject of the grant recorded in the inscription, cannot be traced now. But a bridge at the eastern approach of Porbandar, the famous port of Western Saurashtra on the Arabian Sea, is said to bear the name Karil-pāl. The village of Karail may therefore have stood in its neighbourhood. We have seen that the localities called Chamōṇā-grāma, Chhāhānā-grāma, Pauravvēlākula and Dēva-grāma lay respectively to the east, south, west and north of Karail. Of these, the western boundary given as Pauravvēlākula, i.e. the harbour of Paurav, is undoubtedly the
modern Porbandar (literally, 'the harbour of Pör-Païra') lying to the west of the Kari-půl near which the gift village of Karāli may be located. Our inscription thus points to the existence of Porbandar as a harbour as early as the tenth century A.D. The villages of Chhālānā-grāma lying to the south of Karāli and Deva-grāma lying to its north are respectively the modern Chhālānā 2½ miles to the south of Porbandar and Degām about 6 miles to the north of the harbour. The village of Chaṇḍānā lying to the east of Karāli seems to have stood near modern Ādityānā about seven miles to the east of Porbandar.

Besides the above, there are some other geographical names in the inscription. They are Ānahilapura, Piṇḍātāra and Yajñāvatsa-tīrtha. Of these, Ānahilapura was the capital of the Chaṇḍulaśa and Vāṃhela kings of Gujarāt and is now called Pātaṇ lying near Kaḍīn north Gujarāt. Piṇḍātāra seems to be the well-known holy place called Piṇḍāraka in the Mahābhārata and identified with modern Piṇḍārā on the Gulf of Kutch about seven miles north of Bhātīa, a station on the railway line between Jamnagar and Dwarka. There is a kuśa near the temple at Piṇḍārā and this may be the Yajñāvatsa-tīrtha mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddham ś svasti jayō-bhuyadayā-saḥ | Pāñtratu(vu) vō Vyōmakēasya jatā-varaṁ(baṁ) -

2 dh-śūṇḍu-rasām Śmałyāḥ | bhānti yē Śailajā-karṇīḥ mālati-mālikā iva [[[ 1° ]]

3 Hiranyamukha-nām-ānau tasmā Jālā mahīpatisi Śravā sanva-

4 jaga-ārēṣṭa śaṣṭy-śāmaja-maha[va]la [[[ 2° ]] Taj-jāta[ha] suhāga[ha] ārīmāni(maṁ) dhi-
māṁ-

5 ś-cha Vā(B)jāhkālī nripaḥ | yēn-śadān sakalān vīśvāṁ yasa(śa)sa dhava[λ]kṛttam(tam) [[[ 3° ]]]

6 Śrī-urpa Vi[k]ma[n]a-saṁvara[s] 1045 var[sa] [Vaiṇa(v)a]kha-mnu[du] di 15 Sōmā-

7 'dy-eśa ś[ha]-Jyēśhu(ṣṭhū)ka-dēśe Mahād[ur]gr-ādikaranā Śrī-Bhūtānvi(bi)lyān

---
1 See Dey, Geographical Dictionary, s.v. 'near Golagar in Gujarat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarka'. The name also reminds us of the holy place called Piṇḍātāka-vata in a Nasik inscription of the second century A.D. (Select Inscriptions, p. 161.)
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The intended reading is "nām-ānau or "nām-dātī."
5 The reading may possibly be "Jyēśh-ākṣipatiḥ. It is difficult to say whether "Jālā mahīpatisi was intended.
6 Read "jagac-ahkṣipatiḥ".
7 Read "balaṁ or better nāmaja nakhalaṁ. After la the engraver was going to inscribe 4; but it was abandoned after only the left-hand portion of the akshara had been completed. Probably he wanted to engrave "balaṁ-āmaja-jākha" for "balaṁ-āmaja-jākha."
8 Read "sīkrama. The akshara ka is imperfectly formed.
9 The intended reading is Mahādurgardhikaranā.
No. 2]  

**Ghumli Plates of Bashkaladeva, V. S. 1045**

3 rāpiṣka-Kurumumalai(lö)-ākhyā-āri-Bashkaladēvāna āri-Pitṛjātāraka-

9 yātrām-āgatyā āri-Yajñēvajantā-tūrthā snātvā devān-pitṛsin saṁtarparyā mā-

tā-pitrākṣa śṛvynā śṛv-yānā āri-Navā(va)-Sūrāsh[t]ā[ṛ]-mahā-sūrā-pāti-ādi(Jye)


12 kuḷaḥ sva-sāmā-paryantarē sa-ravādāya-sametāḥ[ḥ] pu-

13 rva-pradatta-daradāya-vacavyadaya[ ṣ]-vṛja-grāmā-yaṁ āri-

**Second Plate**

14 Apāhilapura[ṇ]-māvasinā Bhāradvāja-gṛte-ud[ibjary]

15 Vṛṣ[Brā]jamaṇa-aḥṛt(śtō)ā-Chāmadāita-suta-aḥṛt(śtō)ā-Dāma(mo)drasaya udakā-csarga-

dāyēśa datta-grāmā-yaṁ samapita[ṣ-cha] grāmaḥ-grasasya-āghāṭaḥ pū-

17 rvata[ḥ]ā[ḥ] Chāmadāgṛāma-samānā-vaṃ-ṣaṃlī-ṣaṃdhanā vaḥa-samīpē nīkṣipta-ghō-

18 tīkā[ḥ] sīmā | dakṣinapata[ḥ]ā[ḥ] Čālaṁmāgṛāma-samānā rājam[ā] ṛgō nīkṣipta-

19 ghōṣikā(kā) sīmā | paścaṁmātā[ḥ]ā Pāura-vēḻkuśi[ḥ]-samanā-khar[di]vaṁ 12 ni-

20 nīkṣipta-ghōṣikā sīmā | uṭtarata[ḥ]ā[ḥ] Dévagrāmo-saman-Vaṭikākāḍa-saman-

21 nīkṣipta-ghōṣikā sīmā | aṣa-āghāṭa[ḥ]ā-Palakshēta-grāmā-yaṁ

22 1 śmatā-pradatta[ḥ]ā[ḥ] pālanīya-ṣaḥ | uktan iha | Bva(Ba)bhūbhir-vasudhā bhūkṣaḥ(ktā)

---

1 There is an unnecessary ṛṣaḍa here at the end of the line.
2 Read brāhmadāya.
3 The rule of Sandhi has been ignored here.
4 The letter ṛ is not properly formed.
5 Read ṛdhāraṃ.
6 This akābura seems to be an abbreviation of the word ṛdrīga.
7 The intended reading seems to be Dāmādarāya.
8 Better read ṛarga or ṛga-purāknāraṇa.
9 The intended reading may be grāma-yadṛg or grāmavaraṇa.
10 This is either used to mean that the two were contiguous, or is a contraction of a word like samasna, indicating the same idea. In inscriptions we have generally sam as of tumbadāka.
11 This apparently indicates a post that was planted for indicating the boundary.
12 Read vēḻkūṭa which means 'a harbour'.
13 The intended reading may be kāḍaṃ, i.e., 'in a kāḍi or creek'.
14 There seems to be an unnecessary ṛṣaḍa above this akābura.
15 Read āṇḍi-āṭāḥ.
16 Read yam-asam.
rajabhiḥ Sagar-ād[i]bhiḥ [ | *] yasya yasya yaddā bhūmi tasya tasya

ta[d]ā phalaḥ(lam ||) rāj-ādēsāt dūtakā-"tra pratiṣṭhā-śri-Dh[ā]ḥdha[ḥ || *] li-

khitaḥ pāṇi[ | *] sā[ | *] śācchājñāna pramāṇaḥ(qam) || śthāna-mahājana-

Kailāsa-Kaṭu-prabhṛṣṭayaḥ sākṛṣṭaḥ || śrīḥ * ||

---

*This is a contraction of pratiṣṭhā.

* The second of the two contractions stands for phākṣaḥ and the first apparently for pāṭhā.

* This sākṛṣṭa in bigger form symbolically represents the sign-manual of the issuer of the charter.
No. 3—ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

D. C. Sircar, Gopalamund, and P. Acharya, Bhubaneswar

Pandit Ramākara Gargavaṭa (ordinarily Gargavaṭa) of Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), who died in 1933, was an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy in his youth. About the year 1902, when he was engaged in studying the stone inscriptions fixed in the compound wall of the Ananta-Viṣṇu-Devī temple at Bhubaneswar, one Rāmādāsa Bābāji informed Pandit Gargavaṭa that he had seen a set of copper plates bearing writing similar to the stone inscriptions with which the Pandit was then engaged. On the Pandit pressing for further information about the plates, the Bābāji made him to after a few days with the news that the Pandit’s cousin Harākrishna Sāmantarāya knew the whereabouts of the copper plates and might be of help in securing them for his examination. When Harākrishna was approached, he informed the Pandit that the plates were in the possession of Mukunda Sāmantarāya of the village of Alalpur (Alarpur of the Survey of India map, sheet No. 73-H(15) lying about four miles east of Bhubaneswar to the left of the Puri road. Pandit Gargavaṭa then saw Mukunda Sāmantarāya and learnt from him that the plates had been found in a stone-box which had been discovered while digging the foundation for a house in the village. The plates were seven in number and were strung together on a ring bearing a seal with the bull emblem. Mukunda Sāmantarāya was found to have put them by the side of his family deity along with which they were being worshipped by him daily. At the Pandit’s request, Mukunda agreed to lend the plates for the decipherment of the inscription and Pandit Gargavaṭa carried them to his place personally, although they were very heavy. The Pandit then made a serious attempt to decipher the text of the inscription and completed his transcript of the record after some time. At that time Pandit Gargavaṭa was serving as a teacher in the Balsore School. A fellow teacher at the school, named Rādhākrishna Basu, who was a Sanskritist and an M.A., later made some corrections in the Pandit’s transcript. Soon afterwards, Pandit Gargavaṭa himself made some further corrections in his transcript with the help of the text of a similar inscription published in the Vīśvākṣa, s.v. Gāṅāyati.

Some time after completing the preparation of the transcript, Pandit Gargavaṭa engaged a mālid (day labourer) to carry the plates from his home at Bhubaneswar to Mukunda Sāmantarāya at Alalpur. Mukunda, however, became full of sorrow and indignation when he found the plates, which he had been worshippings regularly along with his family deity, thus defiled by the touch of a labourer of low caste. Considering them unworthy of veneration any longer, he sold the set to a copper smelter and it was ultimately melted by the latter. The inscription thus lost now exists only in Pandit Gargavaṭa’s transcript (with corrections later inserted by Rādhākrishna Basu and himself) from which we are editing it with the Pandit’s kind permission. As regards the fairly reliable nature of the transcript, it may be pointed out that there are fortunately cases where the genuineness of the Pandit’s reading can be verified. By way of illustration, we may refer to the passage śūnyaṭaḥ Allākhatāḥ kāraṇaṃ as read by N. N. Vasu in line 18 on the first side of plate VI of the Kendupatna inscription published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, p. 256. Vasu took the word śūnyaṭaḥ to be the same as Bengali śūnyāṭṭa meaning a

1 Considering the weight of other records of the later Imperial Ganga monarchs, it seems that the seven plates together with the seal weighed about one thousand kāla.

2 Below his signature at the end of his transcript, we find the date given as the 18th of November, 1903.

3 This is the Kendupatna copper-plate inscription (Saka 1218) of Ganga Narasimha II published by N. N. Vasu in 1888 in the Bengal Encyclopaedia entitled Vīśvākṣa, Volume V, pp. 321 ff. See now above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 101 ff.

4 Pandit Gargavaṭa handed over the small book containing his transcript to Acharya in 1919. It reached Sircar in April, 1920.
person in charge of the worship of a deity in a temple. But an examination of the impressions of the plates published by Vasu clearly shows that the correct reading of the passage is 

\textit{Alālandāḥātmānamunācakṣaṇa}.

It has to be noticed that the same 

\textit{Śrāvyā} (general) Alālandāḥātmāman is also twice mentioned in the Alapur inscription under review in lines 213 and 228 where Pandit Gargavaṇḍu reads the passages no doubt correctly, as 

\textit{Alālandāḥātmācakṣaṇa} and 

\textit{Alālandāḥātmācakṣaṇapinā}. The names of the villages read by the Pandit as Hariṅāyā (modern Harianta), Chhatāyā (modern Chhat), Karāṇgāyā (modern Karan) and Khambāyā (modern Khan) similarly point to the reliable nature of his transcript. Of course it cannot be said that the Pandit's transcript is absolutely free from misreadings.

The plates are known to have been seven in number. Pandit Gargavaṇḍu numbers the lines in his transcript separately according to the inscribed sides of the plates. This shows, as expected, that the first and seventh plates were inscribed only on the inner sides, while the other plates had writing on both the sides. There were altogether 288 lines of writing. The first and second sides of Plate IV had respectively 17 and 18 lines engraved on them, while the first side of plate V and the inner side of plate VII had respectively 13 and 14 lines. The remaining eight inscribed faces of the copper plates had each twenty lines of writing on them.

The record contains two dates. The first of them refers to the time when the grant was actually made by king Narasimha II, while the second falls about two years later when the document was written and the plates were engraved. The first date is given as the expiring Śaka year 1215 as well as the king's nineteenth Aika, Kumbha-dvitiya, badi 5, Tuesday. Kumbha-dvitiya indicates the second day of the solar month of Phāṅgūma. In Śaka 1215, however, the second day of solar Phāṅgūma fell on Tuesday, the 26th January 1294; but the ādi on that date was Māgha badi 44 and not Phāṅgūma badi 5. In that year, Phāṅgūma badi 5 actually fell on Tuesday, the 16th February, which was the 23rd and not the 2nd day of the solar month of Phāṅgūma. The date of our record thus seems to be irregular; it is either the 25th of January or the 16th of February in 1298 A.D. The nineteenth Aika year of king Narasimha II was his sixteenth regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth and sixteenth years). This agrees with the fact known from other records that Narasimha II ascended the throne in Śaka 1200 (1275 A.D.).

The second date of our inscription simply speaks of the king's twenty-second Aika, i.e., eighteenth regnal year (omitting the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years), which apparently fell in Śaka 1217. The grant was made when the king was staying at Remunā-kataka, i.e., the city of Remuna or the royal camp or residence at Remuna, which was the place wherefrom the Kandupatna plates of Śaka 1218 (or 1219) were also issued. In the expression Śrī-cīrataśana cīrataśana used in this connection, Śrī-cīrataśa is an honorific expression to indicate the king and cīrataśa has been used in its Oriya sense of 'stay'. In the same context other records of Narasimha II read cīrataśaṃcāritī. The mūdala (i.e., the royal order regarding the grant or its execution) passed through the Purav-Purva-duka Āśa Trilokha-saṁmanā, who seems to have been an official of a minister's rank and was the principal inpector attached to some administrative department. The object of the grant was the increase of the king's longevity, health, wealth and majesty. The donor was the Kaviā-dāyōka (treasurer) Hālāyudha who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vasiṣṭha gōtra having the Bhārgava, Chāyavā, Anuvā, Auro and Jīmā-āghya prāvāras and was a student of a portion of the Kāyva branch of the Yajurveda. The area of the land granted was one hundred cotās in five plots scattered in different villages.

The first plot of land comprised the village of Yanvachāpatigrāma (or Pandha1) in the Vāhāttari khaṇḍa of the Kālamvā (mōh)va viśaya, with the exception of the land belonging to the āśīna (land granted by a charter) pertaining to Rāma-pratirāja. The area of the land was

1 See op. cit., p. 271.

2 A similar sense of the word is also noticed in Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. It must have been borrowed in Oriya from Telugu.
No. 3] ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA-1215 19
determined according to the nala, i.e. measurement of area, done by Allâla-nâyaka, described as a sri-karaṇa, i.e. a scribe. The western boundary of the village granted was the dasâda of Paiga-pâla lying to the east of a river, while the eastern boundary was the western dasâda of Urisâ-parâkôpâ. The word dasâda means 'a boundary pillar' and from that 'a boundary line'. It is tempting to equate parâkôpâ with the well-known Pargâma meaning a tract of land comprising a number of villages, although Parâkôpâ may have also been the name of a locality adjacent to or included in Urisâ. The northern boundary of Yanvâchaçâtîgrâma (or Pandhaâ9) was the southern dasâda of Urisâ-grâma, while the southern boundary was the dasâda-ârdhâ, i.e. a portion (ârdhâ) of the boundary line (dasâda), of Kundâla-ârmanyâsâva (i.e. the temple area of the deity of that name) of the Srîânapurâ sâsana (i.e. the gift village of that name). The land within these four boundaries measured 24 vâtikâs, 19 mânas and 5 guṇâhas. Out of this, an area measuring 8 vâtikâs and 12 mânas, which was covered by the land previously granted to gods and Brâhmanas and by the boundaries of a waiting place for ferry as well as godâs and godâsâs meaning broad pathways for cattle, etc., was subtracted, leaving a total (sámâkara) of 16 vâtikâs, 7 mânas and 5 guṇâhas.

The second plot of the land granted comprised the village called Kharâla-grâma situated in the Sâlî vishâya. The southern boundary of this village was the dam or highway (bandha) at the northern limit of Kurângârâma, while its northern boundary was the southern dasâda of Harîûta-grâma. To its west was the eastern boundary line of Chhatalîgrâma and its eastern limit touched partially the boundary of the tank attached to the godâ (granary) belonging to Khandâla-grâma. The land within these boundaries measured 42 vâtikâs. Out of this, the area of 17 vâtikâs, 16 mânas and 20 guṇâhas, which was covered by the boundaries around the mandâpa (temple or public building) under the enjoyment of gods and Brâhmanas and by godâs, godâsâs, tanks, bhâtha (moundâs), etc., was subtracted, leaving a total of 24 vâtikâs, 3 mânas and 5 guṇâhas. The calculation here makes it clear that 1 vâtikâ of land was regarded as equal to 20 mânas while 1 mânus (Orissa mânus) was equal to 25 guṇâhas. The case is the same in Orissa even at the present time.

The third plot of the gift land comprised Gôlîdalîgrâma, situated in the same Sâlî vishâya, with the exception of the locality called Lâla-Brâhmapura. The northern boundary of the village touched parts of the boundary line of the Srîpâla-Sâkârâsa-khatâ (market-place) and the southern boundary was the godâ-pusâkho-nî (tank attached to the granary) of Harîûta-grâma. The western limit touched partly the boundary line of Nibbânapura, while the eastern limit was the western embankment of the tank of or ât Pûlî in Râdgâlapura (Rângâ5?). The land measured 70 vâtikâs, 13 mânas and 15 guṇâhas. Out of this, an area of 33 vâtikâs, 5 mânas and 1 guṇâhas, which was covered by the land such as that around mathas (colleges) and manâdâpas under the enjoyment of gods and Brâhmanas of the locality called Hâtânapura-karmi-dasâda (a certain part of Hâtânapura) as well as by a caitâya-dasâda (boundaries of land granted to the local physician), tanks, jâla (canals), godâsa, etc., was subtracted, leaving the total remainder of 37 vâtikâs, 8 mânas and 14 guṇâhas.

The fourth plot of the land comprised Sarpdâla-grâma in the same Sâlî vishâya. It was bounded in the north by the gâmbhîra-vîla-vîna (a piece of very low land covered by the vîna grass) of Gôlîdalîgrâma and in the south by the southern dyke of the tank of or at Jayagâna. Its western boundary was the locality called Malisîhâra-Tâlapadî in the village of Gôlîdalî and the eastern limit was the manâdâpa belonging to one Śrîdhara Vîshîkâla (meaning originally 'a village watchman' later stereotyped into a family name) lying to the west of Râdgâlapura (or Rângâ5?). Within these four boundaries the land measured 11 vâtikâs and 5 guṇâhas. Out of this, an area measuring 5 vâtikâs and covering some tanks in the possession of gods and Brâhmanas, was subtracted, leaving a total of 6 vâtikâs and 5 guṇâhas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the village called Vâsîdhrâma in the Sâîvîra vishâya with the exception of 3 vâtikâs, 4 mânas and 10 guṇâhas attached to the homestead land belonging to
the god Bhuvanāśvara worshipped at Dhāmpur. The remaining land measured, according to the samākhāpa-nada, 29 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 12 gunthas. In Oriya, the word samākhāpa means ‘enlarged with boundaries’ and nada ‘measurement of area’. It seems that the recognised area of the piece of land was quoted in this case without fresh measurement. Out of the above area, 13 vāṭikās and 15 mānas, which covered tanks, lāṭhas and mangalas in the occupation of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving, according to the document under review, a total of 16 vāṭikās. There is, however, strictly speaking, a mistake in the calculation, as the remainder was actually 15 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 12 gunthas and not exactly 16 vāṭikās.

The document goes on to say that the total area of the five plots measuring 100 vāṭikās was granted as a revenue-free gift together with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The actual total area of the five plots, however, was slightly less than 100 vāṭikās. It was 99 vāṭikās, 4 mānas and 16 gunthas, although, if the wrong calculation of the area of the fifth plot as quoted in the document is taken into account it would come up to 99 vāṭikās, 19 mānas and 4 gunthas.

Śrēṇāpati (general) Allāhanātha, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pātimāsha gōtra and a student of the Śākala branch of the ājīvaśa, was the Śrāvānāthikārī, i.e. the head of the record department who was responsible for writing the sāsana or charter. He received, apparently as his perquisite, two vāṭikās of land consisting partly of homestead land and partly of land under water. The engraver of the plates, whose name was Pannādi-raṇa, similarly received two vāṭikās of land, half of which was homestead land, the other half being under water. He was apparently the same as Pannādi, mentioned in the Kendupatā plates, and Pannādi-mahāraṇa who engraved the Puri plates of Bhaṇu II, son of the issuer of the present charter. Raṇa and Mahāraṇa indicate family names among the artifaktas of Orissa.

A number of rent-paying subjects were also attached to the present gift land which was styled Allālapura-sāsana. The later Gaṅga monarchs often gave a particular name to the land granted by a charter. Why the present charter was called Allālapura-sāsana is not clear; but it seems to have been named after the Śrāvānāthikārī Śrēṇāpati Allāhanātha. The practice of allotting a number of rent-payers to a sāsana is also known from other records of the king. The subjects attached to the present charter were: (1) Asāti who was the son of the guṭika (manufacturer or seller of sugar) Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Ucchāṣpadā haṭṭa (market); (2) Maṭhī-śreṣṭhīn who was the grandson of Bhratī-śreṣṭhīn and was a potter of the Vaiṣtrapadā haṭṭa; (3) Kāḷī, who was the grandson of Gāḍhālaṇa and belonged to the Saragadā maṇḍa-haṭṭa; (4) Pārakhā-śreṣṭhīn who was the son of Jāguli-śreṣṭhīn and was an oilman of Vīrōsā-gāpās; (5) Punakara who was the grandson of Pratīṣṭha and a grower or seller of betel leaves attached to the Janīkhēra Jāyapadā haṭṭa; (6) Dharmaṭī-śreṣṭhīn who was the grandson of Kukāmēchāṇḍa and was a relation of the oilman Gbhārahaṇa of Uthali, and (7) Maṅkaṭa, the grandson of Māṭīyaṇḍa and a goldsmith of the Vijayulakshminpura haṭṭa; he was made a substitute for Utīśū-udhyaksha who was the grandson of the goldsmith Visumahālāka and belonged to the Vaiṣtrapadā haṭṭa and who had been attached to the sāsana of Khāḍvigrīti-Mahāpura Yāgānanda of Ghitavatā; and Utīśū-udhyaksha was attached to the present charter.

The last line of the charter says that it was written by the Śrāvānāthikārī Allāhanātha-śrēṇāpati and that the plates were udghāṭita (probably meaning udghara or engraved) by the copper-smith Pannādi-raṇa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Allālapura is, of course, modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. It is, however, difficult to determine as to which of the gift villages has to be...

2 The word is mahālāka, the same as maṇḍaḥāka or mahālāka meaning ‘a guard of the royal harem’. Visumahālāka was a goldsmith by caste. The word udghāṭita attached to the name of his grandson may suggest that the latter had some executive function in the market to which he belonged.
identified with the present Alalpur. Another interesting fact is that only one of the five localities granted seems to have carried the name applied to the śāsana. If the reference to the god Bhuvanăcāvara at Dharāpurā actually refers to the present Bhubaneswar, originally named, no doubt, after a deity of this name, it may be suggested that the third plot of the gift land comprised modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. Rēmūna has been identified with the modern village of the same name situated about 6 miles to the west of Balasore. Pāṅgāpāla may be identified with the place of that name in Pargana Barpāla in the Cuttack District. Urisa is the same as Urissa, a village within the jurisdiction of the Jagarsingpur Police Station in the same District. The Saṅgī vishaya may be roughly identified with the Saṅgī Pargana in the said District. Sāivīra is still the name of another Pargana in that District. Kalambōra-vishaya, known from several other inscriptions, was apparently the district round the present village of Urissa.

Of the localities mentioned in connection with the second plot of the gift land, the villages Harināta, Kurāngi, Chhatālā and Khandhala are now called Hariantā, Kurang, Chhastol and Khandol respectively. They are all situated in the vicinity of one another in the Cuttack District (see Survey of India map, sheet No. 73 H/15). The third plot of land was also situated near Harinātārāma, i.e. modern Harianta. The other places mentioned in the record cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT

Sixth Plate, First Side

178 ..........................Śaka-nriyapatiḥ paśchadasā-ādhika-dvādaśa-śa-

179 ta-saṃva(saṃva)sarṣeṇa gatēṣu sva-rājasya-śuṇaviśeṣatya-āṅkādbhilikhyamāṇe
   Kumbha-dvitiya-śriphiga-paśchamyamāṁ Maṅgala-

180 vārē Rēmūna-kataḥ Śriharṣaṇa vijaya-samayē pūrṇaparakakṣa-pātra-Trilōchana-
   jēṣa-mudalēna chatu-

181 rdasa-bhuvanāḥ-āḥ-ādi-virud-āvali-virajamāṇo vīru-Śri-Narasimhaḥ-śeṣaṁ
   sv-āyuṛ-ārogayā-varamā-sāmṛṭa

182 jya-sāṃpriddhaye Vata-sāgōṭrīya Blārgava-Cīvāvan-āyuḥ-van-Au(vad-Au)rvva-
   Jāmadaṇya-pravaraṛya Yajur-vēd-āntargaṭa

183 Kāṇva-śākha-āṅka-dēṣa-ādhyāyinē kōshādhyaḥ-kaha-Halayaḥ Śvēṣam pradān-
   ārthāṁ

184 Kalamvēra-vishaya-Vāhattariśa-khandā-madhyā-Yavnvāpatai-śrāmam Rāma-
   pratirāja-śasanīyam-viṣṇu-baḥshṛṣṭyā prūḥ-

185 śrīkaraṃ-Āḷīla-nāyaṇa-nala-pramāṇaṁ ētad-grāmiya-paśchima-siṣ(a)ma nadyāḥ pūra-
   (vṛć) Paṅgāpā

*From Pandit Batakkara Gargavatā's Oriya transcript. The 103 introductory verses, also found in other
records of the king, covered 177 lines and a part of line 178 which is line 4 on the sixth plate.

* Originally read yēṇi.
* Originally read nariṇāḥ.
* Originally read śaṇātī.
* Originally read kāηerī.
* Alternatively read Vahā.
* Originally read Aridhakāḥ. An alternative reading is "grāma-Rāma". The reading may be Paddaḥka.
* Alternatively read Ramapratiraja.
la-daññam-adita kṛtvā pūrvva-ās(ā)mā Urisā-parākāna2-poichina-daṇḍā-pasyantena uttaraṁ U- 
187 risā-grāmiya-dakṣiṇa-daññam-ārthhya dakṣiṇa-Śi(Śi)mā Śrīrāmadvara-sūsaniya-Kuṇḍā-
leśvaravardhavya da uj-ārdhāna-
188 paryantena ēvañ śahutu-Śi(Śi)mā-āvachhīḍēna guṇṭha-paṇehāk-ōttara-mān-ānavihāṣaty-
dhika-vaṭīkā-cha uṛviṁśa(viśakti-
189 madhyāt puratana-lēva-Vṛūkṣhamaṇa-vaññato-danañga-guñḍa-gohari-gōpāth-ādibhir-māna-
dvādasādhiṅk-āśānta(ṣaṭa)-vaṭī-
190 kāṃ(ka) va(ba)hishkritya sthita-niravakara-paṇeha-guṇṭha-ōttor-māna-sapti-adhika-ahōla-
śa-vaṭīkā-ṃitaṁ3 | Sālō-viśhaya-
191 madhyā-Khā☉ (om) rāma | [ [*] dakṣiṇatāh Kru(Ku)grāṅgagṛāmsya-ōttara-parichchodas-
va(ha)śaṁ-aḥvihāṣyta uttaraṁ Ś(Ś)i|mā Hariṁtā-
192 grāmiya-dakṣiṇa lanḍa-paryantena [*] poṣehīmatāh Chhatadalgrāmsya pūrvva-parič-
chchoḍādanda va(ha)śaṁ-aḥvihāṣyta kṛitya pūrvva Ś(Ś)i|mā 
193 Khandha-kṛgrāmiya-pūḷā-pushkarīṇya-ardhīna-paryantena [*] ēvañ ohaṭu-Śi(Śi)mā-āvachhe-
(chehe)āvēna vāsā-vāsāvahāvāvāsena(ṭūsī)|a|naḥmadhyā-
194 t puratana-dēva-Vṛūkṣhamaṇa-bhūggya-mandapa-danañga-gohari-gōpāth-pushkarīṇi-bhīth-
ādibhīr guṇṭha-viṣṇu(ṣa)niṣṭhyā- 

**Sixth Plate, Second Side**

dhika-māna-śhōla-ōttama-saptadāva-vaṭīkāṁ4 va(ba)hishkritya5 vaṣṭita-niravakara-
paṇeha-guṇṭha-ōttar-māna-traya-ādhika-chatu-
196 rvihāṇ-viṭākā-primitam(tam) || tathād-āvihāya-madhyā Gōḍādaḷ-grāmaḥ Lāh- 
(Vṛūkṣhamaṇa-va(ra)ḥaḥ)hishkritya uttaratāḥ 
197 Śinaṇḍa-Vāṃkévava-haṭṭasya parichhōcchehēḍa-danda-ārdhalam-āḥitāh kṛtvā dakṣiṇa-
Ś(Ś)i|mā Hariṁtā-grāmiya-pūḷā-pushka-
198 riṇī-paryantena [*] poṣehīmatāh Nībbhaya-parichhōcchehēḍa-danda-ārdhalam-adhik-
kritya pūrvva Ś(Ś)i|mā Rādgakapurīya10-Pāleḥa-pushka-
199 riṇī-vaṭākīna-vah(ah)ā-maṇḍata-paryantena [*] ēvañ ohaṭu-Ś(Ś)i|mā-āvachhē(chehe)āvēna guṇṭha-
paṇeha-lābha-śāna uṇā-traya-ādhika-saptati-vaṭīkā-
200 madhyā  Haṭṭapurī-karmni-danda [*]-vāsi-puratana-dēva-Vṛūkṣhamaṇa-bhūggya-
maṇḍapāvaiṇḍa-danañga-pushkarīṇi-jūla-gōpāth-ādī-

---

1 Alternatively read Uritamema. 
2 Originally read "adhēh". 
3 Originally read "mātūm". Read "mātām". 
4 Originally read Kṛṣṇa. 
5 Originally read Kṛṣṇa. 
6 Read "viśaṅkha which was originally read. 
7 Read "kṛṣṇa-ṛṇa" which was originally read. 
8 Originally read Kṛṣṇa. 
9 Originally read pu. 
10 The reading may be Rāgāya. 
11 Originally read karmman. The intended reading seems to have been "danda."

Seventh Plate, First Side

215 Ucchābhāpaḍāḥ-haṭṭiṣṭa-guṇḍika-Na(Na)ṛyaṇaṇaṣya auto-oṅtī-nāmā || O || Yaṅtrapaḍā-haṭṭiṣṭa- kumbhaṅkarঃ Bhṛṭṛ-śreṣṭhi(ā)ḥṣṭhi.)
216 kasya naptā Mādhī-sūbhiśthi(sūbhi)-nāmā Saragājī-dāna(ma)-haṣṭhya-Gopāladaṇu(ve)-naptā Kāliya-sahpahākā || Voirōa-Gē-

217 pāpa-tailika-Jāgukī-śresthistikasya ān(au)ṇaḥ Pāraκha-śeṣṣṭhi(iśeṣṭhi)-nāmā || Jaṅkērā-
Jayapura-ḥaṣṭhya-tāṃva(ma)ulyika-Praśvasya

218 naptā Punakara-nāmā || Uthrāi-tailika-Gabhu-raṇā(ṣeṣṭha-kutumvi(ve))yya-Kukā-
maḥaṇḍgā-ṇaṇta* Dhammaṇu-śreṣṭhitikā || Vijayaikamīpu-

219 ra-ḥaṣṭhya-svarṇakāra-Mārtanda-ṇāmnō naptāraṃ Maikraṇ-nāmānaṃ (Ihaṭāvaṣṭya-
khadga-grhīh-mahāpatra-Yāgānanda-śaṣanē li-

220 khitasa Vānāga-ḥaṣṭhya-svarṇakāra-Vīsa-mahalākasya naptā(ṃ)ṛ-Uṭṭiṣs-śāhyakahasya
purvavatanaḥ datva(ttvā) gṛhiṭa-U(ṛ-ō)jjā-śāhyakah(ḥa)-nāmā || 7 ||

221-27 (The usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas)

228 Svasti śrī-vīra-Naraṇaṁkhādaṃśvasya dvāvarbhāṣeṣṭhā-kāke śāsan-ādhitāri[ṇa]! Alāṃkāha-
śeṣṣṭhā pitānā likhitam-idaṁ(dam) || udbhṛṣṭam tāṃvra(ma)kalā-Yannādi-raṇā-śāhyā-śti
|| 0 ||

1 Originally read 'indāyaka.
2 Originally read 'pāma ṣeṣṭha-
3 Originally read 'mahāpatra.
4 Originally read 'mahāṣṭhikā.
5 Originally read Mārtanda.
6 Originally read 'ṣeṣṭhā.
7 There is an ornamental floral design between the double laules.
8 Originally read 'Yamākāhi'. The reading may be PannaTai
No. 4—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

(I Plate)

K. N. SATRI, NEW DELHI

Of the three inscriptions under review, the first is from the Mahākālēvara temple at Ujjain, the second is on a stone pillar in the Bhōjaśālā (now Kamālmaulā Mosque) at Dhār while the third lies in a shrine at Un in Madhya Bharat. Their common characteristic is that each of them contains an alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart (bandha) and a verse alluding to the Vaiṣṇava-kripāśīkā-bandha of the king Udayāditya.

A. Mahākālēvara Temple Inscription

This inscription is a praṇāsti, the object of which presumably was to record either the construction or the restoration of a Śiva temple at Ujjain. It survives in two fragments. One of them bears 36 closely written lines engraved on a stone slab built in a niche in the upper storey of the Mahākālēvara temple. The other fragment comprises 28 lines of text and an alphabetical chart which are inscribed on a stone slab now fixed in a small āhāsthi in the same temple on the ground floor. Though it is difficult to be absolutely certain about their relationship, yet their mutual resemblance in style and subject matter tends to support the view that the two fragments were parts of one and the same inscription.

The first fragment is 17" broad by 21½" high and appears to be badly worn off on the surface. The writing on the second fragment, excluding the chart, measures 14" broad and 17" high and is in far better state of preservation and quite distinct, though, here too, some letters are missing due to the peeling off of the surface. The characters are beautifully executed and belong to the so-called Kuṭīla type of the Nāgarī script current in Northern and Western India in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. They closely resemble those of the Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1011 and the Udyāpur praṇāsti. The language is Sanskrit. Barring the alphabetical chart (bandha), the rest of the extant portion of the inscription is in verse. B is denoted by the sign for v, and the palatal sibilant by its dental counterpart in some cases.

The composer of this praṇāsti was well-versed in rhetoric and possessed a fine imagination. The first fragment contains nineteen verses of which the first sixteen are devoted to the enology of Śiva and the description of the Arbuda mountain. This is followed by an allusion to the sacrificial offering of the sage Vasishṭha whose cow, Surabhi, was snatched away by Viśvāmitra. Herein the poet displays his mastery in the use of allegories, similes and other poetic embellishments which go to make a good kūtya. Owing to an unfortunate gap between verses 19 and 79, the text dealing with the origin of the Paramāra family and the genealogy of its members appears to have been lost. This may be inferred from the occurrence of similar passages in the Paramāra praṇāstis in other inscriptions, such as the Udyāpur praṇāsti referred to above. The genealogical account might have been brought down to Naravarman, the donor of the present record.

1 The stammapas of the epigraphs were kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
2 These inscriptions have been briefly noticed by Mr. K. K. Lelo in the Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa, pp. 25-30; see also Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, Nos. 2598 and 2599 (Mahākālēvara temple inscription); 1904-05, p. 9, No. 2081, and 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, No. 2601 (Dhār inscription); 1919-20, p. 25, No. 3011 (Un inscription). Mr. Lelo attributes the composition of the epigraphs to the Paramāra king Naravarman.
3 It is likely that the two fragments form the beginning and end of two different inscriptions.—Ed.
5 Ibid., Plate facing p. 254.

(25)
The next point to be considered is whether the author of this prakāṣṭi was Udayādītya or his son Naravarman. In verse 86, Udayādītya and Naravarman have been styled 'kings' (mahā-bījō). Had the former been the author of the prakāṣṭi, the association of his son with him would have been in the capacity not of 'king', but of Rājakumāra or Yuvarāja, in which case the latter could not have been styled 'king'. It therefore follows that it was Naravarman who incised the prakāṣṭi during his reign to commemorate either the erection or the restoration of a temple of Śiva, and associated his father's name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. Moreover, as another act of his deep devotion and reverence to Udayādītya, Naravarman appears to have dedicated to him the chart, described as the badge of Udayādītya to be worn by the kings and the poets alike, according to another stanza (verse 85) which also occurs in the other two inscriptions. In any case, it is quite clear that Udayādītya and Naravarman, being father and son, could not have ruled the same kingdom contemporaneously. This becomes all the more incredible since Udayādītya was succeeded not by his younger son Naravarman but by his elder son Lakshmadēva as king of Mālwa. He was long dead when Naravarman ascended the throne.

Though, on account of the fragmentary condition of the epigraph the date is lost, yet it can be placed within the reign of Naravarman, i.e. in 1094-1133 A.D. As indicated by the concluding portion of the record (verses 79 to 84) eulogising Mahākāla, the prakāṣṭi was presumably dedicated to that deity; but it remains obscure whether it recorded the erection or merely the restoration of a temple for the god. It may, however, be observed that the Mahākāla-juśṭirūla at Avanti (Ujjain) is one of the twelve Jayāśirūlas located in different parts of India, about which references are found in some of the Purāṇas and other works of Sanskrit literature. It is therefore conceivable that a temple of Mahākāla existed here and that it was renovated or extended from time to time by the Paramāra kings including Naravarmandēva.

In lines 18-19 of the text, are enumerated the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet arranged classsiwise, each group being followed by a numeral indicating the number of letters in it. The figure 51 at the end shows the total number of letters in the two lines. Thus line 18 contains the 14 vowels and 4 Ayāvyayikas, while line 19 contains the 26 Spārśas, 4 Antasthas and 4 Uddhas. The total of the two lines is thus 51. Line 20 begins with five long vowels from ॐ to ॐ, followed by the fourteen Mahākālara-sūtras which occupy lines 21 and 22. Their total number 47, arrived at by leaving out the ॐ consonant at the end of each sūtra and counting ॐ only once, is finally given at the end of line 22. The sub-totals are indicated after each group of letters. The above table is followed by three concluding stanzas (verses 85-87). Verse 85 dedicates the Varṣa-nāga-kriṣṇa-bandha to king Udayādītya with the injunction that the bandha was placed as a badge on the chest of the poets and the kings alike. Verse 86 says that the sword of the kings, Udayādītya and Naravarman, the veticies of Mahāśēla, was ever ready for the protection of the four castes and of learning. Verse 87 states that this alphabetical Snake-Scimitar Chart of Udayādītya, [together with] the string of [poetic] gams, was composed by the 'friend of the talented poets' (sukṣva-bindukā). This epithet presumably refers to king Naravarman himself who is supposed to have been the composer of this prakāṣṭi. Out of the three verses referred to above, the first is found in all the three inscriptions, the first and the second in the Ujjain and Dhār inscriptions, while the third is exclusive to the Ujjain prakāṣṭi.

---

1 [See note 4 below.—Ed.]
2 The epithet mahā-bījō may be justified even if Naravarman was the governor of a district of his father's kingdom. The importance given to Udayādītya suggests that it was composed during his rule (1094-1133 A.D.) possibly about the close of it.—Ed.
3 Cf. Śiva Purāṇa, IV (Kāśīendra-sāhashi), Adhyāya I, verses 21-23.
4 The expression sukṣva-bindukā is susceptible of the alternative interpretation 'by the talented poet Bandhu' if allowance is made for the indulgence of the poet to call himself 'a talented poet'. [This seems to be the better of the two interpretations of the stanza. The poet Bandhu was probably a protégé of Naravarman when he was the governor of some territory during Udayādītya's rule.—Ed.]
By the side of and below lines 18-25 is engraved the bandha, mentioned as Varṣa-ṇaṅga-kripaśīḥ in verse 85. As this expression connotes, the bandha is roughly a combination of a snake and a scimitar or dagger. The head of the snake is apparently represented by the broad barbed blade of the dagger, and its coiled body after forming a sort of hilt of the dagger shoots up making a serpentine loop representing the tail. In the broad head of the dagger and its two barbs are inserted the 14 vowels from a to au, and in the thinner part below it are ha, ya, va, ra and la. Lower still, in the rhomboid portion of the hilt, which is divided into 25 squares, are placed the 25 Sparśas from ka to ma, arranged according to their vargas. The triangular portion at the bottom contains in its right arm the 4 Uṣmas and at the base the 4 Ayogavākas, viz. the Upadhīmaṇya, Jihiyā, Anuśūra and Visarga. The letters in the left arm of the triangle, being badly damaged in all the three inscriptions, are mostly illegible. However, to judge from the faint survivals of some of them in the Dhār inscription, of which ə at the bottom is somewhat clear, this arm probably contained kəḥa, ṭra, jīva and śv, with which the present day Dēvanāgarī alphabet ends. The loop representing the tail of the snake is divided into 39 compartments, 21 of which are occupied by the noun terminations of the seven cases, viz., su, au, as, am, oṣ, as, etc., and the remaining 18 by the verb inflexions of the two padas, viz., ti, tas, anti, si, the, tho, etc., and ə, əi, ant, əi, əi, əi, dve, etc. The starting point of the above two sets of terminations is the top of the loop, from where they proceed downwards in the left and the right hand arms respectively. It is noteworthy that the arrangement of alphabet given in the chart generally follows the lines of the 14 Māhāvīra-sūtras of Pāṇini’s Asktādhīvyāga. Thus ha is given twice, one before the 4 Antasthas, and again at the end along with the 4 Uṣmas, as is the case in the above aphorisms. The arrangement of the 25 Sparśas, if read vertically from top to bottom, though not strictly in the order of the sūtras, is approximately the same so far as their respective sthāna and prayatna are concerned.

The above bandha, containing as it does, the 14 Māhāvīra-sūtras and the 39 su and əi terminations, sets forth in a nutshell the basic elements and the first essentials of Sanskrit grammar which is entirely based on them. Again, as a sound knowledge of the Śabda-śāstra, which is synonymous with Vākaraṇa, is indispensable for the proper understanding of the Artha-śāstra, the chart obviously stands for the entire Sanskrit literature and the learning it represents. According to a Pāṇini legend, Mahāvīra is the originator of all literature, philosophy, etc., and he, in the beginning of the creation, propounded to the four sages, Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., the fourteen sūtras, which are the germ of all knowledge and Sabda-brāhma, and are therefore known as Māhāvīra sūtras. The word varna in its duplicate sense applying to the poets was thus obviously used by the author in its wider signification of ‘learning’.

TEXT:

[Mātrāṣa : verses 79 to 84 Śārdullavādīya ; verses 85 to 87 Anushtubḥ.]

1 — — दक्षिणातिशत्यातारम्य्विद्विदिव्योतिलिङ्गके —
2 मन्त्रमिद्विव्योतिलिङ्गके dhānuṣṭuṣṭीतिंकंतोऽन्त नासात्यायितवक्षुः[ः***]
3 कौश्यमेव प्रकृति मद्यापिनिद्वेत्तीप्रविधिमानविद्विदिव्यवनतः —
4 देव रूपं स्तातं [सामायवन्] ॥ नित्यं व्यापकमेकाकःमुवद्वलं ज्यौतिष—

**Sūtra**

1 I may also suggest that this arm of the triangle might have contained the 4 Yomas. It is worth noting that the total number of letters of the Sanskrit alphabet given in the chart is 51, whereas, according to Pāṇini, it is 53 or 64. The latter includes the 21 vowels, 25 Sparśas, 4 Antasthas, 4 Uṣmas, 4 Yomas, 4 Ayogavākas and the subṣṭiṣṭita and pata tri-bhāva, the last of them being but optional.

* From impressions. [On account of the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions of the first fragment, its text is not quoted here.—Ed.]

* The aksharas, being worn out here, are restored conjecturally.
5 यजोनिनं देवस्य नामानां नामकारणम्— पञ्(व) नति पातालिनं। साँख(०) वधांकनम् (म)—
6 कुसूरस्याय्यां चितलां तत्तौपुराणार्यां (ष) वाय परम १० [मत्रम्]—[१]
7 कृष्णमयो अनुपायम् न ब्रह्मकारहर्षम् मरणार्यम्। अत्युपश्यति नापूर्णंति
8 नापूर्णं न बालकम्। योगाध्यायिकां (ष) हिस्तुक्त्विकारः (ष) त्रिषुतविकारः
9 नापूर्णं (ष) करणं (ष) हुदि ह्यन्तु ताबज्जोयति। ततो शाम्भवम् (१०) वरायात्मिति
10 सत्तायां पुरुषस्य ब्रह्माण्डम् (ष) सीतां मनसो निरोष वदितो तोमः। स योगीस्व—
11 रातं । यति (स) संस्य (सिद्ध) विपरीतेऽधा परिनिर्भो व्यातो नेता संस्ये सुद्धे
12 कुक्त्विस्त्रायो वायुयायम् (१०)। कोक्त्विस्त्रायो वायुयायम् (१०)। कोक्त्विस्त्रायो
13 म्य (म्य) राजसायां कलुककाणकाराकारः (रुसा) प्रभु। हिस्तुक्त्विकारः (ष) त्रिषुतविकारः
14 रीष्पु (रीष्पु) खरीके वस्सो (सो) कारारमुर्गितिस्पु त्रिषुतविकारः महाकालोत्तकां सताम् (१०)
15 नेत्रं न्यातत्त्वस्य सत्त्वस्य साम्पन्नप्रत्येको कल्पनेर्विदः। कल्पनेर्विदः।
16 रेऽधा रेऽधा। ध्यायानुवर्थकान्तमितिप्रविष्कारं न्यातत्त्वस्य तदाः। भवाणसारंकरोऽसा।
17 यु ररणामोक्षकं सरि (ष) मयम् (१०)। न ध्यायानुवर्थकान्तमितिप्रविष्कारं न्यातत्त्वस्य तदाः।
18 भ भा र इ उ ऊ ऋ ख ङ ल द ठ न त प फ ब भ म य र ल व ण (ष) (ष) (ष) (ष)
19 क क क क छ क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क (ष)
20 भा र इ उ ऊ ऋ ख ङ ल द ठ न त प फ ब भ म य र ल व ण (ष) (ष) (ष) (ष)
21 भा र इ उ ऊ ऋ ख ङ ल द ठ न त प फ ब भ म य र ल व ण (ष) (ष) (ष) (ष)
22 क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क (ष)
23 उंगवादेवप्य बर्णक्या नामकारणम् (ष) कृतार्थम् (ष) भजनम् (ष) भजनम् (ष)
24 कृतार्थम् (ष) भजनम् (ष) भजनम् (ष) भजनम् (ष) भजनम् (ष)
25 उंगवादेवप्य बर्णक्या नामकारणम् (ष) कृतार्थम् (ष) भजनम् (ष) भजनम् (ष)
26 [महेश्वरस्य [तीर्थस्य] विश्वनाथस्य विश्वसनिपुष्पिकारं] (ष) [१२]
27 [उदानविधानाः बर्णक्या नामकारणम्] (ष)
28 [द्वारकायेश्वरी सुर्य कुक्त्विस्त्रायो] (ष) [१२] *[१२] [१२] *[१२] *[१२] [१२]
This consists of two parts which are engraved on two separate pillars in the Bhōjaśāla (now Kamalmaulī Mosque) at Dhār. Though lying apart from each other, they are allied inasmuch as they deal with the same subject of grammatical terminology. Judging from the two opening verses in Part I, which are identical with verses 89 and 90 of the Ujjain proṣānti edited above, this inscription can be attributed to Naravarman. The alphabetical chart in Part II is identical with its counterparts in the Ujjain and Ua inscriptions.

The inscription in Part I measures 29" high and 15" broad and, in addition to the two identical verses referred to above, contains a new chart (bandha) exhibiting 180 verbal terminations (tiś-vibhaktis) of the ten lakāras together with 16 dhātu-pratyayas. The bandha consists of the top, the middle and the bottom portions. In the top section, the inscription is very indistinct except for the initial word atā, but it has been conjecturally restored as atā tiś-vibhakti-bandha.1 The middle section is a square standing vertically on one of its angles and is divided into 180 compartments by drawing nine parallel lines one way and seventeen the other way across. The space between each pair of parallel lines is alternately closed by means of projecting loops at either end along the four sides of the square, turning the sets of parallel lines into two running spirals from end to end. Inset in the five loops and the five intervening open spaces between them, in the upper left hand arm of the square, are, respectively, the initial letters of the terms denoting the different senses in which the ten lakāras are used. Thus in their serial order the letters sa, sa, bi(ve), kya, a, pa, sa(ve), a, bha and kri respectively stand for varāmanā, sambhāvana, viḍī, hyastana-aśā, aśā-tāmāsya, parāśa, √kṣatana-bhanīśya, √ātis, bhanīśya, and kriyāitpati or kriyāśrīkrama, indicating thereby the ten lakāras, viz., laṭ, viḍī-liś, laṭ, laṇ, lań, liś, liś, aśā-liś, aśā-liś, aśā-liś, and aśā-liś. It must be noted that the order of the lakāras given here is more in accordance with the Chāndrak than with the Puṇjya school of grammarians. In the former, they are in the order of laṭ, viḍī-liś, laṇ, lań, liś, aśā-liś, laṭ, kri, liś and liś, while in the latter the order is laṭ, liś, laτ, kri, liś, aśā-liś.2 Arranged under each lakāra are 18 verbal terminations half of which are Paramānipadi and half Aśānipadi, denoted by the abbreviations Paramāsā and Aśāsā at the beginning of each division outside the lower left hand side of the square. Each pada is subdivided into three parts indicated by the akṣaras pra, ma and u, meaning respectively the Pratihāra, Madhyama and Uttama Purushas (i.e. the third, second and first persons), and the three terminations of each person are continuously numbered by putting the figures 1, 2 and 3 in the loops and the open spaces along this side of the square. In the nine loops and the nine intervening open spaces along the opposite side of the square, is repeated the figure 10 eighteen times, recording the total number of terminations in the row opposite it. Against every third line stands the figure 90 showing the total number of the three rows, against every ninth line is the bigger total 90, and finally the figure 190 at the end of the vertical row of numerals indicates the grand total number of terminations in the whole square.

The last section is triangular with looped corners and shows along its three arms enclosed by cirlse the dhātu-pratyayas, the number of which is stated inside the triangle to be 10. It is, however, difficult to find the actual number of all the pratyayas to correspond with the given figure. Their actual number including those enclosed in the circles and one inside the triangle comes to 19. But as the right hand loop of the triangle, which is now missing, must also have contained

---

1 [This restoration is doubtful, as the reading appears to be aksa ....... chōshak.——Ed.]
2 [In the Chāndrak Vyākaraṇa the lakāras are arranged according to their Sūtradrśākāra and Ardhadarśākāra divisions. Thus the first four lakāras, viz., laṭ, viḍī-liś, laṇ and liś and liś belong to the former division, and the remaining six to the latter. In the Puṇjya system they are arranged according to their liś and kri distinctions. The four lakāras given in the chart are in the same order as in the Sūtradrśākāra Sūtra, while, among the Ardhadarśākāra lakāras, the sequence is slightly confused; but that does not affect the two main divisions referred to above.]
at least three more, the total number of all the pratyayas would approximate to 22. I, however, think that what the author meant by the term pratyaya are the sin-pratyayas comprising the ten conjunctival characteristics (vikaraṇas) and the twelve sanādi-pratyayas.¹ These, leaving out their duplicates, are given along the three arms of the triangle. In the seven circles along the base of the triangle are enclosed a, ya, na, ra, sa, pa, and a, the vikaraṇas of dhatus respectively belonging to the Bhūdī, Divādī, Suśādī, Rudhādī, Tanādī, Kṛyādī and Churādī conjuctions. The Adādī, Jukhādī and Tukdādī are not included as the vikaraṇas of the former two are dropped in toto and that of the third is identical with that of the Bhūdī. On the two arms of the triangle are san, ya, ay, iya, kāmaya and aya, the characteristics of the sanādyanta verbs. The second of them (ya) stands for kyach, kyān, kyāch, ya, and yak, which, when shrump of superfluous parts, are reduced to ya. The third (ay) stands for the simplified form of piñ and piñh. Fōpi is evidently not taken into account as it is totally dropped after a verb. Thus of the twelve or ten sanādi-pratyayas only six are included in the chart. There are three more pratyayas, viz. ičh, ya in and in.² The first is enclosed in the loop at the left hand corner while the other two are inside the triangle. I am unable to find out their nature and function in relation to verbs; but, if they are added to the 13 pratyayas referred to above, the total number 16 is completed. Of the three circles round the loop, the middle one is inscribed with the word kridanta or kridartho and probably refers to the two krit-pratyayas in the adjoining circles, which are an and anu. Both, being krit-pratyayas, were probably not included in the total, and, for the same reason, those in the right hand loop, which is now missing, were also not taken into account.

C. Un Inscription

This inscription is in three parts. Part I comprising five pieces contains the Varga-nāga-kripānādi-bandha which is identical with that found in the other two inscriptions already dealt with. This is inscribed on the wall to the proper left of a shrine door at Un. Part II is engraved on a wall of the Chaukara Dera No. 1, facing south, and contains in five lines the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. Part III, whose exact position in the temple is not given, bears the stanza noticed previously in connection with inscription A (verse 85).

The stone slab bearing this inscription appears to be of coarse grain with the surface extremely corroded, rendering the letters very faint and blurred. In style the characters are similar to those on the other two allied inscriptions, but in this case they are larger, averaging about an inch in size. Consequently, the chart covers a larger space measuring about 40 feet high by 36 feet broad. The pentagonal top of the dagger and the upper part of the serpentine loop are extremely blurred and the portions of the alphabet and the grammatical terminology inscribed therein are lost. But the same can be restored with certainty from the identical charts on the other two inscriptions. Close to the left hand barb of the blade is a rough figure of a fish or conch shell (śālaḥ), which is a peculiar feature of this inscription.

¹ According to the Pāṇiniya system, the sanādi-pratyayas are twelve as given below—
   san-kṛyach-kamya-kṛyach-kṛyendra-kṛyasadra-kṛyaci-yamun-tathā
   yajñya kṛya śānti sānti śudākarmi san-adayaḥ

   According to the Čandāla system, they are known as yashādi and are ten as follows—
   yajña shrīmayya śānti śānti yajñya-nīnānāntathā

   nāmaḥ kṛyadātaḥ yajñya śānti daka yas-adayaḥ

² It is difficult to say if the first two pratyayas (ičh and ya) are the same as mentioned in Pāṇini’s aphorisms citīkṣaḥ and kṣāntoḥ astrodhānattāḥ. The third (an) could be piñh; but as it is a krit-pratyaya it would be difficult to include it among the sin-pratyayas.
No. 5—SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA

(1 Plate)

M. G. DIEKSHIT, SANGOR, AND D. C. SIRCAR, OCTACAMUND

The stone bearing the inscription under publication was found in the house of a Brahmana resident of Senakapat, a village in the forest area on the right bank of the Mahanadi, about two miles to the south of Sirpur (ancient Sripura, capital of Daksha-Kosala) in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed stone is reported to have been brought from the ruins in the western part of the village, which contains two big Siva-liṅgas, each about 2½ feet in height, apparently marking the sites of two temples. To which one of these temples the inscription originally belonged cannot be determined. The stone is now preserved in the Museum attached to the Saugor University.

The inscription is incised on a large well-dressed slab of Vindhyan sandstone, rectangular in shape and reddish buff in colour. It is about 30 inches in length, 18 inches in height and 3 inches in thickness. The slab is broken into two unequal sections which, however, dovetail into each other quite well. A letter or two which are damaged in most of the lines of writing can be fairly satisfactorily made out in almost all cases. Only a few such aksaras have to be restored with the help of the context. On the whole, the preservation of the record is not unsatisfactory. The inscription consists of 23 lines of writing which is divided into two sections. The first of these sections runs from the beginning to line 17 and the second from line 18 to the end (line 23).

The characters belong to the Northern Alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A.D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary stone inscriptions discovered in the neighbourhood, particularly the inscriptions of the time of the king during whose reign the present epigraph was also engraved. The record employs the initial vowels a (lines 7, 10, 11, 21), ā (lines 10, 13, 20, 21), i (lines 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15), u (lines 1, 23) and ū (line 23). In some cases, there is little difference between the signs of medial u and subscript n (cf. sānu and aṁati in line 23). The medial sign of ā is differently made sometimes as a śīrō-māṭrā, but sometimes as a prīṣṭha-māṭra (cf. udālās in line 1, śāmyās in line 2, etc.). The letter n has two forms (cf. sāmānas and nikhalas in line 12), one of which resembles in some cases a form of r (cf. ripa in lines 2-3, bhara-nirbhāra in line 11) and in a few cases also of t (cf. pravrūtai in line 11, nirvirī-dhauṣā in line 21). The letter b has been indicated by the sign of v. The conjunct ry exhibits both its earlier and later forms (cf. vr=yasya in line 12 and vr=yagasya in line 18). For the final form of some consonants, cf. sāmyak in line 10 and māṁ in line 23. The first and second halves of stanzas are marked respectively by a single and double danda, of which the former as well as the left side member of the latter has a small projection in the middle towards the left.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory maṅgala, the whole record is written in verse. There are altogether 30 stanzas in various metres. As regards orthography, it may be noted that final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses has invariably been changed to mumāra. Before ā, the mumārā has been changed to ā (cf. śīthā in line 3, etc.). The inscription bears no date. But the king, during whose

reign it was incised, seems to have ruled about the first half of the seventh century, although there is difference of opinion among scholars on this point.1

The object of the inscription is to enulogise the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication in favour of a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of land. It begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the mangala : namāḥ Śivāya. Verse 1 constitutes a mangala in praise of the god Bhava (Śiva) and verse 2 of his consort the goddess Pārvatī. The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the reigning monarch Śivagupta described as a member of Śītāsena-vanāsa (i.e. the lunar dynasty) and a devotee of the god Śiva. This king, sometimes called Mahi Śivagupta, belonged to the royal family, usually called the Pāṇdu-vanāsa of South Kosalā, and is well-known from several inscriptions of his time. Verse 4 mentions the king by his second name Bālārjuna and represents him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note that the Śaiva notion of Viṣṇu's subservience to Śiva has been cleverly put forward in this stanza. In this connection we have further to note that Śivagupta Bālārjuna enjoyed the epithet paramamāhāsvara and had the Viṣṇu emblem of the bull on his seal while the seal of his ancestor (grandfather's brother) Tivara (circa 565-80 A.D.)2, who was a paramanuśīvar, bore the Viṣṇuva pavement of Garuḍa.3

Verses 5-12 introduce the person, the description of some of whose pious activities is the object of the record. Verse 5 speaks of a Brāhmaṇa named Śivarakhita who enjoyed the status of a Rājau and seems to have been the governor of a tract called Nāvyast-viṣhayas. Dēvarakhoti, son of the said Śivarakhita, is mentioned in verse 6 which further says that the former was a trusted friend of king Nannarāja. This king appears to be none other than Śivagupta Bālārjuna's great-grandfather bearing that name.4 The following stanza (verse 7) states how Dēvarakhoti obtained, apparently from king Nannarāja, the governorship of the Vindhyān territory (Vīndhyān-dhūr-dharatru) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (Varadā-taṭa-parikhatu) and how he became well-known as Yaśōbhāpandgāra (literally, 'a store-house of fame'). The description of Dēvarakhoti is continued in verse 8 which says how no change for the worse was noticeable in him even when he had received, from the same 'king of kings' named Nannarāja, a number of viṣhayas or districts either as a gift or for governing them. Verse 9 introduces Dēvarakhoti's son Durgarakhita who is the hero of the ology contained in the inscription under study. The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) state that Durgarakhita was the bee at the feet, i.e. a servant, of king Bālārjuna and that he was a great devotee of Paramāśvara or Śambhu, i.e. the god Śiva. Verse 12 recounts the good qualities of Durgarakhita, his munificence in particular. Verse 13 states how he constructed a temple of Śambhu (Śiva), while the next stanza (verse 14) refers to a row of flags on wooden posts probably set up around it. According to verse 15, two kāla measures of black-soil land in the village called Guḍāmarakara were granted in favour of the god Madanāśītī (Śiva) by means of a charter. This plot of land seems to be mentioned as the tala-pāako of the temple in verse 26 below. The exact area of a kāla of land is difficult to determine; but it seems that originally indicated an area that can be cultivated by a single plough annually. The temple mentioned here apparently stood at modern Senakarāp. The following three stanzas (verses 16-18) introduce a Śaiva ascetic to whom the said temple was made

---

2 New History of the Indian People, op. cit., p. 70.
3 The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), pp. 229-22.
4 There was another Nannarāja who was a feudatory and son-in-law of the Pāṇḍuvatī king Tivara, son of Nana (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.). But Dēvarakhoti's overlord must have been a much bigger ruler. After the present article was sent to the press, we have heard of the discovery of a grant of Tivara's son Nannarāja II who, however, may have ruled for a short period and may not have been as powerful a ruler as his grandfather Nannarāja I. A small red-stone seal of one Nannarāja was discovered at Sirpur in February 1956; but his identity is uncertain.
over by Durgarakhita. Verse 16 speaks of the ascetic Sadyahavicharya hailing from the penance-grove entitled Amardaka. Another ascetic named Sadayativacharya, who was probably the spiritual successor of Sadyahavicharya, is mentioned in verse 17 and his description continues in the following stanza (verse 18). Verse 19 states that Durgarakhita made over the Siva temple built by him in favour of Sadayativacharya and his spiritual successor for enjoying and protecting it as long as the moon would endure. It is stated in verse 20 that the Siva ascetic also received the grant of four kala measures of black-soil land in a village called Kogadima. According to the next two stanzas (verse 21-22), two other plots of black-soil land each measuring two kulas were similarly granted in his favour respectively in the village of Vijayaka and in a locality called Lasta in Sriparmaragrama.

The second part of the inscription begins with verse 22 in line 18. This stanza and the following one (verse 23) say that the Siva ascetics had to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (y aga) as well as for the initiation of people into the Siva faith (diksha) which is capable of securing spiritual emancipation, the exposition of the Siva doctrine (samayasya vesahyam) and the running of a free feeding establishment (annaya sutram) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Ashadhya, Kartikya and Maha. Verse 24 states that the ascetics would have to stay at the place (i.e. in the temple) and that they should not lend money for the sake of interest (vidhayartham-arthat-asrirdadya). The next two stanzas (verses 25-26) record the boundary of the tala-patika, possibly land attached to a temple for its maintenance at the time of its consecration. Tala-patika seems to be the same as tala-vatika of some records and tala-vriti of Kannada inscriptions. To the north of the tala-patika lay a pit and to its south the Sivasamudra, probably a tank. The eastern and western boundaries were formed by two roads. Verse 27 says that intelligent people should note the insecurity of life and protect the good work done by others, while the next stanza (verse 28) contains the prayer that the temple of Bhava (Siva) may last till the end of creation.

The last two stanzas (verses 29-30) of the inscription give the names of the author of the eulogy and the engraver of the record. The author of the prastati was Sumaagal, who was the son of Ttradatta and apparently a servant or friend of Durgarakhita, while the engraver of the inscription was Vasuga, son of the sauradhr (i.e. sauradhara) Rishiga. The poet Sumaagal is known to have been the author of some other inscriptions of the time of Sivagupta Balajuna. Rishiga is also known from another inscription.

There are two points of considerable importance in the inscription under study. The first of these is that, while the Brhamana Dvararakhita is represented as a contemporary of the Pandavamati king Namratha, the former's son Durgarakhita is stated to have been a servant of the latter's great-grandson Sivagupta Balajuna. Namratha's son was Chandragupta and grandson Harshagupta who was the father of Sivagupta Balajuna. It therefore seems that the reign of no less than four generations of the above Pandavamati kings roughly corresponded to the two generations of their successors. Sivagupta Balajuna issued his Lohia plates in the 57th year of his reign. He therefore had a very long reign and must have ascended the throne at a quite young age. These facts suggest that the Pandavamati rulers who flourished between Namratha and Sivagupta Balajuna, viz. (1) Tivara and (2) Chandragupta, sons of Namratha, and (3) Harshagupta, son of Chandragupta, had very short reigns. The latest known date of Tivara is his

3 Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 98; cf. also p. 91. The recently discovered Siipur inscription of the time of Sivagupta Balajuna was also composed by Sumaagal.
4 Hiralal, loc. cit.
5 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319 ff.
ninth regnal year; but very little is known about Chandragupta and Harshagupta, none of whose records has so far been discovered. Whether they actually ascended the Paṇḍuvahāsi throne and ruled for very short periods or ruled parts of South Kossa as viceroys of Tivara is not definitely known. The contemporaneity of Namnārāja and Devarakshita as well as of the former's great-grandson and the latter's son suggests that Śivagupta Bālārjuna ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Tivara's death.

Another interesting point is that Devarakshita, a subordinate of the Paṇḍuvahāsi king Namnārāja of South Kossa, is stated to have been ruling over the Vindhyān region as far as the banks of the Varadā, i.e. the modern Wardha which is a tributary of the Godavari. This seems to support the suggestion; based on the evidence of the Bhāndak inscription, that Namnārāja's dominions included the area about the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh. An inscription from Bhāndak situated on the bank of the Wardha in the Chanda District describes Namnārāja as having 'conquered the earth' and his younger brother Bhavadēva, also called Rājakēṣarī and Chintādurga, who was probably one of Nanna's military governors in the Chanda region, as having restored a decried Buddhist temple originally built by Suryaghośa, an ancient king of that area. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, however, believed that the Chanda District was rather far removed from the dominions of the Paṇḍuvahāsi of South Kossa in the Chhattisgarh area and tried to prove that the Bhāndak inscription, now in the Nagpur Museum, did not originally belong to that place but came from Arang near Sirpur. In support of this view, Mirashi cited the evidence of a certain Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar, who was an employee of Jenkins, Resident of Nagpur, and is reported to have seen an inscription of Bhavadēva affixed to a temple at Arang. Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Paṇḍuvahāsi existed at Arang, its identification with the Bhāndak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar about the Arang inscription especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndak as the provenance of the record. The evidence of the present record showing that Namnārāja's dominions included certain areas on the banks of the Varadā now renders Mirashi's speculation absolutely unnecessary.

The inscription mentions several geographical names. The temple, to which the inscription refers, and to which it must have been fixed, was built at the present village of Sēnakapāṭ, and the pieces of land, granted in favour of the temple as well as to the Śiva ascetics to whom it was made over, appear to have lain not far away from the temple. The plots of gift land were situated, each in the villages of Guḍaśarkara, Kōḍāmā, Vīṇaśaka and Lāṭa in Sirarpikā. In the neighbourhood of Sirpur there are several villages called Sāikrā, a name having some resemblance to Guḍaśarkara of our inscription. But while Guḍaśarkara seems to have been situated on or near the site of modern Sēnakapāṭ, the nearest village called Sāikrā lies about 13 miles due west of Sirpur. About 2 miles further to the south-west there is a village called Kōşā which may be the same as Kōḍāmā mentioned in our record. The Navaśī viśaya, Vindhyā and Varadā are mentioned in the prakāśi portion. We are not in a position to locate Navaśī although it may have been an area within or near about South Kossa. Whether Navaśī has anything to do with Sanskrit maṃśi, in the sense of an administrative unit consisting of 60 villages can hardly be determined. Another geographical name in this part is the penance-grove called Amardaka, where the Śiva ascetic Sadyāṅgāvācharya originally resided. Amardaka, which is the name of Kāla-Bhairava, a form of Śiva, was probably derived from the locality where the Bhairava.
was worshipped. A sect of Śaiva ascetics, associated with the same locality, is known from the Hadda (Saurashtra) plates of Śaka 336. Apparently the same place is mentioned as Āmaradaka-ūrtha in the Rajagorah (Alwar District, Rajasthan) inscription of V. S. 1016. The name of a Śaiva ascetic is given as Āmaradakārthavānātha in a record from Ranod (old Gwalior State, Madhya Bharat). It is not possible to determine the exact location of Āmaradaka in the present state of insufficient information.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 24, 29 Vasantaśākṣa; verse 2 Sragdhara; verses 5, 6, 12 Śāradāvīrājā; verses 7, 18, 21, 27-28, 30 Āryā; verse 14 Mālīni; verses 15-17, 20 22-23, 25-26 Amrutiḥā.]

1 Siddhāṃ namaḥ Śivāya || Udvedān-āthbhara-nirbhara-hasta-shaṇḍa-chaṇḍ-ābhighāta-rabhās-ṭpala(ta)j-adri-jālaḥ || yaḥ kandēkair-iva kṛit-āṭula-ṭaśa-kāra-ṭaṭā-ṃritṛ v(a)bh-bhau sa bhavabhūd-bhayatdha-bhavō vah || [*] Nirdaghhō̄-py-stra nē-


6 Śrī-Dvārakāhita iti pratitaḥ prithivyaṁ(ya)ṃ || Śrī-Nannarāja iti gita-tanōr-nimāṣaya viśvās-bhūṃivr-ya yō ārajya-ōpamāmānā || [6*] Ye Vindhyā-dhūr-ddhri(ddh)ratvam Var[da]t-tata-parihataṃ(tam) cha samprāyaḥ cha samprāptaṃ-vain [a] Yaśōbhaḍḍāgār-ākhyayaḥ khyā-


---

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 190.
4 From impressions.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 Read Śrīmāmā-yaṃ-yaṃ.
10. nyanair-atinākhalair-tyō vāryō vilākayati Śambhumayiṁ trilokiṁ(km) || [11*] Artih- 
[n]a] mahaśi dharmyāsa vṛddhiḥ kṛpiṭaḥ || atmiyair-atinākhalair-avirālaṁ-jē-
11. ghyāmānair-guṇāir-asokhīatra-as[pi] sarvavātāh pravīṣitaṁ-gūriṭāḥ mēdinī || [12*] Tēn- 
āta-dāyātanaṁ-āyata-bhakti-pūrṇa-sampūrṇa-ā[t]jībhaṁ-nirbhaya-bhāva-bhāṣā | anta-
rguṭā-ālūpa-Mahēśvara-rūpa-ra-
12. myaṁ-ātūm-āpāminam-āsmānān-akāri Śambhūḥ || [13*] Prāhalaṁ-avantipālaṁ sarvavā-
ma-āsmāt-āsmānaṁ subham-āsuddhatikām nīśa[laṁ] tāt-kuṭuddhaṁ(dhyāna) || iti gāditaṁ-iv-āvchair-yaśaya śaṁty-ōpāṭobbā 
13. bhavati pavana-pāt-aṇḍola-loṭā dhvaj-āli || [14*] Guṇḍāsṛkaraka-grāmē [ā]sanēn-ōpā-
[dītaḥ] | dīv-ḥalī Madanātēr-aṭtra kṛṣṇa-pāt-tānviṭā || [15*] Āśīn-Sadyahāśīcharīyaḥ 
ārīmān-varyaṁ-
14. a-tapōvaṁtaṁ || īrīmad-Āśrāmdaka-khyāṭi-tapōvane-viprīgataṁ || [16*] Śrīmān-
Sādāvīcā[h]yāmas-tasyā-sātī śutūbhāga-bhuvī || bhāṭṛī prāṣṭāśyā-sūkasā-ōlakaṁ śama-
ṛīrīṣīm(āṁ) || [17*] Yo raviṁ-ānyō mā-
15. nō rāṣṭa jagaṭītās-ṣta-maṭāpaḥ | dān-ōday[ē]-py-amandānāh bhīdānaṁ-jāṣāna-timī-
ram-ālāḥ(tam) || [18*] [Tājye]sa(mai) tad-āyatanam-aprīptam-ādarēna śrī-Durgga-
raṣikita itī prathitēna tēṇaḥ śāhya-prāṣṭāśyā-pa-
16. rīpā-saṁśa bhōkūṭum-ā-hnandā-kālam-anupaltayituṁ cha samyaḥ || [19*] Tasya kriṣṇa-
tal-pōṭānā śāsanaṁ prakalpitam(tam) | Kōḍātīm-ākhyāyā khyāṭe grāmō dvi-hallī-
dvayam(āṁ) || [20*] Grāmī Viśya-
17. kā-khyāyā d[ī]va[la] ḍvīhālī tathā sa-kriṣṇa-talaḥ | śāsana-viḍhīnaṁ vihiṁ Lātā Śrīparambhā-
grāmē || [21*] 
18. Ābhākhe Kārtikē māsē Māghē cha prativatsaraṁ(rām) | Purṇamassayaṁ viḍhātvyō 
viḍhiṁ-yāgaṁ yata[naṁ] || [22*] Nirvāṇa-(dajka)śa-dīkhayā vyākhyāyāṁ samayaṁ
cyā cha | aṭtram-aṭtra 
19. viḍhāṇyaṁ-anasaya cha tapōdhanaḥ || [23*] Viḍdhyārtham-aṭtham-asprāṭaṁ-
rōṣhair-ś-ōpadeśa-kūsālaṁ kūsālaṁ suṣīcāhu | sthēyaṁ tapasvibhāga-īha prāṣam-āpti-
dipti-dipti-ātmabhāga-gurṛu-day-ārdra-
20. manō-manōjāśaḥ || [24*] Ā[-chobhajumva]nā-mayō gārtāṁ-uttarā-sāmāśritāṁ(tāṁ) | 
yāvach-Chhivasamudraṁ cha daksināyaṁ diśi sthīraṁ(rām) || [25*] Pūrva-pa-
śchina-(d)jīghābaṁ-hāggī-śāmṛṣṭām-dvāvātih | talapāṭaka ity-ēśā 
21. sthirā-[trā] niṣyājitaḥ || [26*] Āyur-vvāya-viḍail niṣyājītṛi-dhanaṁ cāvavu(bu)dhyā 
vu(bu)dhi-dhanaiḥ | ādubh-chhichhichhuḥ-diśikā-kāmāṁ pāyaṁ cha kriṭmaṁ-
aparaṁ || [27*] Asana-samāra-smāraṇa-[ra]pad-ambhō-ṃbōhi-pūra-parī-
22. pūrṇam[śa]mn | na bhavati yāvad-bhuvanaḥ Bhava-bhuvanaṁ tāvad-idam-śāṭaṁ-
(stām) || [28*] Śrī-Durggarasṭhita-guṇ-ūkṣhaṇa-tathaśa-[t]dyad-ānanda-pūrṇa-paripūrṇa-
chittā-ṛi[t]dhāḥ | śrī-Tārakāṭa-tanayāḥ śruta-viśrūta-śriṁ Śrīmān[Śu]managā-
23. la imām-sūrāṭ-prāśasṭiṁ(stuṁ) || [29*]śīrīhīṇa-gām[ṇaṁ] śūnāḥ sūtraṇdhṛataḥ sahas-
karmam-kriṭi-kṛitināḥ | udakāṇḍa-imān prāśasṭiṁ Viṣaṅga[29] guṇa-gaṇ-ōnattīmān
||[30*]||

1 The intended reading may be kṛpā-vilōbhāti used in the sense of 'the bestowing of kindness'.
2 The writing ends about the middle of the line, the rest of which remains blank.
3 Space for about six aksaras remains blank at the beginning of this line.
4 The reading of the aksaras within brackets as well as the meaning of the word is uncertain.
5 Between the double dandas there is a symbol resembling the aksara lha. CL. Naishadhatuśastra, XVI, 99, 
sp. above Vol. XXX., p. 218 and note 2.
No. 6—MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II
(3 Plates)

V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS

These copper plates were, it is said, dug up somewhere in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District, and kept as a treasure-trove by the Sub-Collector of Bezwada, by whom they were sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The record is registered as No. 1 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917. A summary of its contents has been published at pp. 117-18 (pars. 24) of the same Report.\(^1\) I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, who placed inked impressions of the plates at my disposal.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy describes the plates thus: "They are five plates with high rims, measuring 9\(\frac{1}{2}\)" x 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)", and are strung on a ring which had not been cut when the plates reached me. The edges of the ring are deeply set in an ornamental base supporting a circular seal whose rim all round is shaped like a lotus creeper with a full-blow lotus proceeding from one of its ends and represented flat on the surface of the seal. To the proper right of this lotus is an elephant-goad (aśkara), and above these symbols is the legend Śri-Tiruvahumānukusā in Chālukya characters. Above the legend is the running boar facing the proper left, flanked by the sun and the moon and two chauris."

The inscription consisting of 67 lines is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the other four plates. The writing is on the whole well preserved; but there is difficulty in deciphering it in several places on account of defects in the plates, the mistakes and omissions of the engraver, and the corrupt language of the composition itself. The script is of the usual Vēṣagī type of the tenth century A.D. The jhūmālīgya is found in line 61; the initial ४ in lines 27, 40, 56; ऑ in line 67; ऋ in line 60 and न in line 59. The anusvāra is marked sometimes at the top of the letter, but more often after it (e.g. line 42). Medial ॐ is usually marked on the top of an aṅkaśa or as in sū in sēnaḥpati (line 33), but sometimes below as in ī in kaustubha (line 41). Examples of final ं are found in lines 31 and 47. Final ं occurs in lines 17, 30, etc. The letter न occurs in line 41, and द in line 13. A consonant with ṛpha is invariably doubled as in brahmacharyya in line 52, etc. The language is Sanskrit except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries, which are in Telugu. The composition is in prose, interspersed with a few verses in the Anuvāka and other metres, which are not free from flaws. The expression is faulty in many places and even obscure at times. There is not much to say about orthography. In kauṣṭha-daṣā in line 53, the anusvāra is changed into class nasal.

The document opens with a verse in praise of Vīṣṇu and the usual praśasti of the Eastern Chālukya. Lines 7 to 21 give a list of 21 kings from Kubja Vīṣṇuvarthaṇa to Yuddhamalla II, allotting to some of them the number of regnal years differing from other records. This portion also throws some light on the war between the main line and the collateral line of Yuddhamalla. In line 21 a verse begins abruptly in the middle of the prose passage and states that Bhima III, son of Vīṣṇudītya IV, destroyed the Yuddhamalla branch and ruled for twelve years. This is followed by another verse which states that Bhima was succeeded by his son Ammanarāja II (Vīṣṇudītya VI) and that he, after a rule of eleven years, proceeded to the Kālīga country on account of the anger of Krishna (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III) and that, in consequence of this, his half-brother (deśamātava), Dīnākaraṇa, came to rule over the land after obtaining it

\(^1\) The information furnished by this record has been utilized by subsequent writers on the subject; cf. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas* (1937), pp. 86 ff.; Venkataramanamaya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṣag* (1960), pp. 31 ff. etc.—Ed.

(37)
from Vallabha (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king). The next two verses dwell upon Dānārāṇya's virtue as a ruler. In the middle of line 50 begins the prose passage dealing with the actual donation.

The charter records the gift, at the instance of a feudatory chief named Kākātyya Gūḍyana, of the village of Māṅgallu in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dommana. It is addressed by king Ammaṇarāja II (Vijayādiyā Vi) to the householders headed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the Nātvāḍi district and the Mantri, Purūṣā, Sāṇāpi, Ṭuvāḷa and other members of the eighteen śīthās.1 Kākātyya Guḍyana is described as bora in the family of Śāmanṭa Vudī. Judging from the description, Śāmanṭa Vudī appears to have been an eminent chief of an early generation. His descendant, Gūḍyā-rāṣṭrakūṭa, seems to have rendered great service to the Chālukya king. His son Eṛiya-rāṣṭrakūṭa was a forest of enemies and an expert in the management of horses. His son by Vandyanāmba was the above Gūḍyana, at whose request the grant was made.

The grantee, Dommana, was the grandson of Chidāmaṇya of the Kutsa gātra, who is described as the foremost of scholars and a resident of the village of Vēḷāpśru. He was the son, by Māčha-nāmba, of śrīdhara who proved true to his name by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the god śrīdhara (i.e. Vishṇu). Dommana pursued the path of the virtuous, enjoined in the Śruti and the Purāṇas, and was loved by good people. For the merit of Kākātyya Gūḍyana and with a view to secure his favour, Dommana observed the Kapāṭāvata which included early bath, continence, truthfulness and other vows.2 In return for this, Dommana was rewarded with the village of Māṅgallu, which was made a tax-free agrākūṭa, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana of a particular year which are not specified. As the boundaries of the villages are then specified. As the order was addressed to the people of Nātvāḍi-viśṇya (lines 31-32), it is obvious that the gift village was situated in that vīṣṇya.

The record throws some light on the civil wars between the main branch and the Yuddhamallā line from the time of Vijayādiyā V onwards. It is a known fact that this monarch ruled for only a fortnight in 925 A.D.,3 and that he was ejected by Tāḷaṇa (Tāḷaṇa, Tāḷaṇa, Tāḷaṇa), the son of Yuddhamallā I of the collateral line. According to some inscriptions, Bēṭa (Vijayādiyā V) was anointed as a mere child, being invested with a kapīṭhaki.4 The Malivapūṇḍī, Vīnālāpaṇḍī, and Kalucumbāṛa grants clearly mention the tender age of Vijayādiyā V when he was deposed by Tāḷaṇa. Another version5 records his being attacked and imprisoned by Tāḷaṇa. That Bēṭa did not die young is, however, clear from the fact6 that he was the progenitor of a line of chiefs who, centuries later, ruled in the Vēṇgi country. We can explain these conflicting views by assuming that Bēṭa came to the throne when he was a child, that advantage was taken of this by Tāḷaṇa to depose and imprison him, and that he was a prisoner perhaps in the years which followed, and in which Tāḷaṇa, Vikramādiyā II (926 A.D.), Bhīma II (926-27 A.D.), Yuddhamallā II (927-34 A.D.) and Chālukya Bhīma III (usually called Bhīma II, 934-45 A.D.) struggled and ruled respectively for one month, one year or eleven months, eight months, seven years, and twelve years.

---

1 For the eighteen śīthās, see the Kauṭāyya Amrāśhā, L. 12; cf. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Part II pp. 133-34.
2 The Raddaratnāvali describes a kapaṭāṭ as a bhāṭaka and as maṇīṇa-viśvasa-khṛṣṭaśāhārīn.
3 [The dates given in this article for the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya princes generally follow Fleet's chronological scheme.—Ed.]
4 For the significance of the kapīṭhaki as a juvenile ornament, see above, Vol. V, p. 138, n. 2.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 226 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 186, text line 26.
8 Cf. the Gondalagolanu grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 248).
9 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 226-42. It is a record of Mallappa III from Pithapirum. According to Kielhorn, it is dated the 16th June, 1202 A.D.
If Bëta was a child at the beginning of this period, he would have been about twenty-two years of age at the time of the death of Bhima III in 945 A.D. He does not seem to have been favoured by circumstances to come to the throne of his uncle, Bhima III, in the face of his cousin Amma II (Vijayāditya VI, 945-70 A.D.). It is probable that Bëta died within the first twelve years (945-57 A.D.) of the reign of Amma II; for, had he lived in 957 A.D., he would naturally have become the regent of the kingdom instead of Dānārāja who, as we understand from the present record, was in charge of it on account of the misfortune that fell upon his half-brother Amma II. This seems to be the only way in which we can explain Bëta’s accession in 925 A.D., his deposition as a child, and his leaving a line of descendants. The present record, which miscalls him Bëka, does not refer to his tender age at his accession.

The inscription gives some more details about the civil war between the two lines (lines 19-21). It says that, after Vikramāditya II had vanquished Tālapa I and ruled for a year, the land was usurped for seven years by the forces of the Sāmentas (feudatories), Saharas, Vaiśākha (i.e. Rasṭrakūṭa Govinda IV) and others. And that, in the midst of this chaos, Mallapa (i.e. Yuddhamalla II) established himself as the ruler. The Bexwada pillar inscription, says that the new king called himself Rāja, Rājaśraya and Satyāntra. In some records, Yuddhamalla II is mentioned immediately after Tālapa. This is perhaps due to the reluctance on the part of the Yuddhamalla line to recognise the main line. Similarly, the name of Yuddhamalla II is left out in some records, though he ruled for seven years. This again is possibly due to the reluctance on the part of the main line to recognise the rival junior line. Partisan records are intentionally defective and omit the names of the victorious rivals.

In 933-34 A.D. Yuddhamalla II was overthrown by Chālukya Bhima III, an achievement which made the admirers of the court hail him as ‘the purifier of the east’ and as ‘the expeller of darkness in the form of Rāṣṭrakūṭa troops’. Yuddhamalla, who seems to have depended on the Rāṣṭrakūtas, apparently died fighting, and his two sons, Bāḍapa and Tālapa (Tāla II Vījauvardhana), had to flee to the Rāṣṭrakūta court. It was to the great credit of Chālukya Bhima that he behaved like a true pacifier. From the records of Amma II we infer that Bhima consolidated the state not only by removing the enemies of peace, but also by his consideration for the vanquished and his levy of moderate taxation. He ruled for twelve years.

In 940 A.D. Amma II (Vijayāditya VI), the son of Chālukya Bhima III by Lokāmbikā, came to the throne. His accession took place in Śaka 887, Mārgaśīrṣa 13, Friday, corresponding to the 5th December 945 A.D. He was then twelve years of age, and he had been crowned four years earlier. Amma II is stated to have been born with a tissue round his neck which resembled a karpāṭikā (ornament for the neck), and crowned at the express request of all people. ‘This seems to indicate that, though but a boy, Amma II was chosen as king in preference to his half-brother Dānārāja who was the elder of the two. We can explain this choice of the younger brother into the plausible ground that Dānārāja’s mother, Aḍkīdevī, was inferior in rank to Lokāmbikā. As for Dānārāja, he seems to have acquiesced in the arrangement and even carried on the administration in his brother’s name.

The present record says that, after ruling for eleven years (945-956 A.D.), Amma II proceeds to the Kālīga country on account of the anger of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa III. We know that, by 957-58 A.D., the Rāṣṭrakūta king occupied a large part of the Chōla territory in the south and

---

2 E. g., the Pāṇasvaran plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213).
4 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 222 ff.
5 A. R. Ep., 1917-18, C. P. No. 5.
6 The expression Kṛṣṇa-kṛṣṇā has been interpreted as 'in wrath against Kṛṣṇa' (see A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 117). But it is better to translate it as 'on account of Kṛṣṇa's anger'.
was engaged in extensive operations in the north and defied the Gurgara-Pratiharas of Kausavya and the rulers of Chhedi, Vidarbha, Vângâ and Kâlîgâ. His campaign against Vângâ was part of this comprehensive design. It has been suggested that Yuddhamalla’s sons were refugees at his court and suppliants for his favour against Amma II. It is very probable that, invited by Yuddhamalla’s sons, possibly by the Kâlîgâ rulers, and by his own insatiable ambition, Krishna III invaded Vângâ in or a little before 956 A.D. Amma II had either to go against him on an offensive campaign into Kâlîgâ, or, what is equally possible, he was defeated by the aggressor and even taken as a prisoner to his camp. A scrutiny of the known facts seems to support the theory that Amma II was, for the moment, more a victim than retaliator of Krishna’s anger.

The present record next states that Amma’s half-brother, Dânârâvâva obtained the country from Vallabha, i.e. Krishna III, and ruled the kingdom according to Manu’s principles. It does not say how Dânârâvâva acquired the kingdom from the Bâhaârakûta ruler. But from the fact that Dânârâvâva carried on the administration and made the present grant in the name of his brother, it is obvious that he was not a rival to the latter. As has been already suggested, Krishna III might have held Amma II as a prisoner for the time being and allowed his half-brother, either for the sake of diplomacy or owing to the pressure of arms, to rule in his name. It was while Dânârâvâva was the regent for Amma II that this grant was issued.

It is difficult to say how long Dânârâvâva administered the kingdom for the sake of his brother, and when the latter resumed his direct rule. All the records of the dynasty agree that Amma’s rule lasted for 35 years and therefore he died in 970 A.D. Dânârâvâva obviously succeeded him then as the sole sovereign and ruled for three years (970-73 A.D.).

As regards the gift village of Mângallu, it has been suggested that it was either Mâgallu or Maâgollu in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District. Kopâru forming its northern boundary seems to be the modern village of the same name in the same Taluk. Nandigama was a strategic area which played a big part in history. Through the area west of the Kondapalli range and between Berwada and Sattinenapalle passed the highway from the coast to Hyderabad and it formed the heart of the Nâtvâdi country. This area, which abounds in pre-historic remains and Buddhist associations, became in later times a stronghold of Purânic Hinduism and the fighting ground between the Kânâda and Telugu kings. The Nâtvâdi feudatories had close relations with either of the two parties.

TEXT

[Meters: verses 1, 3, 12-22 Anuvâsana; verse 2 Āryâvâra; verse 4 Sragâhara; verse 5 Śandâvarā; verse 6, 10-11 Upanava; verse 7 Āryâ; verse 8 Vasantatilaka; verse 9 Indra-vaîrâ; verse 23 Śâkî.]

First Plate


---

2 Above, Vol. IV, p. 228.

3 In A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 118, the expression under reference appears to have been read as ‘anuvâsatâ and translated, with his (brother’s) consent’, but the original is clearly sauti Manûyât.".

4 In A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 118, [Manûyât stated to be situated SW of the village granted, in evidently Maniyâr of the modern maps. The village granted would therefore appear to be Mâgallu and not Maâgollu since the former lies close to the river on its east as indicated in the inscription while the latter lies about 10 miles west of the river.—Ed.]

5 From impressions.

6 Here and elsewhere the letter dhu resembles so.
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE I

Scale two third
2 yinē [1 1°] Svasti [1°] Śrī(Śrī)matāṁ sakala-bhū(ḥḥh)vana-saṁstvayamāna-Ma(Mā)navya-
sagatūkha[r.][1°] Hāriḥ(ṛṛ)ti(tti).- 
3 putrakāṁ Kauśika(śi) varṣa-prasad(sā) de-labdhha-rājyānām-Mātrigāṣa-paripālitanāṁ sv(asvā)-
mi.- 
4 Mahāśeņa-pād-ānu(dhyā) tānāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samyā(mā)sādi.- 
5 ta-vara-Varāha-lāṃche(ohha)n-ekhaṇa-khaṇa-vaśi(śi) kṛiti-ārūti-maṇḍalānām-Āsvamedhā.- 
6 vabhrīthā-srīna-pavitri(trī) kṛita-vapūshāṁ Chālukyaṁānāṁ kulam-alaṁkarig(aḥno)e-Sarh-
(= Sa)tyārasya-ve. 
7 labh-āndrasya [prastā Kubja-Vishṇuḥśūvi-Satyārasya-vallebh-āndrasya] bhrātā Kubja-
Vishṇuvoddha(rddha).- 

Second Plate, First Side

8 nō[no]-ṣeṭādā-sā-varṣaḥ Vēṃgḍēm-[papā]layat | Tat-purā Jayaśimha-vallabha-
traya.- 
9 sṛiṃsataḥ(tam) | Tad-anu[j-]āndrājā-saṃ-sā-pi-viṇā | Tad-mandani Vishṇuvoddhanō
nva-sam[va].-
10 tsa[n] | Tat-tōkam-Maṅgi-yuvarājaḥ pātnaḥ-viṁstakrim(a) | Tat-aurośa Jayaśimhas-
trayādāsā []
11 Tad-vaima(d-dvaima)ṣṭur-ānujha Kōkīlīḥ shan-ṃāsān | Tasya jya(jyē)shēbhō bhrātā Vishṇu-
voddha(rddha)-
12 dhaśnas-tam-upyā(vpā)yā sapta-trimśad-vaśhā(rahā)ṣi | Tad(e)(d-aptyam Viṃjayaśdiyā-
-bhāṭṭa(ṭṭā)raḵō-aṭē. 
13 dāsā | Tat-ātmajō Vishṇuvoddhanaḥ saṭa-trimśatam(tam) | Tat-tanujō naṁndra-Viṃjaya-
śdiyāḥ[]
14 ashta-chāṭvārīṃsataḥ(tam) | Tat-putram(trah) Kall-Viṃjayaśvoddhanō-dhy-artha-[varṣaṃ]-
(raḥam) {} [T]ad-ātmajō Gu-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 nakkānalla-Viṃjayaśdiyāḥ-choṭṭaḥ-chāṭvārīṃsataḥ(tam) | Tad-anuja-Vē(V)ikramādiya-sū-
16 nū-Sū-Chālukya-Bhindma-trimśatam(tam) | Tat-purāh Kōlabigāṇḍa-Viṃjayaśdiyāḥ sha-
17 ū-ṃāsān {} Tat-su(t-sū)mur-Amarājas-saṃ-sā-varṣaḥ | Tat-sūṭo Bhśka-Viṃjayaśdiyāḥ
-pa.- 
18 kham(kham) {} Nta(Ta)tas-Tāḷaparājō māsān(sam) | Tāṁ jītvā Chālukya-Bhīma-taṇyō 
19 Viṃjayaśdiyā-[vaḥvaṭṭaśrām(a)](tam) {} Sāmbanta-Sābara-Vallabha-daṇḍaḥ-saṁyē 
20 oḥ bhuvaṃ-alūṃpam-abdāṁ {} sapta-āṣaṁ-tri-Malla-saṇa-kṛita(tam) paṭṭaband-
dham-ava.-

1 The letter ho is written below the line between bād and na. 
2 The portion enclosed within the brackets here was engraved erroneously. 
3 This obāsāra is redundant. 
4 Shēsē is apparently a mistake for Bhu.
21. matya balāt [\(2^a\)] Mājainha\(^1\)-Vijayāditya-nandaśū Bhūma-bhūpatiḥ | tān-śaṃsātān-śa-
22. mutkārśa dveśāś-śākāṁ-apād=bhuvam(vam) [\(3^a\)] Sānus-tasya-śrūmaraś-asurapati-vibha-
\(\text{vah} pāṭa-

**Third Plate, First Side**

23. baddhō dhāritri(trīh) rākshaseśākāś-ākāśādān(bcān) jīta-rīpur-agamatar[Krip]ahap-kopāt=-
\(kalin-gām(ān) | \) taṣya
24. dvaimāturaś kahāṁ(kahāṁ) sakala-jana-mudē Vallabhādā-sāpta-rājyō Bhaimō Dā(Ā)-
\(nāmav-čān-\)
25. py-avati Manu-nayād=Amkīdvī-tanūjaḥ [\(4^a\)] Vaidaghyām Vacha(chō)[dha]ra(va)ya Vāziruha-
26. sarvabhiṣaśya Bhū-śāvatā grāmyā(ṃya)tya-skalitam kalāṇu gadaśaṃ vāg-aṅgha-
27. nayā(ṃya) api | stri-śaṁsaggi(yṛgi)ka-chāpāl-śapatayā nīnāhām=ity-śād-
28. rā(dā) dāvaidaghyāmalaś kalāṇu sakalaś-saṃstūyatē sajjaśalāh [\(5^a\)] Sthir-āpi
29. saśvad=bhramati tirōkṣhīna jana(ṃ-ā)nuṣāgami kurutē sīt=āpi | vičhitra-rūp=ōti se(sa)-
30. dā vi(O)jeṁaṁ=vvichāryaṃ kīrtti-lāta yadīyā [\(6^a\)] Sa samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-ārā-\(\text{Vijayā-}\)

**Third Plate, Second Side**

31. ditya-mahāśaṇa-para(mē)vāra-paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ parama-brahmanō Nāta-
32. vād̄-viṣhaya-nirvāṁ Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān-kunṭumhīna-samabhūya ma-
33. ntri-puruśita-saṁpati-yuvam[rā]/ādy-ashtādasa-tātṛth-adhyakham=ittham=a-
34. ja(jō)payati | Śri-saṁbhūt-śūmittē mā(mun)ktāphala-purā(ṛ)ṣa-ratna-saṁyuktam(ktam) |
35. Śa[ma]na-Vṛddhi-saṁjñān(ku)jam=saṭī-jalandhi-pratimaṁ(mam) [\(7^a\)] Tad-vahavāri-
36. niḍhi-vṛddhikākaha(ṛ) kar-śāi-niddā(rādā)ri-chāṭa-bala-vi(ṃ)ra-bhāṭ-āndhakāraḥ | Ša=\(\text{sa} [\text{ch}=\text{ohha}] [\text{tām}]-\)
37. ka ga(i)va Gupḍiya-rāṣṭrakūṭa-saṁtr̄(pājy)ja sat-pa[ṭha]gati-pravāṇa(ṃaḥ) svah(sva)-
\(\text{vṛttaḥ} [\(8^a\)] Śrīmañ-a-Ca-
38. lōkṣya[kubhalukya]Ś[ma]-śītā-bhūmipāla-śrīdeva-mādhyānugataḥ pravīṣya [\(9^a\)] nu-
39. vipa(ḍ̄)-dvārakama viśāmi tyakṭas̄ha-vājanta gata-Vallabh-śe[ṇa(ṃ)ām] [\(9^a\)] Samasta-maty-
\(śādi-gu-

---

\(^1\) This appears to be a mistake for Mājainhā.
\(^2\) The composition of this verse is faulty.
\(^3\) The akṣaras yo-ā, which were apparently omitted through oversight, have been engraved in smaller size below the line.
\(^4\) The akṣaras are redundant.
\(^5\) This letter is followed by two dandas which are superfluous.
\(^6\) The letters enclosed within the brackets were engraved erroneously.
\(^7\) This verse is metrically faulty and its sense obscure. If we omit ātrimā in the beginning of the first pāda, substitute na-dāy and "vāhāmite for swa and nāma in the third pāda, and amend "māyakṣaṣṭa into "māy-ya-kṣaṇa in the last pāda, it may yield some sense.—Ed."
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

Fourth Plate, First Side

40  na-prapanah paropakara-pravaha-prabhavah | abhudd-arati-Indhana-vahinir-upagrah tu(gras-ta)-

41  tmabhur-Erinya-rasahtrakutaḥ (((10°) Tu(Tu)ramgam-archana-kā(mukha)alena tirasaṁba(aśkrit)-

42  tō Bātiya-nāmapā(dhē)yas-samasta-sampan-nilayasya-tadiya(h) (((11°) Thaya śrī-va[nīva]-

43  bhava-vā-d-Bhava-sannibhah; (((10°) samasta-sampan-nilayō Gandhyan-ā[ts]khyā sutottamaḥ

44  [[12°] Pratapāya[cbu]-

45  tām-nti virodhi-timira-pahah; (((10°) nityam padmākara-sādhyā yasya ga tējō-vi-

46  rōchanaḥ (((13°) Tēna Kākatiya-Gandhyana-nāmadbēyōṇa(ṇa) prāśthyaṁmānair-asīmabhīḥ |

47  pārṇa-mahāgrāma-vāstavyā(yō) vadataṁ varaḥ | Kutsa-gōtri-ābhisanbhu[15°] Chiddama-

48  bhavah (((14°) Śrīdhara-āsīghri-dvay-āśībhōja-sēvī Śrīdhara-saṁjñayā | visṛtus-tat-sutō jā-

49  tyā bhūdōva[h] Śrīdhara-śriyā (((15°) Tasyābhūs Mañomāṁbāyām sūnārā-Ddōmunama-

4a śrījñā-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

49  kaḥ (((10°) samasta-ju(gu)[pa]-sampannō(nna)s-sat-sādhu-jana-vatasaḥ (((16°) Śruti-sampitih-

50  dita-vartmani | durāpō(pō)-nyājasamnānir-mityam yasya-sāchāvīraḥ pravartati(tō) (((17°) Kākarti(ya)-Gu-

51  pṛyānaṁ viram-uddīyā-ābe[h]ppā(pa)pā-śrī-prabhā(bham) | yena kappaa(rpa)tāmā-be(ddham) ċa-

52  ṛṣiḥmaṣya (((18°) Prāta[e]śa-sānanaḥ bra(pra)ticinam bra(bra)macharīya[ṃ-sa]khanda-

53  u-ścharitaṁ kappaa(rpa)pā-śr̥takaś̥dārat (((19°) Satyam saucham-dsya dānam-anushṭā-

54  dāra-dhūḥ (((10°) khaṁśtanta-saujanyam-ity-ādi yad-upajñām-iha Kala(h) (((20°) Tasme dōtmāna-

55  Māngallu-nāma-γράμm-savva(rvva)-kara-parivarēṇa udaka-pūrvasm-uttarāyaṇa-ni-

56  mītan agraśārika-śatāvajamāmbhir-datta ga(i)ti viditam-śetu vah (((1°) Asy-śvadaha-

yāh

1 [The composition of this stanza is imperfect and some words appear to have been omitted here while engraving. However, it can be restored as "Vatsarajya sa(vi)-Maraṇa-Bt".—Ed.]

2 [This letter is redundant.]

3 [This letter, which looks like k, is engraved redundantly.]

4 [The intended reading may be "[m]yaṇāmānānam.—Ed."]

5 [This and the following ekāra, which is not properly shaped, are redundant.]
57 pūrvvataḥ((taḥ) Kṛṣṇapulāviṇa) polagarusana Yilindiguṇṭa | Āgnēyataḥ Kuṛra-
58 labha pannasā | Dakṣinātaḥ Latajyāmādaśīmā | Nairjītityaṁtaḥ Mūmna-nadi(lī) |
59 Paśchimataḥ Pallikantī-bhāṣāraṇḍu | Vāyavyataḥ munyalukāṭṭu | Uttarataḥ
60 Koṭḍṛuri pūlagarusana chintalu ["'] Iśā(ā)nataḥ muniyaluk-
61 ṭuna pūlagudlaguṇṭa | Asy-ūpari na [kṣṇa"]chid-bādhā karttā(ṛvā) ["] yah-ka-
62 rōti sa pāhoca-mahāpātaka-sahyuktō bhavati ["] Tath-ōktaṁ Vyūṣaṇa | Bha-
63 hubhir-vvassudhā dattā bahubhīś-ct-śu(n)āpāltā | yasya yasya yadā bhū-
64 mis-tasya tasya tādā phalāṁ(lam) ["'] 21["] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yā harete
vasundhrāṁ(ram) | shashti-
65 [va]jraha-sahasrāṇi vijśāṁ(ṛvā) yāṁ jāyate krimiḥ ["'] 22["] Sarvvaṁ-śtān-bā(ṁ)-
vināḥ pārthivendrāṁ-hūyō

Fifth Plate, Second Side

66 hūyō yāchatā Rāmaśāhadrāḥ ["] sāmānyo-yān-dharmama-sētura-mrīpāṇoṁ kāle kāle
pālaniyo bha-
67avadhīḥ ["'] 23["] Ājñaptīḥ Kacajarāṇajāḥ ["] Pūtanabhāṣṭa-kritīḥ ["]
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE III

Scale: Two-Thirds
No. 7—MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

(1 Plate)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NASPUR

This is a set of three copper plates which the Tahsildar of Srikakulam received from Mr. Manda Narasimham and forwarded to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit it from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter.

Each of the three plates measures 7.8" by 3.6". They were held together by a ring with a seal containing the emblem of a fish flanked on the sides by an śakusa and the crescent moon. The first and third plates are written on one side only, containing respectively ten and nine lines, while the second plate has eleven lines on the first and ten on the second side. There are thus altogether forty lines of writing. The plates, together with the ring, weigh 150 tokas, the ring alone weighing 35½ tolas. The ring was cut when the plates were received for examination.

The characters belong to the variety of the North Indian alphabet normally used in the Orissan inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.

The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in prose. It abounds in mistakes both of grammar and spelling. The use of medial ś for s and i for ī seems to be almost a regular feature, though both medial ś and ī are occasionally used. The word śrīkala is written as śrīkala (line 31) and śrīkala and śrīkala (line 29), though the correct form śrīkala is used in line 27. The nasal is often changed into sūsa before a consonant (lines 9, 10, 24). Among other peculiarities may be mentioned the use of udd for ṭāḍa (lines 8, 15-16).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Madagrama in the Bhubanagā ḍhaṅga in favour of two persons. The boundaries of the village are given in detail. The donor is Rāyaka Bhimakhaṇḍi, son of Mahāmāndakula Rāyaka Dharmaśeṣa of the Kadamba family and feudatory of Paramakhaṭṭhara Paramadevā Śrī-Devendravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty. Both the feudatory and the suzerain are called Paramamāndakula or devotee of Śiva, and the grant was made in Śaka 908 from Dantapura (written as Dandapura). The record concludes with the usual imperatory verses.

The suzerain as well as the feudatory rulers mentioned in the record are known from several other grants. Two of these deserve special mention, viz. the Santa-Bommalā and Mandaśa plates of Dharmaśeṣa.

The inscription begins with the usual description, first of the ruling Gaṅga king residing at Kaliṅgaṅagara and paying devotions to Gokarṇapaśvāmin established on the Mahāndra mountain, and then of the feudatory ruler of the Kadamba dynasty.

The first fifteen lines of the present grant agree, almost word for word, with only slight deviations here and there, with the first fifteen lines of the Mandaśa plates. The rulers named and the place of issue are, however, different. The present grant was issued from Dantapura by the Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhaṇḍi, son of Dharmaśeṣa, whose suzerain was the Gaṅga ruler Devendravarman. The Mandaśa plates, however, refer to the Gaṅga king Anantavarman and the Kadamba feudatory Dharmaśeṣa, son of Bhimakhaṇḍi, who issued the grant from Jeyantyāpara. The Santa-Bommalā plates (Simhipura grant) were issued during the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, by Dharmaśeṣa, son of Bhimakhaṇḍi. The introductory

1 [On this and the author's views regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era discussed below, see infra, pp. 51, note 2, 55 ff.—Ed.]
2 [JARES, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. The Santa-Bommalā plates are also called the Simhipura grant.]
3 [JARES, Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.]
4 Not Bhāma as read by the editor.
portion of the record closely resembles that of the present grant which repeats almost word for word the first ten lines of the former.

A comparison of these three grants leaves no doubt that they were issued by the same feudatory family owing allegiance to the same Gaṅga family. We may thus draw up the following genealogical table of these two families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaṅga family</th>
<th>Kadamba family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anantavarman</td>
<td>Bhimakhaṭī I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvēndravarman</td>
<td>Dēvēndravarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhimakhaṭī II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dēvēndravarman was a contemporary of both Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman, while Bhimakhaṭī II was a contemporary of Dēvēndravarman.

In view of this chronological sequence in the relationship of the members of the two families, the date of the present grant, viz. Śaka 938 (1066 A.D.), is of great historical importance, as it reopens the whole question of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, though there is now a general consensus of opinion among scholars that it has to be placed during the last decade of the fifth century A. D.1

In an article contributed to the Indian Culture, I discussed the question at some length and pointed out the defect in the argument of Prof. Subba Rao who initiated the theory which has subsequently been supported by eminent scholars like Prof. Mirashi and Dr. D. C. Sircar. But my views, though so far ignored, seem to be supported by the present grant, and it is therefore necessary to discuss this question in some detail.

Prof. Subba Rao’s view was based on his interpretation of the date of the Mandasa plates which is expressed as Śākāda navaṭataka saptas-rasa-ratna. He took it to be ‘clearly’ 913, taking saptas and rasas as equivalent to seven and six, and then adding them. Later, both Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi took saptas-rasas as equivalent to sattarasas, and read the date as 917. The resulting difference of four years does not materially affect the argument of Subba Rao and need not therefore be discussed here. He argued that, as the Simhipura grant was issued by Dharmaśī in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era, during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the same Dharmaśī also issued the Mandasa plates in Śaka 913 (991 A.D.) during the reign of Anantavarman, the initial year of the Gaṅga era would be somewhat, though not much, later than 471 A. D. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to refer to the further amplification of this theory by which the initial date of the era was fixed as 494 A.D. by Subba Rao, 496 A. D. by J. C. Gosh and 498 A. D. by Mirashi.

The two main arguments which I advanced against this theory may be stated as follows:—

1. There is no warrant for the assumption, so definitely made, that the date of the Mandasa plates is clearly 913 or 917. The words saptas and rasas, which actually occur in the record, undoubtedly mean seven and six, and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976, or 967 if we follow the principle sākṣāya riṣṭa gairā.

2. There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 913 or 917, the assumed date for the Mandasa plates, nor any king called Dēvēndravarman before Śaka 992, whereas we have two kings, father and son, viz. Vajrahaṭa Anantavarman and Bējāraṭa Dēvēndravarman, who ruled between Śaka 960 and 999 which would agree with the date Śaka 976 or 997 for Anantavarman suggested by me.

---

1 Subba Rao, who originally propounded this view, fixed the initial date of the Gaṅga era as 494 A. D., but J. C. Gosh put it as 498 A. D. and V. V. Mirashi as 498 A. D. (above, Vol. XXVI, 323; Vol. XXVII, p. 192).

2 See Vol. IV, pp. 171ff. References to other views are given in this paper.
My first argument about the interpretation of the date is now strongly supported by the present grant. As Dévendravarman was ruling in Śaka 988, the date Śaka 987 or 976 is a more reasonable assumption than Śaka 913 for his father Anantavarman, particularly as Dharmakhèdi was alive during the reigns of both.

In order to obviate the difficulties pointed out in my second argument, it has been assumed by the upholders of the present theory about the epoch of the Gaṅga era that all the rulers of the Gaṅga family were called, in succession, Anantavarman and Dévendravarman. The assumption rests on the fact that for some generations, at a later period, the Gaṅga kings bore the said names in succession. But it is unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence. Mirashi has argued that the Ponduru grant supplies such an evidence, but, as will be seen later, this is not the case.

All these assumptions are demolished by the present grant which gives a clear date, Śaka 988, for Dévendravarman. Subba Rao, Mirashi and D. C. Sircar all identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates with Vajrahasta Aniyākkabhiṅga (who ruled from Śaka 902 to 937) and his son Dévendravarman with one of the three sons of Vajrahasta. But the last of them ceased to rule about Śaka 960 whereas according to the present grant Dévendravarman was ruling in Śaka 988.

In order to maintain the present theory of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, D. C. Sircar has suggested that Dévendravarman of the present grant was a king of the Śvetaka branch of the Gaṅga family.\footnote{The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV, p. 164.} But in view of the close resemblance between the Mandasa and Simhipura plates and the present grant, already pointed out above, it seems to be an absolutely unwarranted view to take the Gaṅga king in these three grants to represent two different families. Besides, we should remember that the names of the feudatory rulers, mentioned in the three grants, establish the identity of the family to which they belonged, and it would be very curious if the father and son owed allegiance to two kings bearing the same name but belonging to two different families, particularly as the same phraseology is applied to the suzerain ruler.

We shall discuss presently the question whether Dévendravarman of the present grant belonged to the main Gaṅga family or not. But there cannot be the least doubt that he must be identified with Dévendravarman, son of Anantavarman, mentioned in the Simhipura grant of Dharmakhèdi issued in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era. We must therefore presume that the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and Śaka 988 or 1065 A. D. both fell during the reign of Dévendravarman, son of Anantavarman. The epoch of the Gaṅga era therefore falls within \( x \) years of 1065 \( \text{minus} \) 520, or 546 A. D., \( x \) denoting half the average duration of a reign of, say, about 30 years. The Gaṅga era may therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between 530 and 560 A. D.

We may now discuss the question whether the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the grants of the Kadamba feudatories, Dharmakhèdi and Bhimakhèdi, belonged to the main Gaṅga family. For this purpose we have to keep in view the following genealogy and dates of the Gaṅga kings which are now generally accepted though there are substantial discrepancies, both as regards the duration of reign and genealogy, even in the different records of the kings of this family.\footnote{Cf. Genealogical List given in Bhandarkar’s List and the Korni plates (JAHRS, Vol. I, p. 40).}
As already noted above, king Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, mentioned in the Mandasa plates and Simhipura grant, were unanimously taken to be kings of the Gaṅga family, and, on the assumption that the Mandasa plates are dated in Śaka 913 or 917, Anantavarman was identified with Vajrakoṭa II Aniyanakabhandh, and his son Dēvēndravarman with Madhu-kāmārṇava, though neither of these two Gaṅga kings is known to have borne these names. As I took the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 937 or 976, I identified king Anantavarman mentioned in it with Vajrakoṭa III who was known as Anantavarman and had a son called Dēvēndravarman (Rājarāja).

The present grant was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Dēvēndravarman. According to the accepted chronology, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman Vajrakoṭa III, ascended the throne in 1058 or 1070 A.D. and it is said in some records that his coronation took place in Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.). This presents an obvious difficulty in identifying Dēvēndravarman and his father Anantavarman, mentioned as suzerains in the grants of the Kadamba rulers, with the kings of the same names in the Gaṅga family.

There are, however, several considerations which should be kept in view before we definitely discard the identifications.

1. There is the close proximity of dates. The present grant is dated only two or four years before the generally accepted date of Dēvēndravarman’s accession to the throne. It must be very singular indeed, if two sets of kings, bearing identical names and imperial titles, were ruling in the same locality and at the same time.

2. The above argument is further strengthened if we remember that there are some discrepancies in the reign-periods of different kings even in the official records of the family. Such discrepancies are probably due, at least in part, to the well-known fact that the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty adopted Anu years for the calculation of their reign periods, which made a substantial difference between the actual year of the reign and the number given for the same. This might easily prove a source of confusion to later writers who might take the Anu for actual years or vice-versa. In view of all these a definite date of a king found in his epigraphic record should

---

1 It is otherwise difficult to explain how the regnal period of Vajrakoṭa III is given as 35 in one and 30 in another record of his grandson. Similarly the date of coronation of Vajrakoṭa III (980 Śaka) and that of Dēvēndravarman (992 Śaka) need not necessarily imply the beginnings of their reigns, for we know that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 while his father was ruling till Śaka 1069.
not be rejected simply because it differs by a few years from the traditional dates so far accepted. When such a difference occurs we should rather reconsider the whole chronological scheme, so far accepted, in the light of the new data. In the meanwhile, it is better to accept the date fixed by the present contemporary record, particularly when it is not in conflict with the known dates of Vajrabhastra III.

3. Like the Chola kings, the Garga rulers also associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime, and this created a confusion in computing the total reign-periods of different monarchs. As an example it may be pointed out that although Ananta-varman Chodaganga ruled till 1143 A.D., his son Kamarava was anointed in 1142 A.D.

In view of all these it is a reasonable assumption that king Ananta-varman and his son Devendravarman, suzerains of Dharmakhedi and his son Bhimakhedi, are to be identified with kings Vajrabhastra III Ananta-varman and his son Rajaraja I Devendra-varman. It is to be distinctly understood, however, that whether this identification be accepted or not, it does not affect the epoch of the Garga era, which the present grant places between 530 and 580 A.D., as stated above. On the other hand, if the identification be accepted and Devendra-varman's reign be placed approximately between 1066 and 1076 A.D., we may fix the initial year of the Garga era within narrower limits. As the Garga year 520 falls during the reign of Devendra-varman, it must have started some time between 546 and 556 A.D. The exact epoch may perhaps be fixed within these limits by the astronomical data contained in epigraphic records.

It may now be considered how far this theory agrees with the other known data. As regards the Chiccacole plates1 of Madhukamarnava, dated Gaaga year 526, I have nothing to add to what has been said in my previous article. The Ponduru grant2 of Vajrabhastra, son of Kamarava, dated in the year 500 of the Gaaga era, has been cited by Mirashi as a definite evidence in favour of the current view of the epoch of the era, and the identification of king Vajrabhastra II Aniya-kabhima with Ananta-varman of the Mandasa plates. For he thinks that the dates supplied by the Chiccacole plates and Ponduru grant establish the following genealogy, with the assumptions shown within brackets.

Kamarava (942-977 A.D.)

Vajrabhastra II Aniya-kabhima (also called Ananta-varman), 980-1015 A.D.

Madhukamarnava (also called Devendra-varman), 1019-38 A.D.

But on the assumption that the Gaaga era started about the middle of the sixth century A.D., the data supplied by the same two grants also agree with the following genealogy.

Kamarava (1016 A.D.)

Vajrabhastra III Ananta-varman (1038-70 A.D.)

Rajaraja I Devendra-varman (also called Madhukamarnava)

Mirashi's view includes two assumptions as against one of mine.

Reference may next be made to the Kambakaya grant3 issued by Udayaditya, son of Dharmakhedi, during the reign of Devendra-varman, in Sakra 1103. As a son of Dharmakhedi issued the present grant in Sakra 538 we cannot identify him with the father of Udayaditya. It has been

---

1 JHRS, Vol. XVIII, p. 372.
3 Loc. cit.
accompanyingly suggested that the date was probably Śaka 1003. This emendation makes it chronologically possible to identify Dēvendrarāman and Dharmanāgaśa with the rulers of the same names in the present grant. But it brings down the reign of Dēvendrarāman to 1081 A.D., while, according to the generally accepted view, he ceased to reign in 1078 A.D. when his son Ananta-
varman was anointed to the throne. But as the latter ruled for 70 years he must have been anointed at quite an early age and, not unlikely, during the reign of his father. But it is useless to speculate further on a proposed emendation.

First Plate

1 Svasti(yati | Ṛamaraprānapānukāri(r)īga[ḥ]*) sacyebhyaḥ sā(su)kha-rampsīt-
2 yātā(xāt) snubhā-dhavalaḥ-mālāvarta-lilātā-lābhyātmā pa
3 paṃ[du]d[r]a[ṃ]-sakal-ālakṣikā-sir-Kal(h)[[l]][a]gana[ḥ]ag-ādh(h)īvā-
4 sakā[ḥ]* Mahāndra-āchār-āmalav-kasaka-ṭi(śi(khara-pratisbha(sh)bhi)tasya sa-
5 char-āchār-guru[ḥ]* sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-vīkṣita-a(sū)/tradhāra[śya]* sa-
6 sānkṣehadāmanirṛ-bhagavatō Gākaraṇasvāmī(mi)na[ḥ]* chara[ṃ]*-ka-
7 me(a)-ju(v)gala-pranāma(mā)d-ṛti(vi)[gata-kal(h)];kala[ṭu]*ko qāg-āhaya(vaca)-a(sū)*.
8 khṛ(ḥ)bha-jaun(a(n)i)ta-jaya-savadaḥ-pratāpyavac(a(n)a)-sa-samastā-sāmaṇḍ(a)*la-chha-
9 kra-chu(ḥ)bhi)jāman(i) prabhavatō-mahāśri-puḍja-raṁjī(ṛi)ta[ṃ]-niy-nirmāṇa[ṃ]*-dhā-
10 ṛopī[ḥ]. Kalindi-guḍhirāja[ṃ]-durgāvā-vairi(vi)-vṛṣṇa-katru[ṃ]* bhāṣa-

Second Plate, First Side

11 la-dalal(ṛ);jita-mukuttikā* prakesh-dhvast-ārāṃ(titi)-kulaḥalok(a)-
12 nāya-vi(ny)naya-ha(d)ya-dāta(na)-dākṣahyāya-saśṛṣṭi-dhārya[ṃ]*-satya-tyāga-
13 prakara-guṇa-sampādā-ādāhā-bhu(bhū)ī(ṛa)-paramamahēsava(viva-ra-paramabhāṣa(tti).-
14 raka-mātā-pitriḥ[ṃ]-pād-āndhāhā(ṣya)ta-paramēsava(ṣva-va)Gaṅga-āmala-kula-
15 tilaka-sūra[ṃ]* Dēvendrarāmanmadēvasaya vī(vi)ṣaya-ṛṣyō sākṣāva-

* From a set of impressions.
* Read sarvaṃ as in many other Ganga inscriptions.
* The Māndapa plates and Simhāpura grant (hereinafter abbreviated as M and S respectively) have prābha after this.
* Read ’vīra-śakta-lālītā-lāṣyāt.
* This letter is redundant.
* M and S have du(vi)dhāraṇaṣ before sānātā.
* Read jātak-sūtra-ājñāmaneṣ.
* Read śāda.
* Read prakā.
* S has sarva-chocona after this.
* Read nīrśākṣā.
* Read dhāra-śīkṣāṣṭra.
* M and S have dār-śaṅkara-sākṣāla.
* Read Kaliya-ṭākṣāyajña.
* Read mālakā.
* Read dhākṣaṃga-bauṣya-aśāryam.
* Read pūry.
16 da na-sata-ash[∫]ļā[∫]-samvartu' Daṅkē(ta)purē[∫] ethitaā || tasya mā-  
17 oḍal(i)ka-paramāmāhēva(eva)ra-Kadmav-(āṃh-ā)ma-kula-kamalama-mārtaṇḍa-sama-  
18 dhigata-pañcha-mahāsavad-āṃśaka-tu(tū)rva-rav-ō(ī)trāśī(ū)tārati-chā-  
19 kramā(ṃ)haṁyāṅal(i)ka-rānaka-āṭī-Dharmabhēṣīṣya suta-a-āṇaka-  
20 āṭī-Eśhmakē-ūḍā(ḥ) kuśali[∫] pañcha-pātraā vidī(vidi)tam-astu  
21 bhavatārī Bhūlāṅgā-bhōgā "Mādagramā vīyāpī Prā-  

Second Plate, Second Side  
22 [lla]masya suta Vīthana Renciya nāyakasya suta Pāṇḍava-  
23 kam duī bhāgā nivṛtti[∫] mudāka-puruṣaā tāṅvra-sāsanikrītyaā prada-  
24 tō-rāmābhī[∫] || 12-a-cha-śa-bhājacakāmāraka(rka) vardhaē Vīthanasya bhāge Chē-  
25 dīsambhūṣājītyāā || Śimē-śīni(śini)gāni li(lī)khyānte || Pu(Pū)rva-dīsaā vō-  
26 hālā pāthara || Parata pu(pū)rva-dīsa śilāā chhēla abhyanātikri-  
27 tvā hijal-pṛkāśā rōpitaā śilā || Agni(gni)-dīsa gūrahgārā  
28 koṇa rōpita śilā || Parata nāuliya taṭākī abh[∫]nantarē  
29 āṅrāvrikshā-ṭalē rōpita śilā || Dākhē(kāh)īṇa-dīsa vātavrikha-  
30 talē rōpita śilā || Parata pāthara pujaṁ || Parata ṛmānanta-  
31 vṛksha-ṭalē rōpita śilā || Nairītyaāā tāṅvuru vṛkha-ṭalē

---

1 Read Saṅkēṭē nava-śat-āṭīḥāṭī-sāvatīeatē.  
2 [In this context, S has Jayamāṇapuruṣa-udairas[∫] . . . Rāma-āṭī-Niṣṭāgasva sutaā, etc., while M has Jayamāṇapuruṣa sēhite . . . Rāma-āṭī-Eśhmakēṣīṣya sutaā, etc. The intended reading here therefore seems to be Dasāpuruṣa dhītosya . . . Rāma-āṭī-Eśhmakēṣīṣya sutaā, etc. The dasās are superfluous. Dasāpuruṣa of this record is very probably a variant of Jayamāṇapuruṣa which was the headquarters of the Kadamba feudatories of the Eastern Ganges.—Ed.]  
3 Read mākēṭē[∫].  
4 Read kēṭē-śita.  
5 Read vālīnāh.  
6 [In this context, S has prakṛtrit-āra-maya-pañcha-pātra-rāgādōpoṣṭiṇaḥ . . . mānatā tiśo[∫]dhyāti  
7 sūmākāpyati, while M has pañcha-pātra-vṛti(vṛti) apakṛti(kṛti) samostha-rāgādōpoṣṭiṇaḥ, etc. Some letters are therefore omitted in the present record by the scribe or engraver through oversight.—Ed.]
8 [In correct Sanskrit : Mādagrāmāṇa evaṣeṣai-Prādaṇmasya sūtāya Vīthandāya Renciya-nāyakasya sūtāya Pa- 
9 ṣaṃvaḥāyā cha dri-bhōgaśa kṛita—Ed.]
10 Read udakā-pāravākā.  
11 Read tāmradēsastīritīyatē.  
12 Read pradātē-sūmākābhī.  
13 From this point I have merely given the text without any attempt to correct it except where there is an obvious  
14 mistake.  
15 [The intended readings for a-čhē-śa-ḳaṭṣa, chaṇḍrāka and varṇikā appear to be respectively a-čhē-śa-  
16 preṭṭām, chaṇḍrāka-āḥūṭī-śrama-kūla-paṭrasvīlam and maṭhe-pāṭḍrīdhanandasācu punāḥbhīṣikāḥ as suggested  
17 by S.—Ed.]
18 [This defective passage seems to suggest that a person named Čhēḍi had something to do with Vīthana's  
19 share of the gift land.—Ed.]
20 Read dīdā āraḥ āraḥ as well as in the following lines.  
21 Read dīdā āraḥ āraḥ as well as in the following lines.  
22 Read rōpita āraḥ āraḥ as well as in the following lines.  
23 Read nairītyatē.
Third Plate

32 rūpita silā || Paścī(ā)ṃma bhumi parvata silā(kha) || Parata durgā
dhaṭāraḥ abhyantarikrīta rūpita silā || Vāyava-dīsā khu-
dē pūrā ṛṁśANGA || Abhyantarikrīta rūpita silā || Utra(tta)ra-
dīsā vāmika sanīdhī rūpita silā || Isātē kōḷaṭaṭa-
dhā bhūtarī rūpita silā |
37 4dsata paracāraḥ vā || jō harēti vacummāra || saṣṭēm va-
38 rīśa sahaṁṇī || vṛṣṭhāyam jāyate kṛma || Mama varṣa-
39 sē na jō jāṭā || jō bhavahīt marṣhīpā || tāśāṁ pādallagna
40 mē || Mama datarā na lōpeśa [MIT]

---

1 This is probably for sanīdhi.
2 Read Īḍaṇā.
3 In correct Sanskrit the description of the boundaries of the gift-land in lines 26-30 would read: pārva-diśā-
dhā Vāṭālīkā prastaraḥ; pārataḥ pārva-diśā-śūlā khaḍaḥ (Oriya caṭṭā, caṭṭē)u-abhyantarikrīta hījālavirēkhā (śriṅgār-silā) rūpita-silā || aṣṭi-diśā-śūla Gāṇapāpa-Līśā rūpita-silā; pārataḥ Nāvīṇya-toṭā-ūtyanīrāt amarā-
śkā-salī rūpita-silā || dākshāna-śūlā vajraśilā-salī rūpita-silā; pārataḥ prastara-yaśīkā; pārataḥ tīṣṭa-
śrīṅgār-salī rūpita-silā || saṁskṛta śrīṅgāraśilā-salī rūpita-silā || gosāmayaḥ bhūmikā pārva-śīkharāvahaka;

4 Lines 37-40 quote the well-known imprecatory stanzas which abound in mistakes too numerous to be
corrected.
No. 8—NOTE ON MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has edited the Madagrama grant which was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvendravarman by his Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhēdi II, son of Dharmakhēdi. Kadamba Dharmakhēdi issued the Santa-Bommali plates1 in the Gaṅga year 520 during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvendravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Mandasa plates2 dated in Śaka navā-bataka-saptarasa during the reign of Gaṅga Anantavarman. The expression saptarasa has been taken by Dr. Majumdar to be a combination of sapt (i.e. 7) and ras (meaning 6), although such a combination of an ordinary numerical word with a word-numeral is unknown in early Orissan records, while we have taken it to stand for Sanskrit rāptodasa, Prakrit sattarasas, i.e. 17. The date of the Mandasa plates is therefore Śaka 976 (1064 A.D.) or 967 (1045 A.D.) according to Dr. Majumdar, but Śaka 917 (995 A.D.) in our opinion. Gaṅga Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates has been identified with the homonymous Gaṅga king mentioned as the father of Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates. Thus in Dr. Majumdar’s opinion the Gaṅga year 520 fell sometime after 1064 or 1045 A.D., and therefore the era started sometime about the middle of the sixth century and not about the close of the fifth century as is now generally believed. He thinks that Gaṅga Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates is the same as the Gaṅga king of that name mentioned in the Madagrama grant of 1086 A.D. and further identifies that ruler with the well-known Imperial Gaṅga monarch Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, son of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and father of the great Anantavarman Chōḍāganga. But the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Madagrama grant with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is not so easy as he has made it to appear.

In the inscriptions of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman, the king claims to have been anointed on the 20th April 1056 A.D.3 The same date of his coronation is quoted in the records of his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman; but they add that Vajrahasta III ruled for 33 years and that Rājarāja I was anointed on Thursday, Jyēṣṭha-su 8, Śaka 992 (20th May, 1070 A.D.).4 Similarly the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chōḍāganga state that his grandfather Vajrahasta III ruled the earth for 33 years and his father Rājarāja I for 8 years and that he himself was anointed on Saturday, the 17th February 1078 A.D.5 It will be seen that the period from the coronation of Vajrahasta III to that of Rājarāja I covers a little above 32 years, reckoned in the records as 33 years in round number apparently because the king ended his rule in his 33rd regnal year. Similarly the period between the coronation of Rājarāja I and that of Chōḍāganga covers 7 years and several months, the duration being reckoned as 8 years in the records. There is hardly any room to doubt the genuineness of these statements. Since Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is thus known to have ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., he can hardly be identified with Dēvendravarman of the Madagrama grant, who was ruling in 1066 A.D. when Vajrahasta III is known to have been on the throne.

1 Bhandarker’s List, No. 2053.
2 Ibid., No. 1951.
3 Ibid., No. 1060.
4 JAHRES, Vol. VIII, pp. 178 ff.; No. 7 (Appendix A) of 1932-33.
5 Bhandarker, op. cit., No. 1099. In some of the later records (ibid., No. 1103; cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. p. 239) of Anantavarman Chōḍāganga, the duration of Vajrahasta’s rule is given as 30 years apparently through oversight. The evidence of the earlier records of Chōḍāganga and of his father must be regarded as more authentic as it is supported by the dates of the coronation of the three monarchs known from their records.

(53)
The identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant (1066 A.D.) with Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman (1070-78 A.D.) is supported by Dr. Majumdar with the following arguments which are serially discussed below.

1. He points out that the two sets of rulers, viz. (1) Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Mādāgrāma grant, and (2) Vajrakhastra III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, were ruling in the same period. But the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the homonymous king mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates as the son of Anantavarman is his own suggestion based on his own interpretation of the expression saṃprasāya in the Mandasa plates mentioning Anantavarman.

2. Dr. Majumdar puts unnecessary emphasis on the discrepancies in the Gaṅga-inscriptions without noticing that they are really between two sets of records, viz. earlier and later, of which the former are certainly more reliable.¹ He also forgets that the Anka reckoning cannot be regarded as responsible for the mistake (as he imagines) regarding the duration of Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman’s reign quoted in the records of his son and successor Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga. Firstly, this reckoning was introduced much later than the days of Rājarāja I and Chōdagaṅga. Secondly, if Rājarāja I ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. (not in 1070 A.D. as clearly stated in his own records) and actually ruled for 12 years in 1066-78 A.D., his son could not have reduced the period to 8 years only according to the Anka method of calculation. Because the period of 12 actual years would be 14 Anka years (not 8, for 8 actual years would make only 6 Anka years). The suggestion that the Kambakaya plates, assigned to Śaka 1003 (1081 A.D.), may be ascribed to Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman is unconvincing as there is little possibility of the continuation of his rule after the 17th February 1078 A.D. when his son Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga was anointed.

3. There is absolutely no proof in favour of the suggestion that the Gaṅga kings associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime. Dr. Majumdar’s belief that Kāmarṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D., although his father Chōdagaṅga ruled till 1143 A.D., is based on the wrong reading (Śaka 1064) in later records. The earlier records give the date of Kāmarṇava’s ascension correctly as Śaka 1069, i.e. 1147-48 A.D.²

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to accept Dr. Majumdar’s view, based on the unwarranted identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with Rājarāja I, that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 546 and 556 A.D.

Dr. Majumdar’s contention that no Gaṅga king named Dēvēndravarman ruled before Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.) and that the assumption of Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman respectively by a father and a son is not noticed amongst the Gaṅga rulers of an earlier date is wrong. We have among the Early Eastern Gaṅgas at least four Gaṅga kings named Dēvēndravarman who ruled earlier than Śaka 992 and at least two of them are known to have been the sons of kings named Anantavarman.³

Dr. Majumdar rules out the possibility of the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the Gaṅga king of that name ruling from Śvētakṣat and holds that the former must be the homonymous Gaṅga king known from the Santa-Bommali plates on the ground that

---

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.
² Ibid., p. 542. The correct reading of the date is found also in the recently discovered Daragoba plates of Rājarāja III to be published in this journal.
³ See Bhandarkar’s List, p. 386.
⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 65, note 3.
the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant have the introductory part couched in almost the same language. This argument in favour of the identification is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The similarity of the introductory part in the three records is clearly due to the fact that all of them were issued by the Kadamba chiefs of Jayantyāpura. That it is of little value in determining the identification of the overlords of these chiefs can be easily demonstrated. In the first place, the introductory part of these records has nothing strikingly in common with the corresponding part of the records of Vajrasahsta III Anantavarman and Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the king Anantavarman and Dēvendravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant. Secondly, we know that the Kauravas of Karkareḍi, who originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris and later to the Chandellās, mention, in the introductory part of their records, their overlords of both the families with the same description. It is worth noting that even certain characteristic Kalachuri epithets, such as Trikalinga-ādhipati and Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta, are known to have been wrongly applied by the Kauravas to their later overlords, the Chandellā monarchs.¹

As regards the independent rule of certain Gaṅga kings side by side with the early rulers of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attention may now be drawn to the Polsara (Ganjam District, Orissa) plates² issued in 1147-48 A.D. by Arkēvāra, son of Pramāḍi and grandson of Paramahātṛaraka Guṇārṇava.

Recently I had occasion to examine an inscription³ from Nadigao near Tekkali (Srikakulam District) and two epigraphs⁴ from Paikpad in the Raigad region of the Ganjam District. These records, written in the Gaṇḍīya script, do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to dates about the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Tekkali inscription refers itself to the reign of king Dēvendravarman and the Paikpad epigraphs to that of Mahārājādhirāja Paramētatrāva Dānārṇava. Now, even if it is possible to identify this Dēvendravarman with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, to place Dānārṇava in the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is very difficult in the present state of our knowledge. It is probable that Dānārṇava of the Paikpad inscriptions was related to Guṇārṇava of the Polsara plates.

Dr. Majumdar’s theory offers another serious difficulty. The Chiscocle (Srikakulam) plates⁵ of the Gaṅga year 526 were issued during the rule of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantabhārana, i.e. Anantavarman. This suggests that Gaṅga Anantavarman’s son Dēvendravarman, during whose reign the Santa-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 were issued, was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother named Madhukāmārṇava. As Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar identifies king Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates, was succeeded by his son and not by a younger brother, it has been suggested that Madhukāmārṇava was just another name of Rājarāja I. It has, however, not been noticed that the introductory part of the Chiscocle plates does not resemble that of any of the Gaṅga-Kadamba records referred to above or of the copper-plate grants of Rājarāja I so far discovered. The suggestion that Rājarāja I was also known as Madhukāmārṇava is again

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63 ff.
³ No. 90 of 1934-55.
⁴ Nos. 224-25 of 1935-54.
⁵ Bhondarker, op. cit., No. 2054.
unsupported by any of the numerous records of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family including his own epigraphs. It is also inexplicable why this inscription, like the charters of the Kadambas (believed by Dr. Majumdar to have been issued during the reign of Rājarāja I) and those of the Early Gaṅgas, is dated in the Gaṅga era while the grants of the Imperial Gaṅgas from the time of Vajrahasta III are all dated in the Śaka era. Another difference between those records dated in the Gaṅga era and the grants of Rājarāja I dated in the Śaka era is that, while the former are written in the Kaliṅga script, the Gaudīya alphabet has been employed in the latter.
No. 9—SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

NIRADRAJ DURI SANYAL, NAVADVIP

This copper plate was handed over to me on behalf of the Varendra Research Society for decipherment in 1937 by Mr. Rajani Mohan Sanyal of Naogaon in the Rajahahi District. It was originally preserved in an old wooden box for a very long time as an heirloom in the family of Namiruddin Khondker, a Muhammadan priest of Sultanpur in the suburb of Naogaon town. The family had originally been settled in the village of Kalaikuri, about 8 miles from Naogaon town, in the Adamighi Police Station of the Bogra District, whence Namiruddin’s grandfather came over to Sultanpur about a century ago, having inherited the ancestral property of his maternal grandfather. It cannot now be definitely ascertained if this plate had been brought to Sultanpur among other goods and chattels which he obtained by inheritance. The provenance of the plate cannot thus be exactly determined.

The inscription was published by Dr. D. C. Sircar first in an article in the Bengali monthly journal Vāṣāgri, Vaisākha, 1350 B. S., and then in English in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, March, 1943. He names the record after Kalaikuri. Dr. Sircar, however, had no opportunity of examining the original plate but had to depend on unsatisfactory impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters while some of them were read by him wrongly.

This is a single plate, rectangular in shape, with an oval projection (3½" in diameter) at the top, which shows a triangular hole in the middle. Evidently this was meant to fix the seal, which is now missing. It measures 9½"×3½" and weighs 52 tolas. The writing is well executed and consists of 34 lines, of which sixteen are engraved on the obverse and eighteen on the reverse. Owing to corrosion, from which the plate has suffered especially on the right hand side, many letters on both faces of the plate are either obscure or have completely disappeared. The size of the letters varies from ¾" to 1½ Councils.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and resemble closely those used in the Dhanasikha copper-plate inscription4 of the Gupta year 113 and the Biharu copper-plate inscription5 of the Gupta year 123. As in the Biharu, Dhanasikha, Damodarpur6 and Paharpur7 copper plates, mediæ u is sometimes indicated by a hook like stroke at the lower end of the letter to the right; cf. Bṛāhmāṇ-ådīn (line 2), “bhagya-ś” (line 18), keṣava-pāñj, kālā and parikṣā (line 21). The form of the mediæ u in Bihara (line 3) and in Pāṇḍu8 (line 6) and that of the mediæ u in Purṣa (line 1) and Kumāravibhūti (line 5) may be noted. The sign of ॐ may be seen in Bṛāhmāṇ-ådīn (line 2), etc. The rare letter ह is used in Lōḍākhaka (line 11). The forms of the conjuncts kām, ak, hm, ṣṭ, ṣṭ, ṣṭ, and ṣṭ may be observed in Lōḍākhaka (line 3), cikā (line 5), Bṛāhma and bhaṭṭa (line 7), Uṣṭa (line 8), Kāhī (line 9) and Gūnma (line 22) respectively. Final m is seen as joined with the preceding letter slightly below the top line in

4 Under the circumstances, the inscription may probably be called ‘the Kalaikuri Sultanpur Plate’. — Ed.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 78-88.
7 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.
8 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.
9 [See below, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]
samevāt (line 34) and so is final t in the same word and in case in line 31. The numerical signs for 100, 20 and 1 are used in line 34 and those for 5 and 2 in lines 26 and 27 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As in the Damodarpur and Baimgram plates, the suffix ka is occasionally used, as in nirdīśhaka (lines 16 and 24) and upaśvāhakāha (line 20). Errors of the engraver may be noted in Yaśāśuma (line 4) and rakṣya (line 33). The word kulyavāpā is used both in the masculine (line 19) and in the neuter (line 27).

As regards orthography, the following may be noted. The letter b is occasionally used for v as in vīditāna-bā (line 3), kulyabāpa (lines 13, 15, 16, etc.), saṁbhavakhāra (lines 28-29) and para-dattām-bā (line 30). The letter k is not doubled before y in dinārika (lines 13 and 19) as in the Damodarpur and Baimgram plates, but is occasionally doubled before r, as in śukra (line 9), vikrāya (line 35; cf., however, line 13). The letter s is not doubled before r as in the Baimgram plate, while occasionals are doubled after r, as in śarma (line 8), śarppa (line 9), śarva (line 10), nirdīśhaka (line 16), svargyā (line 31). Final m is retained before v in samvāt (line 34). The gutturals nasal takes the place of the anusvāra before h, in śīka (line 4) and upa-anāhāra (line 20).

The document is dated the first day of Vaiśākha of the year 1211, which undoubtedly refers to the Gupta era. As such, it would fall in April, 440 A.D. The name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned; but there is no doubt that the record belongs to the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumara-gupta I, whose kura dates range from the Gupta year 113 to 126. The date of the present record falls between that of the Dhanabala plate of 113 G. E. and that of the Damodarpur plates of 124 G. E. Dr. Sircar reads the date of the record under study as "the first (1) day of Vaiśākha of the year 120", and further observes, "The scratches in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure 5 could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are."

Like other copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period, so far recovered from North Bengal, the inscription relates to the grant, made by the state, of unoccupied uncultivated lands, yielding no revenue, with the object of creating an endowment in perpetuity. The document records that the artisans Bhima, the scribes Prabhuchandā, Rudradāsa, Dēvadatta, Lakabmrga, Kāntīdeva, Sambudatta and Krishnāvā, and the record-keepers Sinhanandā and Yaśēdāman, for increasing the religious merit of their parents, presented an application to Achiyudāsa, who was the king's officer (ādīvrikta) in charge of the Sāṅgavāras vītā, and also to the local adikārmanas (board of administration) and the leading men and house-holders of the vītā, for the grant of nine kulyavāpas of uncultivated land, yielding no revenue, distributed in the villages of Hastīdrāba, Vibhīnā, Gomāngadikā and Bhānapātalikā, all within the area of Gohāli, at the prevalent local rate of two dināras for each kulyavāpa, for the purpose of endowing them in perpetuity in favour of the Brāhmaṇas Dēvabhātica, Amaradatta and Mahāśānta, who belonged to Puṇḍravardīpavāna and were students of the Vaiṣṇava school and were versed in the four Vedas, to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The representation was referred to the record-keepers Sinhanandā and Yaśēdāman for investigation and report. They verified the statements made in the application as regards the unoccupied and uncultivated lands and also the local rate quoted for their sale. Having ascertained that there was no objection to the proposal, they recommended the grant, whereupon the sale was finally sanctioned. Having received payment of the sale price, nine kulyavāpas of land in the said localities were conveyed to the grantees—five kulyavāpas

1 [See below.—Ed.]
2 [See below, p. 66, note 5.—Ed.]
4 [Ibid., p. 20 f.] For Mr. Sanyal's view referred to here, see B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, Calcutta, 1945, p. 21, note. For the reading of the date, see below, p. 96, note 3. Ed.]
to Dēvabhaṭṭa and two each to Amaradatta and Mahāśeṇadatta. Of the nine kulavāpas, one was enclosed by an ancient moat, with the Vāṭā river on the north and the borders of Guḷīmangdhikā on the west, two drōvāvāpas were in Guḷīmangdhikā, in its east, to the west of the first pathway, and the remaining seven kulavāpas and six drōvāvāpas were in Tāppasapastaka and Dayāpāstaka in the pratiṣṭhā of Thākāsara and in Chittavatīgara in the pratiṣṭhā of Vībhītaka. The transaction was then notified by the king's officer and the local adhikarana, from the headquarters of the vāṭhī at Thākāsara, to the Brāhmaṇas and other residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated, for the preservation of the endowment in perpetuity by themselves as well as by future villagers and officers of government.

It has to be noted that the above application was addressed not only to the king's officer and the local adhikarana but also to the leading people of the vāṭhī. It has thus been questioned whether village lands in Bengal during the period under review belonged to the people or to the State or to both jointly, subject to the respective interests of each.6 It is, however, well known that state ownership of land was an admitted principle of ancient Indian public law.7 The evidence of Megasthenes and Kautilya's Arthāśāstra leaves little room for doubt that in the Mauryan land revenue system the entire land belonged to the king.8 Even in the Gupta period it is now definitely known that proceeds from the sale of unsettled lands in Bengal belonged to the king.9

Besides, it is seen from the seal legends10 that these charters for the sale and grant of lands for the creation of permanent endowments were always issued solely by the local adhikarana, although the application for the purpose might have been addressed to the leading people of the locality in addition to the head of the district and the local adhikarana.7 It is also noteworthy that such a mode of address was adopted only in a few instances. In most cases these applications were addressed only to the head of the district and the local adhikarana. Even the head of the district (visthā-pati) had to apply to the local adhikarana for grant of village lands.8 There is thus little doubt that the disposal of village lands really lay with the local adhikarana.

Adhikarana means a 'city'. Adhikarana may therefore be interpreted as a 'city office', which was meant for the administration of civil affairs of the city. It is well known that the civil administration of the city of Patāliputra under the rule of the Mauryas was entrusted to a municipal commission which consisted of six boards. The commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning public welfare, while the departmental functions of the six boards or committees were: (1) industrial arts, (2) care of foreigners, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) retail trade and barter, (5) supervision of manufactures and their sale and (6) collection of the site on the price of goods sold. Even under the Maurya administration, such a comprehensive machinery, required for the administration of the complex affairs of the extensive capital city, might not have been needed in the case of smaller towns.

In the Gupta period, the administration of the city of Kōṭivaraha was entrusted to one committee only under the control of the head of the district.11 This committee, called the adhishṭhān-

---

6 [For the meaning of this word, see prasāda known from other records in expressions like Śrīvītī prasāda-Kandālākāgraṇa interpreted as 'Kandāḷavāṭhī-grāma having its rent assessed along with that of Śrīvīṭī'. Cf. Journ. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]
9 V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 89 ff.
10 V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 89 ff.
13 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 64.
14 V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 87.
15 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
ādhisṭhānādyikaraṇa in the inscriptions, was composed of four members, who, besides having charge of departmental duties, worked also in a collective capacity. These members were the leading banker of the town (nagara-śreṣṭhīna), the chief registrar (prathama-kāyastha), and the heads of the associations of artisans (prathama-kulika) and traders (śrīravāla).\(^1\) The prathama-kulika probably supervised affairs relating to industrial arts. The sārthavīha was concerned apparently with the regulation of trades, and the prathama-kāyastha with all registration works regarding disposal of movable property, births, deaths, foreigners, etc. It is difficult to ascertain exactly in which way the nagara-śreṣṭhīna was useful to the committee. With his expert knowledge of commodities, his services might have been required in the adhisṭhān-ādhisṭhāna for supervision of manufactures and collection of duties.\(^2\) Under the Gupta system, therefore, the departmental functions of the committee for the administration of civil affairs of a city seem to have been arranged as follows: (1) manufactures and collection of duties, (2) industrial arts, (3) trade, and (4) registration.

Regarding the functions of the Maurya commission, it is stated that the boards in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters of public interest such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repairs, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours and temples.\(^3\) The members of the Gupta adhisṭhān-ādhisṭhāna also might have similar departmental and collective functions. At least in the matter of sale and grant of lands it is seen that the committee gave its sanction as a collective body.\(^4\)

As regards the extent of authority of the adhisṭhān-ādhisṭhāna, it was confined not merely to the limits of the city, but extended also to suburban areas. Thus, in the Pakharpur copper-plate inscription, a representation is stated to have been laid before the adhisṭhān-ādhisṭhāna for the grant of lands in certain rural areas belonging to the Nāgiratva maṇḍala of the Dakshinapārṇīka viṭṭhi.\(^5\) Similar disposals of land are referred to also in the Damodarpur inscriptions.\(^6\)

The constitution of a vishaya-ādhisṭhāna, meant for the transaction of affairs of a vishaya, seems to have been different from that of the adhisṭhān-ādhisṭhāna. It had only a senior member (jyāṣṭhā-ādhisṭhānaviśāka) at the head, who was sometimes the senior registrar (jyāṣṭhā-kāyastha).\(^7\) As the affairs of this adhisṭhāna were probably less complex no mention is made of a śreṣṭhīna, kulika or sārthavīha as its member. Disposal of village lands was made by this adhisṭhāna evidently with the approval of the head of the district.\(^8\) Details are not available about the constitution of the vishaya-ādhisṭhāna. Its functions were probably similar to those of the vishaya-ādhisṭhāna and its jurisdiction was confined to a viṭṭhi.

Another adhisṭhāna referred to in inscriptions is the asṭakul-ādhisṭhāna. This has been explained as an officer having supervising authority over eight kulas, the word kula being taken to mean either a family or as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by 6 bulls.\(^9\) The appointment of rural officers each for supervision of eight families or a small area of

---

1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
2 Cf. U. N. Ghosnal, op. cit., pp. 203 ff. [The board of administration seems to have worked like a Pāschāyast, the Nagaraśreṣṭhīna being its chairman. The Nagaraśreṣṭhīna (i.e. Nagaraśreṣṭhīna) heading the Pāschāyast is known from the history of Rajasthan. See Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff.—Ed.]
3 V. A. Smith, loc. cit.; J. W. McCrirrle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, London, 1877, pp. 88 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 70.
8 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 200, 204.
9 But see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 84-85.
10 Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 137 ff., 2.
land in each village does not seem to be a plausible conjecture. Even if such a necessity existed in villages, the purpose might well have been served by the makattaras. Moreover, if it really signifies a village officer, whether for the supervision of different plots of agricultural lands or for the supervision of households, the number of such officers in each village must have been more than one. In the Dhanaiadaha plate, the word is used as a neuter singular and seems to signify a corporate body invested with definite administrative powers rather than individual officers. Gram-a&ashakul-adhikarana thus appears to be a board composed of eight kulas for the administration of village affairs. Dr. Sircar interprets the expression as a 'Village Board' representing eight or more families.\textsuperscript{1} The compound mahattar-ādy-ashira-kul-adhikarana in the Damodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 3\textsuperscript{a} indicates that at least one of the constituents, of which the ashtakul-adhikarana was composed, was represented by the mahattaras. The term kula in the compound ashtakul-adhikarana should thus be better interpreted as a 'community'.\textsuperscript{2} The other constituents of the ashtakul-adhikarana must have represented other village communities, although it is not possible to ascertain at present what they exactly were.

In the said Damodarpur inscription, a notification is addressed by the ashtakul-adhikarana and other people of Palāsvindaka to the people of Chandragría for the sale and grant of a plot of land. It seems that the administration of the affairs of all these villages remained with the same ashtakul-adhikarana which was located at Palāsvindaka. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these adhikaranas were appointed over convenient groups of neighbouring villages for transaction of their affairs somewhat like the Union Boards of the present day.

The different classes of adhikarana as discussed above were instituted in accordance with the requirements of respective territorial divisions. The largest territorial division under the Gupta administration was bhātī which was divided into a number of vishayas.\textsuperscript{3} A vīthī seems to have been a sub-division of a vishaya\textsuperscript{4} and consisted of a number of mandalas or circles\textsuperscript{5} or groups of villages.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the procedure for the disposal of land consisted of the following: (1) presentation of the application for the purchase and grant of land by the intending purveyor to the local officer of the king, the local adhikarana and the people of the locality; (2) verification of the statements made in the application by the record-keepers; (3) sanction of the sale and the grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people; (4) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price; (5) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration and the local adhikarana to the residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situate and to the officers of Government who were concerned with the affairs for their information and guidance.

It is difficult to form an accurate idea about the area of land which was conveyed by the document under review. Various attempts have been made to fix the area of a kula. It is now generally accepted that it denotes an area of land on which one kula of grain could be sown. One kula of grain has been interpreted by Dr. Bhattacharji to be as much as can be contained

\textsuperscript{1} IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{2} Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{3} For kāla used in this sense, cf. also R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 231. [The expression Mahattar-ādyi may mean that the Mahattara or village-headman was the chairman of the board.—Ed.]
\textsuperscript{4} Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 318; N.G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 81.
in a winnowing basket. Dr. Sircar invites attention to the following measures of paddy accepted as the basis of their calculation by the Smṛti authorities of the Bengal school:

- 8 mukhās (handfuls of grain) to 1 kuṭchā
- 8 kuṭchās to 1 pushkala
- 8 pushkala to 1 aṭhaka
- 4 aṭhakas to 1 drōṇa
- 8 drōṇas to 1 kula

"A drōṇa of paddy", he observes, "is equal in the modern measure to 1 ind. 24 as. or 2 mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one kula of paddy was no doubt called a kulavāpa (cf. Amarakośa, Vaiśya 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 mds. of paddy for 10 bighās, seedlings of one kula of paddy would require between 125 and 160 bighās. A kulavāpa was thus originally not less than 125 bighās. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one kulavāpa would be from 33 to 48 bighās as the rate is 1 mds. of paddy seeds for 3 bighās."

One mukhā or handful of paddy will weigh about 7½ tola.s One kula of paddy will thus amount to about 10 mds. 8 as. In North Bengal, half a measure of paddy seeds is usually required for sowing a bighā of land, and so, on this assumption, a kulavāpa of land appears to be no less than 38½ bighās. On the contrary, Dr. Bhattachalī points out that the name kulavāpa survives in the form of kulavīça, which is the name of the local standard land measure in the Sylhet District, being equivalent to 14 bighās only. In the opinion of Parajitor the area was far less, being only a little larger than an acre.

Whatever might be the process by which the area of land in a kulavāpa was originally determined, it must have been definitely fixed, although it could have varied in different localities according to the prevalent custom. This area is frequently referred to in inscriptions as having been measured by reeds. In some localities its dimensions are referred to as being measured by 8×9 reeds, while in other localities by 6×6 reeds. The reeds consisted of a number of cubits, which also varied according to the lengths of the land of individuals in different localities. Even the number of cubits in a reed might have varied in different localities. The quantity of land in a kulavāpa was therefore not the same everywhere.

As regards the situation of the land, Dr. Sircar observes: "The Vāṭānādi of the inscription may be the present Bārānāi flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rajahahā District. The name of the Śrīgavāra vāṭāli seems to be preserved in that of the modern Śrīgāra Police Station in the Natore Subdivision of the same District, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānāi and the Atrāi. ... the other localities mentioned in the Kalaikuri inscription ... may be searched for about the southern bank of the Bārānāi."
It will, however, be noted in this connection that the donation referred to in the inscription was made in favour of Brahmans who belonged to Pundarikadhana, the site of which has now been definitely identified with Maheshram in the Bogra District. It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of the grant as near the residence of the donees as possible. The lands conveyed by the document lay in Hastisirsha, Vihitakai, Dhanyapaṭalikā and Guilmagandhikā, all belonging to the Göhāli maṇḍala of the Śrīgavāra vīhā. There is a place called Singāhār about 20 miles to the south-west of Mahēsthān. Singāhār might be a corruption of Śrīgavāra. About 7 miles to the east of Singāhār is a village called Göhāli. About a couple of miles to the north of Singāhār is a village called Beheegon, which might be a corruption of Vihitakai. About 4 miles to the north-east of Beheegon is a village called Hātserā which might be the old Hastisirsha. The village of Dhanyapaṭalikā appears to have stood on the bank of the Vāṭā. The only river in the locality is a small stream called Nāgar, an offshoot of the Karatvāya. About 3 miles to the north of Hātserā is a village called Dhānpūjā on the Nāgar river. Is it the modern representative of Dhanyapaṭalikā? I am unable to locate Guilmagandhikā.

**TEXT**

**Obverse**

1 Svasti [[^1]] Sṛṅgavāra-vaiṭhaya-Pāñḍuk[aṅ]jāikyaḥ Ayukta[ō]-chunādaś-dhikaranāḥ
   -hā Hastisirshē [Vihitakayāḥ] [Gu]jīma[gandhi]-

2 kayām Dhanyapaṭalikāyaḥ sa-Gōhāliḥ Brāhmaṇ-adin-grāma-kūṭumbi[ṇaḥ] kū-
   tālam-anuvargya bōdhyanti [[^2]] [vi]jāditam-bo(θau vō)

3 bhavishyati[ō] yathā iha-vīthi-Kulika-Bhima-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradāsa-Dēvadatta-
   Lakāhora-Kā[n]ticēva Śambudatta-Krishna-

4 dāma-Pustapāla-Sinha(Sinha)nandī-Yaśodāmabhīṇī Vitthi-mahattara-Kumāradeva-Ganḍa-Pra-
   jāpati-Uma-Yaśarāma[8] śarman- Joshua-

5 dāma[9]-Śvāmiabandha-Hariśinha(sinba)-kūṭumbi-Yaṣvīśhnu-Kumāravīśhnu-Kumārabha-
   Kumārabhītī-Kumāra-Ya[j]gūj[spa]-Vaiśiṇa[n]di i[^10]-

6 Śivakunḍa-Vasuvā-Aprastiva-Dāmarudra-Prabhūmitra-[Krishṇa]mitra-Māghaśarma[10].
   Īśvarachandra-Rudra-Bhavan[thas].

[^2]: There are numerous instances to prove this assumption to be definitely wrong. There can moreover hardly be any doubt about the identification of Vāṭā-nadi with the present Bārdwaj.—Ed.
[^3]: From the original plate.
[^4]: [Possibly Sangōkāśi or Sangōkaliḥu.—Ed.]
[^5]: [Better bhavan.—Ed.]
[^6]: [Read Yaśmāma. [Better Umapati-Rāmakarma.—Ed.]
[^7]: [The reading is 'dō(dha)ma.—Ed.]
[^8]: [The addenda does not look like ma.—Ed.]
[^9]: [The reading is Prabhū; cf. Prabhuchandra in line 3 and Bhakadatta in line 8.—Ed.]
[^10]: [The rules of sandhi, which is compulsory in a compound, have not been observed here.—Ed.]
[^11]: [The reading seems to be Rudrabhaṣa-Bhuja[ō].—Ed.]
7 Śrīnātha-Hariśārma-Guptaśārma-Suṣrurāmā-Hari-Ālātrasvāmi-Brahmaśārmi-Mahāśeṇa-brhatpa-Shashthirā[ma]a-Gu...[ma]-

8 ṛmaa-Guptaśārma-Kśrihari-datta-śandadāma-Bhavatatā-Ahīśārma-Somavīshṇu-Lakṣa-

9 maṇaśārma-Sa(rppa)palita-Kaukṣi-Vaśaśākara-Jayavīśāmi-Kaivartaśārma-Himaśa-

10 rmaa-Puśrajadā-[Jai]gavīshṇu-Uma......

11 Śrīgavīshṇu-Rāmavāmi-Kāmanakaṇḍa-Betibhadra-Achytabhadra-Lōdha-Prabhu-

12 kiriti-Jayade[ra]-Kā[14]......#Achuta-Narade-Bhava-

13 Bhavakshita-Pichchakṣaṇḍa-Pravaraṇḍa-Suṣrurādāsa-Gopāla-purūgāḥ vayatt uḥ vijñā-

14 pitāḥ iha-vithyam-spratikara-khila-khētra-

15 13 sya-asvāt-kāl-ōpahāgāyā-khāhaya-nivyā dvi-dinārikaya-khila-khētra-kulabā(vā)pa-vikraya-

16 maryādyāyā iḥohāmākā# prati

17 prati mātā-pitrāḥ puya-ābhirādhyā Paupārvardashākara-chāturvīyā#-Vajāsanēya-

18 chārān-ābhyaṃvara-Brahmaṇa-Dēva-

19 bhṛṭa-Amaradatta-Mahāśeṇadattanām panche-mahāyajña-pravartanaṃ nava-kulabā-

20 (vā)pān-ārtvā dātu[tum] ehir-āh-bā-ā

21 ri#-nirddhipata-grāmanhku khila-kheṭṛacī vidyantē tad-arhatā-āsmaṭṭaḥ ashtādaś-

22 dinānāṃ grhīt[v]ā etān-nava-kulabā(vā)pā-

Reverse

27 ny=anumāday[i]hi[t]u[m] yataḥ śāh[ā]n Kulika-Bhima-dādāmāṃ vijñāpyam-upalabhya Pustap-

28 pāla-Sūhā(Sūhā)anda-Yādav[dāmā]-chā-ā-

---

1 [[The rules of sandhi which is compulsory in a compound have not been observed here.—Ed.]}
2 [[The reading of the name is doubtful.—Ed.]]
3 [[The reading seems to be Kānti-Dhārakā.—Ed.]]
4 [[Better Vīśva-Saṅkara.—Ed.]]
5 [[The name intended may be Sūhādatta.—Ed.]]
6 [[The name is Tañkh.—Ed.]]
7 [[The name seems to be Gubhātesu, the previous name ending in īr.—Ed.]]
8 [[The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.—Ed.]]
9 [[The reading is Prabha.—Ed.]]
10 [[The reading seems to be "dālta.—Ed.]]
11 [[The reading seems to be Kālaka.—Ed.]]
12 [[The word iḥohāmākā appears to suit the context.—Ed.]]
13 [[The reading is chāturvīyā.—Ed.]]
14 [[The reading seems to be sojñasaṃs which is a mistake for sojñasaṃs.—Ed.]]
15 [[Read śākakṣapāt.—Ed.]]
16 [[Read "caupdnaṃeva."—Ed.]]
18 vadhrapay-avadhita-sty-sam-ha-vithyam-spratikara-kshila-khettrasya sāvatt-kāll-
  * oṣabhogāy-sakshayaniyā dvī-dinā-

19 rikṣa-kulyabā(ś)pa-vikarnyā-nvrtitas tad-diyatām nāśati virākha kaśchid-ity-sa-
  * vsthāpya Kulika-Bhim-udibhyāv āsṭādāsā.

20 dinārān-upasasāna(samāhā)ritakān-āyikātīya Hastiśitra-Vibhikāyāṁ Hanumāpāta-
  * likā-[Gulmāgandhikā]-grāmsēhu ..........

21 dyāṁ daksin-oddēśaṁ āśaṁ kulyabā(ś)paḥ Hanumāpāṭalikā-grāmsāya paśchim-
  * oṣar-oddēśī [ā]yakhaṁa-parikhā-veśhīta-

22 mūtāraṇā Vāṭā-nadi[ṛ]h paśchimeṇa Gulmāgandhikā-grāma-sūnānam oṣta kulyabāpum-
  * ēkā Glohma(ima)gandhikāyāṁ purvē-

23 nādyapathāḥ paśchima-pradēśe Drūmabā(ś)pa-dvayaḥ Hastiśitra-pravēṣya-Tapaśa.
  [pōttakā] Dayātōtākā cha vi-

24 būtaka-pravēṣya-Chitravātānagārā yāvas[*] kulyabā(ś)paḥ saptā Drūmabā(ś)paḥ oṣhat
  * ēhu yat-ōpāri-niruddhikā-grama-pra-

25 dēśāṁbhāṁ Kulika-Bhimā-Kaśyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradēś-adināṁ mātā-pitrōḥ puṣy-
  * abhayādībhāya Brāhmaṇa-

26 Dēvabhaṭṭasya kulyabā(ś)paḥ paśaḥ ku 5 Amaraddattasya kulyabā(ś)pa-duvayaḥ Mahānādattasya kulyabā(ś)pa-duvayaṁ

27 ku 2 āsahān trayāṇām paśa-nāma-mahāyaṇa-pravarttanāya nava-kulyabā(ś)paṇī pradattānī[
  * ] tad-yuṣmākām ...... t-mi-

28 tivä likhyatā cha samapasthitā-kālaṃ-apy-anvē[-Sahayapataḥ Ayuktakāḥ kuṭumbinō
dhīkarṣikā va samyasa(samīva)va-

29 hāriṇī bhavishyanī tair-apī bhūmi-dūna-phalam-avēkṣhya akṣaya-uvy-ampulanyā [[*]
  * Uktai cha Mahābhāratē bhagava-

30 tā Vyāsaṁ [[*] Sva-ppardbhām praddattām-bāttāṁ vā yō harē[ṛ]sa vasundharān(ṛm) [[*]
  * sa vinhṭhāyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pṛ[tribhiḥ] saḥ pa[cyatē] [[*] Shasṭihīn(ṛhā-
  * varēva-sahasrē[ṛ]ṇ]}

31 svargā vaṣati bhūmīdāḥ [*] akṣhitā chā-numa[n]tē cha tānya-eva narakē vasaṭ [[*]
  * Kriṣṇa kriṣṇa-vṛttāyā vṛttī-kahāpya aida[tē] [[*] bhūmīn

---

[*The reading is dhrit(e).—Ed.]
* Read "dhūtye=mādaḥ or "dhūtyaḥ astādaṁ.
* Read Vihīnakāt.***
* Read kulaṇḍam=dam. [Read it dhātūra=vṛtta niṣṭhāνaṁ Vājāṇaṁ. ...... grama-sūnānam niṣli (sīm=ā) kulyabāḥ(ā)ḥ pūrvāḥ. (pa ṅ)kā. —Ed.]
* The letter read ṹaṁ appear to be written on an erasure and are doubtful.—Ed.
* [Read kulyapete praddbāḥ. —Ed.]
* [The reading appears to be viśvaṁda(ī).—Ed.]
* [The reading may be kālā nṛṇ=apy-anvē.—Ed.]
2 vṛṣṭikarna-đatvā as[ukha]ś bhavati kāmāda[h] | Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā bhujya yatra 
punāḥ puna[h] | yasya yasya yadā bhumīś-tasya taśya

33 tadā phala[hi]jam | Pūrva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyo yatnād-rakṣaya(ksha) Yudhisṭhirā | [ṭ]
Mahīṁ-mahimapāṁ srūlaṁ daṇṇaḥ-achhīyā-čaupā[la]nam | [ṭ] i[tī] [ṭ]

34 Samvatsā 100 20 1 Vaiśākha-dī 1 | [ṭ]

---

1 [The reading seems to be pehaṃmaṁḥ || Ed.]
2 Read asāvaṅṅa.
3 This numeral is left out in Sivora's transcript. The sign is distinct in the original. [The reading 3 seems be supported neither by the original nor by the impressions.—Ed.]
No. 10—UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OUTACAMUND, AND P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI

One day about the middle of the year 1865, Mr. R. M. Nath, well-known for his enthusiasm in the discovery and study of antiquities in Assam, when he was Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Gauhati, went to see Swami Sivanandaji of the Umachala Ashrama on the north-eastern slope of the Kamakhya or Nilachal hill near Gauhati. This part of the hill is known as the Umachala hill. The Swamiji informed Mr. Nath that, due to the uprooting of a very old banyan tree several years back, a huge rock bearing an inscription in very bold characters had been exposed to view near his Ashrama. The information excited the curiosity of Mr. Nath who at once examined the inscription which was found to be in a perfectly satisfactory state of preservation. The rock bearing the inscription was found to measure about 10 feet in height and 12 feet in breadth and to lie about 300 feet above the level of the river Brahmaputra. Next day Mr. Nath again visited the Umachala Ashrama and took photographs of the epigraph as well as its impressions on blotting paper. A gentleman named L. N. Das took considerable interest in the work. The impressions and photographs of the inscription were shown to the officers of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Later a photograph and an impression of the inscription were also sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. The world of scholars is thankful to Swami Sivananda, Mr. R. M. Nath and Mr. L. N. Das for the discovery of this interesting epigraph.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 12" to 15" by 10" to 11". The first line is 12" in length and the last 15". The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet assignable to a period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. The letters m, t, s and h are of the Eastern Gupta type. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to a date near about that of the Barganga inscription\(^1\) of Bhūtivarmā (circa 618-42 A.D.), with which it has very close resemblance in respect both of palaeography and style. The form of the letter y in the passage āgusukkāmanā viśaya dh in line 3 of the Barganga inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in śvāmināyā in line 4 of our record. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the representation of the mute m in kriyam in line 2 and of b by the sign ड in Vaiśābhīdva (line 3). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is a grammatical error in the phrase bhavatā Bhalabhadravāmin in lines 3-4, the intended reading apparently being either bhavatā Bhalabhadravāmin or bhavatē Bhalabhadravāminē. It is clear that for śvāmināyā, Sanskrit śvāminē was the intended reading, although the word bhavatā suggests that the scribe had originally śvāminiā in mind. Of orthographical interest are the retention of the mute m before bh in the passage kriyam bhavatā (lines 2-3), the avoidance of sandhi in the passage bhavatā Bhalabhīdva (line 3) and the change of the final m into anuvāra in gubam (line 4) which is the concluding word of the record. The use of the word gubam in the neuter, probably in the sense of Sanskrit guhā, 'cave', is of lexical interest.\(^2\)

The inscription was meant to serve the purpose of a label of an artificial cave (gubam) or cave-temple constructed by Mahāvāja Śrī Surenādravarman for Bhagavati Balabhadravāminē.

\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff. and Plate.

\(^2\) The word gubam, as used in the epigraph, does not appear to be derived from Sanskrit guhā under the influence of local pronunciation.
The epigraph is small; but its contents have some importance in view of the fact that Mahārāja-
dāvāja Surēndravarman, known from this record to have held sway over the heart of the
Prāgyātiśa or Kāmarūpa country during the age of the Imperial Guptas, is not known from any
other source, while the deity Bhagavat Balabhadrasvāmin is not mentioned in any epigraphic
record of the Gupta period so far known. The construction of artificial caves and the
installation of deities therein are well-known to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.1
But the present inscription supplies the only instance of the kind for Assam. The record also
appears to be the earliest so far discovered in that State.

We know that, from the middle of the fourth till the middle of the seventh century, Prāgyā-
tiśa or Kāmarūpa was under the rule of kings of a family called Bhauma or Nāraka and rarely also
Varman. This dynasty was founded by Pushyavarman who seems to have flourished in circa
360-74 A.D. His successors were his son Samudravarman (c. 374-58 A.D.), grandson Balavarman
(c. 388-422 A.D.), great-grandson Kalyāṇavarman (c. 422-46 A.D.) and great-great-grandson
Gaṇapativarman (c. 445-70 A.D.). Gaṇapativarman’s successor was Mahāindravarman
(c. 470-94 A.D.) whose son Nārāyaṇavarman (c. 494-518 A.D.) and grandson Bhūtivarman or
Mahābhūtivarman (c. 518-42 A.D.) were both performers of the horse-sacrifice. The Barganga
inscription, which, as already noticed, seems to be slightly later than the record under review, was
inscribed during the reign of the said Bhūtivarman. It therefore appears that the Umāchāl rock
inscription was engraved during the reign of one of the said rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty.
It has to be remembered that the Umāchāl hill lies within a short distance from Gauhati where
(or, in the vicinity of which) the capital of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings is believed to have been
situated.2 The question is therefore whether Surēndravarman of the present record was identical
with one of the above kings or he was a usurper. In the latter case, we have to determine whether
he was a son of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty or belonged to a different family. None of these
questions can be settled satisfactorily in the present state of insufficient information. Since,
however, in ancient India kings often enjoyed a number of different names, it may not be unreason-
able to identify Surēndravarman of our inscription with one of the known rulers of the Bhauma-
Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the fifth century. Since again, in ancient India, kings
were sometimes mentioned by synonyms of their names, Surēndravarman may be tentatively
identified with Mahāindravarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty who flourished in c. 470-94 A.D.
The names Surēndra and Mahāendra both indicate Indra, the lord of the gods.

As regards Bhagavat Balabhadrasvāmin, for whom king Surēndravarman is stated in the
record to have built an artificial cave or cave-temple, it may be argued that he was a saint held
by the monarch in special esteem. It is, however, more likely that Bhagavat Balabhadrasvāmin
of the present inscription is no other than the well-known Vaishnavite deity variously called Balab-
hadra, Baladeva, Balaraṇa, Saṅkarahaṇa, etc. He was one of the five deified heroes of the
Yādava-Sātvata-Yrishnī clan, the others being Vāsudeva (Krīṣṇa), Pradyumna, Aniruddha and
Śamba. Of these, Vāsudeva, Balabhadra-Saṅkarahaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be
worshipped as the four Vṛṣākas by the followers of the Bhāgavata or Pāṭalikaraṇa form of early
Vaishnavism, although Balabhadra-Saṅkarahaṇa and Vāsudeva were the more respected among
the four. There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadra in the
period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The inscriptions of the
Gupta age do not refer to his independent worship although the Vṛṣāka doctrine finds a prominent
place in the Pāṭalikaraṇa Saṅkhīṇa, some of which were composed between the fourth and
eighth centuries. The Amarakīṣa, composed during this period, speaks of all the four Vṛṣākas.

A modified form of the Vyaşa doctrine is also noticed in the joint worship of Balabhadra, Kṛishṇa and Ekānāthē (or, Subhadrā), their combined image being referred to by Varāhamihira in the sixth century A.D. Gradually Balabhadra came to be regarded as one of the Acaśānas of Vaiṣṇu. The importance of the Umāchāl rock inscription therefore lies in the fact that it testifies to the independent worship of Balabhadra in Assam about the fifth century A.D. Thus it appears that, even though the independent worship of this Vaiṣṇavite deity was no longer popular, it did not die out in the Gupta age.

TEXT

1 Mahārājādhirāja-ārī-
2 Surēndravarmvanā kṛitam
3 bhagavataḥ Valabhadra-
4 svāmināyaḥ idam guhaṁ[1][2][3][4]

TRANSLATION

This cave (i.e. cave-temple) of the most worshipful Balabhadravāmin is constructed by the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Sūrendravarmvan. (Or—This cave-temple has been built by the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Sūrendravarmvan for the most worshipful Balabhadravāmin.)

---

[3] Read either Balabhadravāmināḥ or bhagavatē Balabhadravāminā.
No. 11—TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELLA TRAILOKYAVARMAN, SAMVAT 1264

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered in 1943 by Pandit Govind Sararam Harale of the Lakshmipur Mohalla of Saugar, Madhya Pradesh, while he was digging a pit in his house. Tehri (old Tihari) whence the grant was issued is associated with Bānapur and called Tihari or Tehri-Bānapur by the local people. It was formerly included in the Orchha State of Bundelkhand, but now forms part of Vindhyā Pradesh. It is situated at the eastern end of the State near the borders of U. P. The plate now belongs to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, very kindly sent me a request its photograph and permitted me to edit the inscription in this journal. Dr. Patwardhan informs me that, when the plate was received, it was bent vertically in the middle and had to be straightened before its impression or photograph could be taken. Except a small portion of metal broken off on the left lower corner, the plate is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The inscription was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII (1947), pp. 45 ff., from an inked impression supplied to them by Sattase Vaidya of Saugar. But their treatment of the record is not quite satisfactory. The single plate, which is engraved on one side only, is very thick and heavy. It measures 14½” by 10½” and weighs 275 tolas. In the centre of the plate, at the top, dividing the first four lines of the inscription, is engraved the figure of seated Gaja-Lakṣhmi which is found on all Chandella records so far published. There are small holes at the edges on all sides of the plate, which show that a small copper band was riveted round it to protect the writing; but it has fallen off. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that, in another plate of Trailokeyavarmāṇa, a similar copper-band riveted on the four sides of the plate has been found intact. This method of providing protection to the writing appears to have been at times adopted instead of the one of raising the edges. The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the plate where it was bent, thereby damaging or deforming them in the area affected by the bend. The letters are not of the same size throughout. The first six lines are written in large letters, each measuring about 3/8 of an inch; but from the seventh line the letters become smaller and in the last two or three lines they are reduced almost to half the size. As much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The characters are Dvānaśāra of the thirteenth century. The forms of v and bh are similar, as in Chandrārāja and vartika in line 1. The consonant b has been indicated by the sign for v. There are in all 19 lines of writing. As for orthography, the consonants d, g, v, l, p, and m following a superscript r are generally doubled, as in Muddavaramaddēva in line 3 and Puramandāvēra in line 4, etc. Asukēra has replaced the class nasal in Narēndra and chandira (line 1), but not in mandira (line 15) and elsewhere. The text has comparatively few mistakes as contrasted with other Chandella grants.

1 The inscription should better have been named either as the Saugar plate after its find-spot or as the Magdāra grant after the gift village.—Ed.
2 The epigraph is noticed in A.R. Ep., 1946-47, p. 2.
3 The names Sihaśvīni, Vaṭānā and Mañjātura in line 7 have been read respectively as Sihaśvēni, Vaṭānā and Mañjātura. The Gaja-Lakṣhmi figure on the plate has been wrongly taken to be the god Śiva in śivākṣara
5 For some of the Chandella grants full of mistakes, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 129, 133 and 136.
The epigraph opens as usual with the praise of the Chandrārāya or Chandella royal family. After making a reference to Jayaśakti and Vījayaśakti, who are known to have been the real founders of the Chandella power and after the first of whom the Chandella kingdom was called Jōjākhabhukti, the grant describes three Chandella kings, viz. Madanavarman, Paramārdidēva and Trailōkyavarman. Paramabhājāraka-Mahārājādhārāja-Paramādēva Trailōkyavarman is described as Paramamādhēvara and Kālaśijär-ādhipati (lord of Kālaśijāra). The name of Yaśōvarman, who, according to the Bațējav inscription¹, was the father of Paramārdidēva, is omitted here as in records like the Garra plates of Trailōkyavarman² and Mahōba plates of Paramārdidēva. The charter was issued by Trailōkyavarman when he was residing at Tihāri and records his gift of the village Maṇḍāra, situated in the Vāḍavāri vīshāya, to Nāyaka Kūḷēvarman who hailed from the village of Rāikaūra. It seems that the announcement of the grant was made at the Sihājaupī military camp (Sihājaupī-saṅgītē). The grantee was the son of Nāyaka Gayādēvara, grandson of Rāṇa Sihāja and great-grandson of Rāṇa Nāgraśa. He belonged to Vatsagōtra having the five pravartas, viz., Vetas, Bhāgava, Chyavana, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and was a student of the Vājaśanāyā śākhā.

The epigraph cites the following date both in words and numerical figures: V.S. 1264. Bhādreśa-vādi 2, Friday. If the year is taken as expired, the details of the date correspond regularly to the 20th August, 1238 A.D.

The earliest date of Trailōkyavarman known from the Garra grant is Friday, April 22, 1205 A.D.³ He appears to have ascended the throne shortly after the death of his father Paramārdidēva in April 1202 A.D. during the siege of Kālaśijāra by Ḥub-uḍ-dīn Aibak.⁴ There is no agreement among Muslim chronicles regarding either the date or the course of events of the siege of Kālaśijāra.⁵ I am in favour of accepting Monday, the 20th Rajab (Ḥisābi), 599 A.H., corresponding to April 16, 1202 A.D., as the correct date of the capture of the fort by the Muslims. Parameterdīn died before the fort was captured by the Muslims and the peace with the invaders was then concluded by his son and successor Trailōkyavarman.

Shortly after his accession, Trailōkyavarman seems to have launched an attack upon the Turks, with whom, according to his Garra plates, a battle was fought at Kākaśādaha, in which Rāṇa Pāpē, an officer of Trailōkyavarman, was killed. This is confirmed by an Ajayagār inscription of the time of Vīravarman dated the 14th April, 1261 A.D., which states that Trailōkyavarman was like Vīshnū in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turbas.⁶ Trailōkyavarman had also to face an attack from a certain Bhōjika, who, according to the Ajayagār inscription of Bhōjavarmān, 'seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two.’⁷ This Bhōjika was defeated and killed in a battle by Vāśēka, an officer of Trailōkyamalla, whom the latter claims to have made ‘again the ornament of princely families.’⁸ The last known date of Trailōkyavarman, according to the Rewah plates of Hariśjādēva, falls in V.S. 1298, Mārga (January-February 1241 A.D.),⁹ if the Trailōkyavarman of this grant is regarded

² Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff.
³ Ibid., pp. 9 ff.
⁴ [The language of the record shows that Sihājaupī was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated.—Ed.]
⁷ Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 189.
⁸ Above, Vol. I, pp. 327, 328 (v. 7).
⁹ Ibid., p. 337.
¹⁰ Ibid., cit.
as identical with Chandélla Trailókyavarman. It seems, however, that he was the king who, according to Minhâj, fled from Kâlânjara when it was attacked by Nusrat-ud-din Tâshâ in A.H. 631 (1233 A.D.) during the reign of Iyâltimish. According to Minhâj, the king of Kâlânjara was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit. If this account of Minhâj is taken as correct, Trailókyavarman of the above Rewâh plate cannot be identified with the Chandélla Trailókyavarman. If this record no inscription of the time of Trailókyavarman bearing a date subsequent to 1213 A.D., the date of an Ajâyagâr inscription, has so far been found.

The following places are mentioned in the charter: Vâdavâri-vishaya, Tîhari, Manjâura, Sihaḍâuri and Raikaura. Vâdavâri appears to be the same as Vâdavâla, mentioned in the Garra plates of Parmârdidéva, or Vâdavâri of the Sême grant. It has been identified with Bedwâjâ in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhâñâi District of U.P. Tîhari is the same as modern Tîhari or Tehri-Bânapur, near Tikangaráh. Manjâura is modern Madaora in the Lalitpur Sub-division. It is 28 miles south of Tikangarh and Tehri and almost at the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. Sihaḍâuri is the same as Siyaçoñi of inscriptions, identified with Siroñ Khuril nearly 10 miles west-north-west of Lalitpur. I am unable to identify Raikaura.

TEXT

1 Om śvasti [ ] Jayatya-aśkâlayan-vâsvan Vârââvâra-hi[r]-âhrâtaḥ | Chandrârâya-nârâ- 

2 Tatrâ pravardhamâhū parimâhâvya-âhrâja-paramêvâra-ârâ-Madanavarmadâva-pâd-ânudhyâta- 

3 râ paramâbhâttâra-kâmahâjâdhirâja-paramêvâra-ârâ-Madanavarmadâva-pâd-ânudhyâta-para- 

4 bvâttâra-kâmahâjâdhirâja-paramêvâra-ârâ-Paramardvâdâva-pâd-ânudhyâta-para-ma- 

5 hârâjâdhirâja-paramêvâra-paramannâhâvâra-ârâ-Kâlânjârâdhipati-ârîmat-Trailókyavar-

6 jayî [ ] Sa śva dvivipâ(sa)lata-râ-tâpita-sakala-rîpa-kulâh kulavadhm-îva 

7 vikâlâ-vâipâ-simmanâkripta-matil Sihaḍâuri-sainyâ Vâdavâri-vishay-ântâdpâti-Mahâ- 

8 mûnyân-adîkîtân-kutûmni(mbi)-kâyastra-âûaâ(ve)â(d)va-mâhattân-Mâda-Chânâala-

9 ti cÅâstu vâh samvî (svâ)â-ditañ yathâ-âparîkhitâ-yam grâmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-sthâvâra-

1

[Notes and references]

5 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 157.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 274.
7 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarasayn Rao for this reference.
8 Expressed by symbol.
10. rddhvo bhūta-bhavishyad-varttamāna-ni(m)ēmah-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratikhidhān-haṁ-ādi-pravēṣāḥ-ch-a[smā]bhikhi Tihāriün-samāvāśe Chaturahāṃśya-adhi-
12. drav-vadi 2 Su(Su)krā-vārē Raikaura-vinirgatāya Vaṭa-gōtṛāya Vatsa-Bhāṛgava-Chyavan-Aurma[ra](rrva)-Yē(Jā)madagnya-paṅcha-pravarāya Vējaśa(sa)nēya-ādikṣū.
13. dhyāyinī Rāṃaka-Nagragaṇa-prapratīyāya Rāūta-Sihaṇḍa-pauṭṛāya Nāyaka-Gayādhara-pauṭṛāya Nāyaka-Kulaśarmmane Vṛā(Brā)hmanāya āā
14. sa[mā] krītvā padaśa iti matvā bhavadbhir-ājñā-āravana-vidbhyair-bhūtvā bhūga-bbogapassu(su)-hiranyā-kara-āulu(m-kā)di-sarpvam-asmai samupanātavāṃvyām(vyam |)
15. Tad-ēnam-asya grāmān sa-mandira-prākāram sa-nirṛgama-pravēṣaṁ sa-sarvam-āśan-ēkṣha-karpṛasa-knu(su)ma-sa(sā)pāmrā-madhik-kādi-bhūrubha[ri]n° sa-vana-kha-
17. āvā(bhūḥ)ābhāyantar-ādāyaṁ bhūheṣāya na kēn-āpi vādhā kāryā | Atra oha rāja-rājapuruṣā-ādhibhiḥ svamā vābhhayam parahittavāyāh(vyām)ma-īdaṁ-ch-ēsam-dāma(na)-
18. m-anāchchhādyam-anābhāreyaḥ-ch-ēti bhāvibhier-api bhūnipiṭlayaḥ pāḷanyāṃ(yam) || Uktān- oha || Sahaṭṭhaṁ varaha-sahasrāpi vavarggē varati bhūmidāḥ | sāhohetā(ṛtā) v-ānumante(uṇā) oha tāny-ē.

The script is superfluous.
No. 12—KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUWARDHANA II

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

This copper-plate record was secured by Mr. G. C. Chandra, ex-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1940, when he was touring in the Guntur District. It was in the possession of the Thakildar of the Palnad Taluk, to whom it was handed over by a farmer of Gurasal, who is said to have discovered it while ploughing a field. Mr. Chandra made over the set of plates to the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy. I edit it below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India with whom the plates now lie.

The set consists of five plates, each measuring 8\(\frac{1}{4}\)" by 3" with a hole (\(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter) at their left margin, through which passes a circular copper ring, \(\frac{1}{2}\)" thick and about 3" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a mass of copper shaped into a circular seal about 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" across, which bears on its flattened surface the legend Śrī-Viṣṇuṣaṅkṣṭhāṇi in a single line embossed in bold characters over the figure of a lotus in relief. Above the legend is a crescent, also embossed in high relief. The seal is similar to that of the Niṣupāru plates except for the difference in the legend which in the latter reads Śrī-Saṅkṣṭhāṇi. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 110 tulas.

The characters belong to the Southern variety and may be assigned to a date about the end of the 7th century A. D. The inscription is neatly engraved and is fairly well preserved except for some portions damaged on the last plate. Of the individual letters, the vowels a, ā, i, ì, and au occur, a in lines 4 and 6, ā in line 46, i in lines 2 and 39 and ī in line 33. The medial sign for short i is indicated by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter as in vi in viṣṇu, and its length is denoted by a sharp inward curve of the loop on its left side as in śrī in line 2 and kṣ in kirtti in line 6. The aspirate pā is distinguished from p by a sharp inward bend of the right hand shaft of the letter, as in phāla in lines 17 and 44; b is of the closed type throughout; the Dravidian t occurs in lines 5 and 15 and r in lines 29 and 38. The final m is written in a diminutive and cursive form and is shaped like an inverted interrogation mark with its right arm stretched upwards, as in putrām (line 3) and vṛgyām (line 4). The rāpha is denoted by a short vertical shaft attached right over the letter as in avalī and gāmbhīrya (lines 1 and 12); but when it occurs in conjunction with the sign for i which is denoted by a circle attached to the top of the letter, it is written in two ways, viz., with the circle enclosing the shaft as in śriti in Kṛśṇaśrīmarāṇaḥ (line 6) and with the circle attached to the top of the shaft as in śrīdhi in viṣṇupādaḥ (line 15).

The language of the charter is Sanskrit composed in prose throughout except for the minatory verses at the end of the document. As regards orthography the consonant after the rāpha is generally doubled except where the rāpha occurs due to sandhi as in āyur-bala (line 30). Minor errors in syntax (duly corrected in the body of the text itself) are met with in lines 22, 29, 33, etc.

1 C. P. No. 50 of 1904-05.
2 I am indebted to my colleagues Messrs M. Venkataramaṇya and P. B. Desai for a number of useful suggestions they offered while I was preparing this article.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55.
The charter commences with a prayer invoking longevity, health, and prosperity of the king and success in the attainment of his desires. In the delineation of his forebears of the parent line, the record omits the name of Pulakèśi I as Rāparāga although he appears to have been accounted for. Again, while describing the relationship of Kirttivarman with Rāparāga, the expression prapti has been used wrongly for nāpti. Vishnuvardhana II, the donor, is correctly described as the proputra, i.e. great-grandson, of Kirttivarman.

The object of the grant is the gift of the village of Kōjaki in Pāllirāśhtra by Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana, the son of Indravarma-mahārāja who is described with such epithets as Tyāgadēva, Vigrakaśiddhi, Śīkapavikrama and Rājadēvīśrava and as the brother of Jayasimha-vallabha. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha for the longevity, success and prosperity of its issuer, i.e. king Vishnuvardhana (line 30). It seems to have been committed to writing about eight months later, on the date recorded at the end of the grant, viz. regnal year 30 of Jayasimha, Āsvayuja 10, Monday, Śravana-nakshatra (lines 44-46). The recipient of the gift was Vidūṣarman of the Pancāra gātra, Āpastamba sūtra and Taistarīya charapa, the Bōya of Kandera and a resident of Ātkuru. He was the son of Mahāśeṣaśarman who is described as a scholar of repute in the various branches of learning and is extolled as ‘the very Vararuci of the present day’ for his erudition in the exposition of the āgamas. Having received the gift village, Vidūṣarman seems to have divided it into 120 shares and distributed them among fifteen persons whose names and individual shares are specified in detail. Of them, the first four, namely Vishnuvardhana and his son Mahāśeṣaśarman and his brother Dāmasarman figure as the principal donors each getting 20 shares apiece, while the rest who figure as the bōyas of specified villages are assigned shares ranging between one and six. The number of shares thus given to the donors comes to 114 only. Perhaps the remaining 6 shares that make up the total of 120 are those set apart as dēvabhāya (text line 31).

The king then enjoins not only upon the future rulers of his line but also upon the officials who were in charge of the village produce (prakrītā-vahavidhi-kriṇa) to protect the gift. These latter are specified as Dhananājaya and others of the Ayavā-ārama, i.e. lineage of Ayavaṇa.

Of considerable interest in the record are the details of the two dates, possibly specifying the respective occasions on which the gift was made and the deed registering the gift, subsequently committed to writing. A lunar eclipse in Māgha marked the occasion of the former and Āsvayuja 10, Monday, Śravana, in the 30th year of Jayasimha marked the latter. The latter, it may be noted, was the auspicious occasion of Viśnavaśiśi. This rare citation of a double date, in a way, serves as an aid for arriving at the precise date of the record and therefore of the exact year of commencement of the Eastern-Chalukya rule which, according to Fleet, is c. 615 A.D. and according to the latest calculations 624 A. D. Since the charter is dated in the 30th year of Jayasimha, i.e. roughly the 47th year from the commencement of the Eastern-Chalukya rule, counting 17 full years of reign for Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the eighteenth regnal year being his last and perhaps also the first year of the reign of his successor Jayasimha, it would fall somewhere between 662 and 671 A. D. according as the initial year of the Eastern-Chalukya rule is taken as 615 or 624 A. D. In the range of years 662-671 A. D., that year in which a lunar eclipse

1 Of the four epithets, Tyāgadēva and Sīkapavikrama are already known whereas Vigrakaśiddhi and Rājadēvīśrava are introduced for the first time by the present record.
2 The date of Vararuci is disputed. Some scholars assign him to 590-590 B. C. and some place him in the Gupta period. The epithet adhyāyam-Vararuci applied to the donor’s father Mahāśeṣaśarman indicates that Vararuci belonged to a remote past at the time of Jayasimha I, i.e. the 7th century A. D.  
4 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 43; A. R. Ep., 1945-46, p. 3.
occurred in Māgha and the śvātika śu. 10 of the succeeding Āśvayuja was a Monday would be the date of our record. During the period in question lunar eclipses in Māgha occurred in the years 668, 669 and 570 A.D. Leaving out of consideration the year 668 as improbable for the other date, viz., the date on which the record was committed to writing (the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja), the month Āśvayuja of the year 668 having preceded Māgha in which the grant was made, we have to see whether the śvātika of the succeeding Āśvayuja in the year 669 coincided with a Monday. The English equivalent for the details in this year works out to September 11, Monday, on which the nakṣatras Āśvayuja was also current.1 This much therefore can be said that on the date the grant was committed to writing, namely 11th September 669 A.D., the 30th regnal year of the king was current. Whether the lunar eclipses in Māgha in the preceding year, i.e. 668 A.D., also fell in the same regnal year, it is not possible to determine. The year 669 A.D. being thus the 30th year of reign of king Jayasimhavallabha, his initial year of reign will be 669—30=639-40 A.D. Deducting 17 years covering the reign of Kubja-Vishnuyavardhana from this, we get 639-40—17=622-23 A.D. as the year of commencement of the Eastern Chāḷukya rule.

A point arises here as to how Vishnuyavardhana II, with the title of Mahārāja, could issue a charter under his own royal seal bearing the legend Vīśhvasīdākī, during the very regnal of his uncle Jayasimhā. We know for certain that his own father Indravarman, whom he succeeded to the throne, ruled as king, although for a very short duration, and issued the Kṛṣṇanāgura grant.2 Vishnuyavardhana II calls himself the son of Indra-bhaṭṭāraka in his Pumiḍīmukkala plates (second set)3 which he issued in the 3rd year of his reign; but in another, viz. his Pumiḍīmukkala plates (first set)4, which is undated, he is described as the son of Jayasimhā. Some of the Eastern Chāḷukya grants assign to Jayasimhā a reign of 30 years while the majority of them state that he ruled for 33 years. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that the plates under review belonged almost to the fag end of Jayasimhā’s reign. It is not improbable that, at this period of his life, the king associated in the regal duties, his nephew, Vishnuyavardhana with full authority even to issue royal grants as the one under review under his own seal. In lines 22-24, the record enumerates a number of officials who were all notified of the gift by an order of the king. Among them the mention of the Tāḷuvā is noteworthy.6 This reminds us of the Mahākalavara known from such records as the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions.7 Among the village officials in South India, the Tulaṭi or Talagāri holds even today a responsible post.

The village of Kōṇḍiki is stated to have been situated in Paḷḷi-ṛāḥṭra. It can be identified with the village Kōṇḍiki, not far from Guraḍāla in the Palnad Taluk, Guntur District. There is another village of the same name in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the same District. But as this village is far away from Guraḍāla, the findspot of the plate, Kōṇḍiki in the Palnad Taluk seems to be the village intended. Paḷḷi-ṛāḥṭra, in which the gift village lay, appears to be the ancient name of the modern Palnaḍ. In inscriptions the name occurs variously as Paḷḷināḍḍu,8 Paḷḷidēḷa,9 and it is referred to as a 300-division. In Telugu literature, some chāṭu verses ascribed to Śīnāṭha (c. 1385-1475 A.D.), the court poet of the Redḍi kings, give a graphic picture of this tract variously called Paḷḷināḍḍu, Paḷṇāḍḍu and Paḷḷidēḷa.10 It may be

---

1 In calculating the details of the date I have followed the method suggested by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in An Indian Epigraphic, Vol. I, part I, pp. 138 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.
3 A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 115, pum. 20; C. P. No. 15 of 1916-17.
4 Ibid., C. P. No. 14 of 1916-17.
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and p. 7, f.m.1.
6 A. R. No. 834 of 1936-37.
7 A. R. No. 18 of 1941-42.
9 V. Prabhakara Sastri, Śīnāṭha Śrīstidhara, pp. 237-238, 240.
incidently noted that paḻi connoted, in Tamil literature, a place of worship, especially of the Buddhist or Jain sect.

The donees are all associated with the names of villages, of which they are stated to be the Bēyas. This expression, supposed to be a corruption of bhāgika, also occurs in another Eastern Chālukya charter belonging to the reign of Indravarman.1 All the villages mentioned in the record with the exception of one can be located, as shown in the table below, in the Palnad and adjacent Taluks of the Guntur District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Village mentioned in the plates</th>
<th>Its modern name</th>
<th>Taluk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kandēru</td>
<td>Kantēru</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Atukāru</td>
<td>Andukāru</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mudokāru</td>
<td>Mutukāru</td>
<td>Palnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Koṇḍasāmi</td>
<td>Koṇḍapāḷu(?)</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pāti</td>
<td>Pāṭībasaṇa</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kummāru</td>
<td>Koṇāru(?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Naḍukāru</td>
<td>Naḍākūla</td>
<td>Palnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kanaṭu</td>
<td>Kanaṭuru</td>
<td>Naresarpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Īrukutāru</td>
<td>Īkkururu</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Veḷpahāji</td>
<td>Veḷiherla</td>
<td>Bapatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Re [.....]</td>
<td>Rāṭīru (?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT**

**First Plate**


2 mpadya[ṛ]tām [*] [Śṛ]mad-Asanapur-ādhiṣṭhānu-na[na]-vāṣ[i] Śrīmad-bhagavat-svāmi-Mā-
(Mā[h]a[ḥ]a[ṇa]-pādānaudhyātā-

3 nā[ṛth] tribhuvana-mātr[ṛ][tr]ibhir-abhirakhitānām Ma(Mā)navy-aṇa[ṇ]gōṭrāṇāṁ Háritī-

putrāṇāṁ Kō(Kau)[jā][ṛ][k]-

4 vara-prāṣ[a]-labdha-rājyaṁ(nāṁ) chatur-udadhi-paryyanat[a]-[ta]-prathita-yaśasah(sāṁ) Áśvame(a(dha)-

5 yājīnāṁ(nāṁ) Chālukyaṁ-anvayaṁ-unnamayituma(tum) Sakrandaṇa(Sa[krandaṇa]-

bhūta-Ra[pr]āgasya

**Second Plate, First Side**

6 praṇaptāḥ(ptuk)ś asahya-vī-r-masya vipula-kiṟṟē[ḥ[*] Kṛttivamma(rmm)na[ḥ[*] prapautra-

[ḥ[*]] saktitraya-vāśikri[kri][*]-vīka-
7 la-mahīmaṇḍalasya Satya(tyā)kṣrasya-Pri(Pri)thivi(vī)vallabha-mahārājādhīrāja-paramāvarambhāṭṭārasasya priy-ānu-
8 jasya sv-āṣidhārā-namita-samāsta-sāṃsata-maṇḍalasya [stha]jā-jal-ādi-durgga-vishmēṣhv-a-
9 pi la[bdha]-vijayaṭā(sya) prathita-jana-prastuta-kāmadhiḥṇḍo[ḥ] lok-āṭihyāṣa-vikramatayā
   nalākā-
10 vikramasasya Vijñhūvardhahanu-ma[ha]rājasya priyatanayasy-ānēka-samara-śamghaṛṭa-la-
   bdha-vijayāṣṭa-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 tā-prasūta-yaśaḥ-prasūtā-smāṭe-ga[ndh-ā]dhihirā-sakalav-digmaṇḍalasya nāṇā-ā[e(a)][str-ā-
   bhyāṣa-]opabhiḥhiṁsī-sētasā-vimala-buddhāh tyāg-oudāryya-gāmbhiryya-dhairyya-kānti-pra-
12 jā-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-āle[ḥ]*kriṣṭasya trailokā(kya)-vikram-o[ḍ]*dyōdi(ti)a-sakalalōk-ākāraya-
   bhūju-yu-
13 gaḷa-bala-namit-āśēha-rapu-urapativara-makuta-taṣṭa-gaḥṣṭit-ānēka-māṇi-[kīraṇa-]rāga-rāṇji-
14 ta-charaṇ-aravinda-yugalasya vi(vī)la-dhvaḥ-ṇāpatta-Śakr-[a]*ddhi-visaparāddhi-vibbūṭhār-
   ānēk-āhī-

Third Plate, First Side

16 ta-nara-vara-āraḥ-kaṇḍikā-vitā[n]a-vikhyāta-yadāsō dēva-dvija-guru-yadadi(yast-yatithi)-
   āśīt-āhīt-ā-
17 nujjī[ti]vi-sambandhibhīr-anavara-prakām-ōpabhōga-bhujyamāna-vividha-puṇya-pha[/a][/o/n]-
18 ṛṇ-āmrītadhiḥnōḥ ēri-Jayaśingha(ha)vallabha-mahārājasya priy-ānu[asya] Tyā-
19 gahēnūḥ(nēḥ) ākṣṭi-traya-sampan-ā(nn-ā)nēka-vidyā-vaśāradah[asya] ripu-maṇḍalēshv-api
   Vigrasahiddhi(ēḥ) simha-

Third Plate, Second Side

21 nānā-śa(a)[str-ā]bhyāṣa-ōpātasti[ḥ-ā]nēka-vidyā-vaśāradah Vijñhūvardhahanu-mahārājasya-
   (rāja) Pahlī-ṛāṣṭrē Kūs[a][kri]-
22 nāma-grāma[ḥ]* sampradattah(dāya) grāmāyakān rājapurusha-taḷavara-daṇḍa[nāyaka]-
   rāṣṭrika-
23 dūṭa-bhāṭa-naṭa-ohṣṭaka-parichāraka-niyukt-ōdhyakaha-praṇīṭāri-samāhārtī-nā-
24 nāyakaś-ḥ[ṃ]ci(ḥciḥ-ha)=ājjhayate [*] Śrōtriyasā sakala-dig-anta-prastha-yāsō yajana-
   yā-
25 jan-ōdhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigrāhā[ha]-niyama-niratasya sarvā-āgaṇa-va-

Fourth Plate, First Side

26 ēṣṭa-pratipāda[nt]vād-ādysakāla-Vararuchir-āṭi vikhyāṭasya Mahāśēnaśārunma[ḥ] [a]

[a] In both, the subscript looks more like ə.
[b] The final m is introduced in a diminutive form above rē. This is evidently intended for ṛ.
[c] This ad is redundant.
Fourth Plate, Second Side

31. vardhada(vriddha)yē sampraddatta dēvabhōga-hala-varjja[*] Mamān-vasayā yē kchid-anāgatē kā-

32. lē bhūmipā[ā][h[*] sarvē grāma-sa[rha] rakhaṃapatha kurvvanā grāma-sambhav-ādhihkrit(kri)-tā[ā][h[*] sarvē Ayā-

33. u-savasajñā Dhanājaya-prabhritayassic-tat-puruḥā[bhāsā-cha] [*] śasaya [grāma(masaya)] sūttara-asta[shv-anā]-

34. śēhu Vishnuśarmanāṃ viṁśati[āh[*] amākānī[kāh] [*] śasaya suunuḥ(sūnavē) Mādiśar-

35. Mahāśeṣarmanāṃ viṁśati[āh[*] śasaya cha priy-[ā]nujasaya(jāya) Dāmasarmanāṃ viṁśāti(āh[-][h[*] Mudokura.-

Fifth Plate, First Side

36. Bōyasaya(yāya) Gaṇasārmanāṃ(yē) shāt[*] [Ā]tukurumōya(yāya) Vishnuśarmanāṃ pañcha [*] Kopāsāmi-Bō-

37. yāsaya(yāya) pañcho[ā][*] Pāśi-Bōyasay-ā(yāya-sai)ka[āh[*] Kūmunūru-Bōyasaya(yāya) Mādi-

38. yāsaya(yāya) dve(dvau) [*] Naḍukurumōya(yāya) Sarvasārmanāṃ dvau [*] Vej[u]cha[lī]-

39. sārmanāṃ[āh] dv[vau[*] Rā[.Bōyasaya(yāya) dvau [*] Kanarp-Bōyasaya(yāya) Maṇḍa-

40. kuṭārur-Bōyasaya(yāya) dvau [*] Yō-śmā[ma]ch-chhāsanam=a[di](tikramya[tī] sa
pāp[paḥ] sārīrāma daṇḍam-arṣhati [***]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

41. Bhūmi-dānā[t-para[n-dā][na*]n=na bhūtan-na bhavishyati [*] [Tasy-āpā]bhr̥gū-pāt-pāpan= na bhūtan-na bhavishyāya-

* The implied reading appears to be [ēha grāma] sarvapradatta dēva-bhōga-hala-varjya hit.
* This expression is written over an erasure.
* The letter ś is introduced above the line between āha and the following letter.
* The letters pañcho are written over an erasure. The prominent circle above pa has to be ignored.
* Three or four syllables are completely worn out here and the medial sign alone of a letter preceding ē is visible.
* The rūpa over ś is redundant.
\textbf{ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS}

(Lines 1-2) Invocation.

(Lines 3-21) From his victorious capital Asanapura, king Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja, the son of Rājalakshēria Indravarman-mahārāja entitled Tyāgadēsā who was the dear younger brother of Jayasimha-vallabha-mahārāja who was the dear son of Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja who was the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya-Pṛthivivallabha (i.e. Pulakāśī II), and the great-grandson (prapūtrak) of Kīrtti-varman who was the great-grandson (prapūtrā) of Raṇarāga.\footnote{Bhad prakāśitam.}

(Lines 22-40) Having granted the village Kopēki in Pajjī-pāŚītra, orders the officials grāmikā, rājapuraka, talavara, dāṇḍanāyaka, rāṣṭriya, deśa, bhata, nāgata, chēṣaka, parichhēsaka, māyaka, adhyayaka, pratāstiko, samākharaṇi and māyaka (this) : “to Vidūṣarman of the Pariśāra gūtra, Taittiriya charāṭa and Āpastamba sūtra, the Bōya of Kandēru and a resident of Āttukuru, well-versed in the various branches of learning such as the Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, Mantra, Tāntra, Upāniṣad, etc., and benevolently inclined towards all living beings, who is the son of Mahāśēṣaśaranā, a prastūra, who is conversant with the Vīdā, whose fame is wide-spread and who is constantly engaged in yajana, jējana, adhyayana, adhyāpyana, dēna and pravijrā, who is well known as the very Varanasi of the day for his erudition in expounding all the āgamas—(to him, i.e. Vidūṣarman) is given (the village) Kopēki with the exclusion of the deśabhūga land, on the day of the lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha, for the increase of our longevity, strength, success, enjoyment, and prosperity. "In future let all the rulers of my lineage, and the hereditary village officers, Dhanabhaja and such others of the lineage of Ayyaṇa, protect the village." In this village, out of the hundred and twenty shares, twenty are for Vishnuśaran; twenty for his son Mādīśaran; twenty for Māhāśēṣaśaran; twenty for his dear brother Dāmēśaran; six for Gaṇaśaran, the Bōya of Mudokuru; five for Vishnuśaran, the Bōya of Āttukuru; five for Kaṇḍesāmi-bōya; four for Mādīśaran alias Pāji-bōya, the Bōya of Kumunduru; two for... bōya; two for Sarvaśaran, the Bōya of Nādākuru; two for Peṭaśaran, the Bōya of Veḷuchali; two for Re... bōya; two for Manḍēśaran, the Bōya of Kanḍiṇu; two for Revaśaran and two for the Bōya of Irukuṭiṇu.

(Lines 44-46) Imprecatory and minatory verses.

This order was engraved by the artisan Gaṇgaviṣaya in the augmenting year 30 of the reign of king Jayasimha-vallabha-mahārāja in the month of Avayeṇa, śukla-paśaḥ, daśamī, Śravaṇa (nauṣṭhatra), Monday.

\footnote{The descriptive epithets, etc. of the kings are omitted in the abstract.}

\footnote{Kīrtti-varman was actually the grandson of Raṇarāga and not his great-grandson.}
KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA (II) - PLATE 11

SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 13—JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V. S. 1191

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAS, OOTACUMUND

Sher Shahr, the celebrated Afghan emperor of Delhi (1539-45 A.D.), is accused by Badānī and other Muslim historians of wanton callousness in destroying old cities or founding new ones on their ruins after his own name. On this point Nūr-ul-Haqq says in his Zubdat-ul-Tawārîkh: "Sher Khān founded many cities after his own name, as Shāh-ghar, Shāh-kot ... ." There are numerous places bearing such names in different parts of Northern India even to this day, one of them being Shāhgarh representing a fort in ruins and a town (now almost deserted) standing on the river Parwân (a feeder of the Kālī-Sindh which is a tributary of the Chambal), about ninety miles to the south-east of Kōta in the District of that name in Rājasthān. On the 10th of January 1903, I visited Shāhgarh from my camp at Kōta in search of inscriptions in the company of Mr. P. N. Kaul, then Commissioner of the Kōtah Division of Rājasthān, and Mr. R. N. Hāwa, then Collector of the Kōtah District. I take this opportunity of thanking both the officers for their kindness shown to me and the interest they exhibited in my work. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. K. Majumdar of the Herbert College, Kōta, who accompanied me to Shāhgarh and helped me in various ways.

On a careful examination of the inscriptions at Shāhgarh, it was found that three of them had been previously published. One of these three is a Buddhist inscription supposed to be dated in V. S. 847 (790 A.D.). This is incised on a slab of stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs to the proper left of the gate of the deserted town and is a prasasti (eulogy) recording the construction of a Buddhist temple (mandāra) and a monastery (vihāra) to the east of Mount (giri) Kāśāvardhana by a Sāmanta ( feudal chief) named Devadatta.

The second published inscription from Shāhgarh, which bears dates in V. S. 1074 (1017 A.D.), 1075 (1018 A.D.) and 1084 (1027 A.D.), is built into a front line pillar of the local Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple, although there is no doubt that it originally belonged to a different religious establishment. The inscription actually consists of three distinct documents. The first of these records a daily grant of one kāraha of ghee as unguent to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka-tīrtha-Nagnaka while the other two speak of several grants in favour of the god Sūmānāthadēva. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Bhaṭṭāraka-tīrtha-Nagnaka of this record with the Śiva-bhaktas-Sāvars called Nagnabhāṭṭaraka, mentioned in the Dhātop (old Shāhpur State, now a part of the Udaipur Division of Rājasthān) inscription of V. S. 1063, although there is also a view that "since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon exist, it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka-Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person." It seems to us that Bhaṭṭāraka-tīrtha-Nagnaka was a

---

2 Elliot and Dowsen, History of India as told by its Own Historians, Vol. VI, p. 189.
3 Bhandarkar, List, No. 21. The record was edited by Hultsch first in ZDMG, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 547 ff., and afterwards in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. For the date of the inscription, see also Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 351, and Vol. XXVII, p. 162.
4 Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 104, 105 and 115. The inscription was first edited by Bhandarkar in Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 175, and afterwards by Altekar in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 197-41.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 175
6 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 158 note.

(81)
Saiva ascetic in charge of the temple of Somanathādeva (Śiva) and that the grant was made in his favour but was meant to be also enjoyed by his successors in the charge of the temple in question. We have numerous grants made permanently in favour of a single individual since they were meant to be enjoyed also by his descendants. The above Śaivite establishment is stated to have included, besides the temple, a considerable area of land styled Somanathādeva-pallikā.

The third of the published inscriptions from Shārgarh is engraved on a stonelab now embedded in the front wall of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyana temple, although, like the other inscribed slabs in that temple, it must have belonged originally to an older temple of Śiva called Somānathādeva.¹ The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the copy of a copper-plate grant of the Paramāra king Udayāditya (known dates: V. S. 1116=1059 A.D., V. S. 1137=1080 A.D., and V. S. 1143=1086 A.D.), none of whose copper-plate charters has so far been published. It is, however, a matter of regret that some parts of the record, including the passage containing the date, cannot be made out owing to damages in the stone and to its lower end being built into the wall. The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Paramāra king, when he was stationed at Kārpaikī-grāma and took a ceremonial bath on the occasion of the Damaṇaṇa-parvam, in favour of the god Somanathādeva (Śiva) of the Kāśivardhana derga (fort), which, as noted above, is called giri (hill) in another of the Shārgarh inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kāśivardhana was the old name of modern Shārgarh and that the temple of the god Somanathādeva, now untraceable, lay in an old hill-fort at the place.

The published inscriptions from Shārgarh (ancient Kāśivardhana), it will be seen, reveal the existence of two religious establishments, one Buddhist and the other Śaivite. Amongst the inscriptions traced by me at the place, including the above, there are two epigraphs disclosing the interesting fact that, side by side with the Buddhist monastery and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jains also flourished at Kāśivardhana in the early medieval period. Another unpublished inscription at Shārgarh also interested me considerably. Unfortunately all these three records are preserved unsatisfactorily, the pieces of stone on which they are engraved being mutilated.

The stone bearing the last of the above three unpublished inscriptions was found within the fort. The record in four lines contains two verses, numbered in figures, and the date at the end. But the left half of the epigraph is broken away and could not be traced. The third line of the extant portion of the inscription (6 inches by 12 inches) containing the end of the first verse in the Śārdulakrīḍita metre and the beginning of the second in Amuḷuḥṭh reads: ṛṣṭa Gāṅgādhara mandaña || I || Dṛkham nira-grihaṁ bhavaṁ yātavvāna, while the date in line 4 reads: Saṅsavat || 1228 || vairkhe(ravik). There is no doubt that the first verse of this epigraph, dated V. S. 1228 (1288 A.D.), invokes the god Śiva under the name Gāṅgādhara (i.e. 'the bearer of the Ganges [in the matted hair on his head]') and the second records the construction of a nira-grīha by an individual whose name is lost. The expression nira-grīha literally means 'a water-house' and the invocation, in connection with its construction, of the Gāṅgādhara aspect of Śiva is easily intelligible. But the nature of this nira-grīha can hardly be determined although it seems to be the same as Persian abder-khāna, ābdêr being a person entrusted with the charge of water for drinking.²

The first of the two Jain inscriptions referred to above was also discovered in the fort. It is engraved on a piece of stone that was found embedded in a wall. The stone was so dressed as to leave a broad border on the sides of an excavated bed meant for the incision of the record. The border was apparently meant for the protection of the writing. The inscription covering a space, about 20 inches by 20 inches, is beautifully engraved on the said bed. It contains 34 lines of writing.

¹ Ibid., pp. 132 ff.
² The reference may also be to repairs done to an older structure.
³ The building referred to seems to be different from a praptamayapa (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 326, text line 11).
Unfortunately a piece of the stone about the middle has broken off taking away with it portions of many of the lines. As the record could not be completed on the bed prepared for it, the concluding lines, numbering two only, were engraved on the lower raised border; but the letters of this part are almost completely lost.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that a squarish space, measuring 13 inches by 12½ inches, in the centre of the excavated bed in the stone was created by disturbing the continuous writing of lines 6-28 for the accommodation of a Padma-banda design. While lines 1-5 and 29-34 of the epigraph contain about 46 letters each, lines 6-28 have each only about 20 letters, half of them to the left of the central square and half to its right. The pericarp of the padma is made by a circle with a diameter of about 1½ inches, which is surrounded by another concentric circle having a diameter of about 2 inches. The oblong petals, 12 in number and each about 11 inches in length, spread out from the outer one of the two central circles. The outer edge of all the so-called petals is covered by another concentric circle about 13 inches in diameter, which touches the four borders of the central square; in their middle. There are again four concentric circles within this outer circle, which cut the oblong petals and create four circular spaces each about ⅔ inch in breadth. In the outer one of the above circular spaces, beginning from the left end and moving upwards, are put at the end of the upper six petals the numbers 1 to 6 against the beginning of six feet of 1½ stanzas in the Sārdalavikṛtikā meter, their tenth syllable which is common to all the six being placed in the inner circle or the pericarp of the padma and the following nine syllables being continued on the opposite petals on the other side of the double circle at the centre. Some letters of the last two feet of the second stanza in Sārdalavikṛtikā are placed in the second inner circular space between the petals, the corresponding spaces within the petals being occupied by the first and last syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas engraved before, so that all the letters incised in this circular space have to be consecutively read to make out the third and fourth feet of the second stanza. The third inner circular space contains only the second and penultimate syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas referred to above; but they do not appear to yield any sense if read in the circular way. It is, however, interesting to note that the letters in the fourth inner circular space which contains only the third and seventeenth syllables of the six Sārdalavikṛtikā feet were intended, when read in the circular way, to read Śrī-Varasēna-munīr-mnti-vāhā yathā tirītīlitam-stra bhadantaḥ [*] tat-kahamitavyam-utō-sya cha sā-

32 tēna stutō-si vachasā manasā prasādāt || 14 || Śrī-Varasēna-munīr-mnti-vāhā yathā tirītīlitam-stra bhadantaḥ [*] tat-kahamitavyam-utō-sya cha sā-

33 dōk-sāmaja-ōkha iv-ōkha janētubh || 15 || Dvī-shach-chhā (s-čhā) jātik-āikā-śtri-chhā Vakrāmē samā-samudī nīta-saptani-dīnē | Madhunu ca māsā navu-čai-

34 tya-sadmani mahūtavāvī Nōmi-jinasya kārītubh || 16 ||* Putrāṇa Vā(Ba)ladēvasya Rāghavēna manushya(na) | dāna-dharmma-nairātēna bhavyēna guṇasā(śā)śīn || [17*]

1.Metre: Vasantālaka as already noted above.
In the portion of the inscription quoted above, verse 15 discloses the name of the author of the prosthasti. He was the same Jain monk Śrī-Varāṇasū-muni who composed the stanza in Śrīṅgā-vikrīḍita, arranged in the Padma-bandha style, and is referred to above. Verse 16 says how a mahāsana (great festival) of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Neminātha was celebrated at the new Chaitya on the seventh of the bright half of Madhu (Chaitra) in V. S. 1139 (1105 A.D.). The year is given in the words dōi (2), shat (6), astādaṣṭ (1) and ैষ (ैष) (1) which have to be read in the usual reverse order. The prosthasti was apparently composed and engraved on stone on the occasion of the said festival. Verse 17 seems to disclose the name of the engraver of the record, who was Rāghava, son of Bala-dēva. The verses quoted above show that, although the author was a skilful versifier, his language was greatly influenced by Prakrit. He has not only used such forms as kahamatavyam (for Sanskrit kahāntasyam) and janaṭhaḥ (for Sanskrit janāyitvāḥ), apparently for the sake of the metre, but has also coined the expression tiritiṣṭāta (the same as Sanskrit bhrānta according to Hāmakaśanta’s Grammar which equates Prakrit tiritiṣṭa with Sanskrit bhrānta) from a Prakrit root. The inscription is therefore of considerable lexical interest.

The second Jain inscription which forms the main subject of the present paper was found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tirthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shērgah. The three Tirthaṅkaras represented are Śnāti (Śnātanātha), Kunthu or Kunthāṅkara and Ari (Araṇātha). As early images of the Tirthaṅkara Kunthu and Ari are rare, I examined the inscription with considerable interest.

The inscription is written in eight lines and covers a space about eighteen inches in length and five inches in height. But the stone on which it is engraved is mutilated and some letters in lines 1-3 are broken away and lost. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by Prakrit. The record is written in verse with a passage in prose at the end. This passage gives the date of the inscription, which is also found quoted in one of the verses. The record exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of both the scribe and the engraver. It bears the date : V. S. 1139, Vītākha-sūndarī, Tuesday, which corresponds to the 29th March 1134 A. D. ; but the week day was Thursday and not Tuesday as given in the inscription.

The first half of the first verse of the record, which is considerably damaged, speaks of the wife of a person named Māhillō who was probably residing at a patała or township called Sūryāśrāma (literally, a hermitage associated with the Sun-god). The second half of the stanza says how Śrīpāla and Guṇapalāha (Guṇapāla), probably two sons of the said Māhillō, migrated to Mālava. The first half of verse 2 says that a son named Dvapāla was born to Śrīpāla while nine sons, viz., Pūṇi, Martha, Jana, Itha and others were born to Guṇapāla-thakura’s son whose name was probably Śnāti. The second stanza says how all these persons caused to be made the Rātātraya (i.e. images of the three Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Śnātanātha, Kunthāṅkara and Ariṇātha) at Kōṣavardhāna or at the base of the hill-fort of Kōṣavardhāna (Kōṣavardhāna-tak). The first half of verse 3 quotes the date of the inscription while its latter half records the obeisance of Dvapāla’s sons, viz., Mālū, Sādhāna and others as well as Nāmi, Bharata, etc., who were the sons of Pūṇi and Śnāti (possibly a brother of Pūṇi), to the gods, Śnāti, Kunthu and Ari, who (i.e.}

1 B. C. Bhattacharya observes, "Hitherto no image of Kunthāṅkara (seventeenth Jina) ... has come to light." (The Jainas Iconography, p. 74) and speaks of "one or two images of Ariṇātha (eighteenth Jina) that have been found out so far in Northern India." (op. cit., p. 75). Although "the images of Śnātanātha (sixteenth Jina) so far discovered are not a few," (op. cit., p. 75), he probably means images belonging to a date earlier than the late medieval period. Śnātanātha’s symbol is the deer, Yakaśa Kimpurusha (or Guriḍa), Yakaśa Mahāmukṣa (or Nirvāṭi), chickering-bearer king Purnabhadra and Kēvala tree Mandū. Kunthāṅkara’s symbol is the goat, Yakaśa Gandhāra, Yakaśi Bāli (or Vījāya), chickering-bearer king Kūnta and Kēvala tree Tikhta. Similarly Ariṇātha has as his symbol a fish or the Nyāsa (a type of Sūtra). Yakaśa Yakaṭhāndra, Yakaśa Dhrāṣṭra, chickering-bearer Abhāvinda and Kēvala tree Čīvīta (mango tree).
JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V.S. 1191
whose images) had been installed. Verse 4 contains an adoration to the three Jinas, whose images are stated to have been made by the mason (śīvarādārīn) Śilāśīrī (possibly Sanskrit Śilāśīrī) who was a son of the mason (śīvarādhakā) Dāmālī. It is interesting to note that the son of a father having the uncouth name Dāmālī enjoyed such a poetic name as Śilāśīrī (literally, "one who imparts beauty to stones"), so true to his profession. The next stanza (verse 5) mentions Dēvapāla’s son Ilhuka, as well as Gōśthīn, Visāla, Lallaka, Māuka and Haričandra, and also Allaka, son of Gāgā, all of whom may have been associated with the installation of the Jinas.

The inscription mentions only three geographical names, viz. (1) Sūryārama, (2) Mālava and (3) Kōsavardhana. Of these, we have already seen that Kōsavardhana was the early name of Shērgāth, the findspot of the inscription. Sūryārāma cannot be identified; but the apparent inclusion of Kōsavardhana (Shērgāth in the heart of Rājasthān) in Mālava is interesting. The Mālava originally lived in the Punjab and later settled in the Jaipur region of Rājasthān. But the application of the name Mālava to the ancient janapadas of Avanti (with its capital at Ujjayini and comprising the present west Mālā) and Ākara or Daśārṇa (with its capital at Vidiśā, i.e. modern Besnagar near Bhusā, and comprising the present East Mālā) is not much earlier than the early medieval period. It was, however, widely accepted during the age of the Paramāras. We know that the inclusion of the Shērgāth region in the dominions of the Paramāra king Udayāditya of Mālava is indicated by another Shērgāth inscription noticed above.

### TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-3 Śārddūla-virāgita; verses 4-5 Aṃukti-labh.]

1 — — — — — — — Māhīla-bhārīy-āntimā — — — — — [ṣa]jaya tilakē
Sūryārāma paśṭaṇaś Śīrapālo Guṇapālakāscha vipū-

2 [la] Khaṇḍī — lë kule sūya(rā)-chaudramasāvay-vānvar(ā)ratelā prāpta kramān-Mālavā
|| || Śīrapālī-cha Dēvapāla-taṇa(tana)yo dānēna chintāmaṇī[ī] Sā-

3 [ntē śṛ][G]uṇapālā-hakū(ktu)ra-sutād-rāpōṇa Kām-śapāt[ī] Pūni-Martha-Jan-Śīhuca-
prabhāvā(ta)yāḥ putrāgra(s-cha) ye-grā nava tēḥ(taiḥ) sarvavai-api Kōsavarddana-

ta-

4 lē Ratna-trayaḥ(yam) kārita[mā] || 2 || Varahai Rudra-satē(tai)r-gaṭaḥ su(su)-
bhataṃsīrī-śīrāv-ādhibhikār-Vaśēkha(ksē) dhavalē dvitiya-dvāsaḥ devān-
pratiśthā-

5 pitān | vandatē nata-Dēvapāla-tanayā Māhī-Sadhānv-ādayāḥ Pu(Pu)ni-Sānti-sutās-cha
Nēmi-Bharatē| śrit-Śānti-sat-Ku[m]j[ē]h[ē] Arānē]

---

* From impressions.
* This is apparently the name of a family. The intended reading may be Khaṇḍīlakē.
* The name Śānti is not beyond doubt.
* The author uses śēkā-nāvati for śēkā-nāvati for the sake of the metre.
* The idea was apparently Nēmi-Bharat-ādāyak.
* As the usual form of the second name is Kuaṭa or Kuaṭu the addition of sat at the beginning of the name of this Tīrthākara was apparently for the sake of the metre.
6 | 3 || Dārādi-sūtradhar-otpānāh(a)-Silāśti 1-sūtradhārijā [1a] Śānti-[Ku]dūthū([thv-])ra-
-
nāma(mā)nā jayantu ghaśitā Jīnāh || 4 || Dēvapāla-su-
-
7 t-Eihukah Gōshthi-Visala-Lallukah(kāh'手上 ) Māukah Hariśchandhr-ādiḥ Gāgā-eva(su)putra[h^a]  
Allakah^a || 5 || Sarasvat 1181 Vaiśāsha^a-sudi 2 [Marḥ]-- 

8 gāla-dimē pratishṭā karāpitā [1][2][3][4]

---

1 The correct form of the name may be Śudās.
2 The language of this verse is not quite satisfactory.
3 Read Vaiśāsha.
4 Read kāriḍā.
5 A visarga-like sign is placed between the two double dandas.
No. 14—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

(I Plate)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

Śālihūṇḍam is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State, about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam, the District headquarters. It is on the banks of the Van-
adharā which joins the Bay of Bengal some five miles further down. The hills of this place have yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been briefly described in this journal.1 Earlier excavations at the place have been fully described in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1919-20.2 When I visited the place in October 1953, I came across an inscribed casing slab of stone.

The slab bearing the inscription formed part of the top frieze of stones on the exterior surface of the Mahāchaitiya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognized from the fact that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription can be seen on the inscribed stone itself.3

The inscription reads:—

Dharmā(mā) Rāja Aśokaśirīno

This fragmentary record refers to the religious edicts (dhamma) of the illustrious Aśoka. According to the Āryaṃpatrīśirodikā,3 Dharmāśoka, i.e., the Maurya emperor Aśoka, set up stone pillars (vihāra-pahlakas) at Chaityas as human memorials. Aśoka himself is said to have visited these sites. Very probably the Mahāchaitiya at Śālihūṇḍam is a creation of the Mauryan times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to Aśoka’s religious records in this inscription inscribed at a later date by devotees.4 An inscribed pot, discovered at this place, has been assigned by Sri T. N. Ramachandran on palaeographic grounds to the first century A. D. at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have preceded it. As our stone forms part of the Mahāchaitiya, it is apparently of an earlier date.

Some scholars are inclined to read the first two words in the inscription as Dharmamāro (Sanskrit Dharmarāja) and take it to be the epithet of Aśoka.5 In support of this reading attention is drawn to certain inscriptions referring to kings as Dharmarāja, Dharmamahārāja, etc. Others differ on this point. According to Buddhist literature the epithet Dharmarāja was applied

3 [The record does not appear to be fragmentary. On the stone slab on which the space occupied by the writing is 22" by 3" (an ākāra being 1½" in height), there is no space for letters before the record in ten ākāras while there is what looks like a damaged punctuation mark after it (cf. the symbol at the end of the Mulasāgar brick inscription, above, Vol. XXX p. 120, n. 9).—Ed.]
4 Macerou over e and o has not been used in this article.
5 K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India (1934), p. 12; Sanskrit Text, p. 27, vv. 370-374.
6 It is likely that the slab of the entire top frieze of the stūpa or of a part of it was inscribed and the inscription went round the drum of the stūpa in one line. All these slabs are, however, unfortunately missing barring the one under review. [See note 3. above.—Ed.]
to the *Chakravartinis* and we find it often applied to the Buddha.\(^1\) Aśoka has no place in the Buddhist scriptures as a *Chakravartinis*. In his inscriptions he styles himself *Devāṇampaṭipāḍ Prīya-dāsī rājī* and not *Dharmarājī*. The present inscription similarly refers to him as *Rājā Aśokārī*.\(^2\)

Some scholars are inclined to assign the inscription to a date about 100 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that, on palaeographical grounds, it is assignable to a period between the 2nd and the 1st century B.C.\(^3\)

---


\(^2\) The word *Chakravartinis* means ‘an imperial ruler’. In the Buddhist works, Aśoka is represented as a *dāgochakra* or *chakravartinis*, i.e., as the lord of the entire Jambу-dvīpa. See Buddhaghosa’s Sāmaṇḍapādīṭṭhaka, P. T. S., Vol. II, p. 309. The epithet *Dharmarājī* suits Maurya Aśoka, called Dharmāśoka, admirably. Indeed he was the ideal rājā *chakravartī dharmikā dharmarājī* of Buddhist conception (cf. P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v. chakravartī and dharmāśoka).—Ed.

\(^3\) The palaeography of the inscription has been discussed by me in Proc. IHC, 1933, pp. 79-80. [In our opinion, the palaeography of the inscription points to a date not much earlier than the second century A.D. Although it is not quite easy to explain the purpose of this interesting record, it may not be impossible that an ancient tradition ascribing a Buddhist structure at Sālipūrā to Maurya Aśoka was current in the locality and that this label referring to it was affixed at a later date.—Ed.]
No. 15—PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This is a set of three plates discovered in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house at the village of Pedda-Dugam in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. The record was published by Mr. V. Bhanumurty, who secured the plates for examination through the Collector of the District, first in the Telugu monthly journal Bhāratī, March 1935, pp. 86 ff., and then in JAHRS, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. His reading and interpretation of the epigraph, however, contain many errors. The plates were received in July 1935 for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, and were returned, at his request, to the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.

The set consists of three thin plates each measuring about 7" by 2-7". The first plate bears writing only on the inner side while the others are inscribed on both the sides. There is a hole (about 4" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through in the left margin of the plates. The oval face of the seal soldered to the ring is so completely defaced that no legend or emblem is visible on it. The three plates together weigh about 50 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is about 17½ tolas. The plates are numbered on the obverse side in late Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals, apparently not incised at the time of the engraving of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to a date roughly about the fifth century A.D. They closely resemble the script of such other records, belonging to the said age and discovered in the same region, as the Ningondi grant edited above. But, as will be shown below, the internal evidence of the inscription under study seems to support its ascription to a date not much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The sign for ४ has been used to indicate ६ in some cases (cf. Prāhmanya in line 5), although ६ also occurs in the record (cf. Brāhmaṇāṇā in line 7). The numeral ९ occurs in line 23. The language of the record is Sanskrit, though there are many grammatical errors in the text of the document. With the exception of four imperative and benedictory stanzas about the end of the charter, the whole record is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the age and area in question. Interesting is the use of the jihvaṃlīya in gāt-krṣyā in line 14. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with r. Final m has been wrongly changed to auśuddha at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, while final n has also been similarly changed in nāmā in line 16. Among other errors of spelling, attention may be drawn to sīhka for sīhka (line 1), anīru for anītru (line 16), sūmbatsara for sāṃvatsara (line 22), etc. The date of the charter is given as the tenth day of the month of Ashāṅga in the year ६, apparently of the reign of Satrudamana and not of his overlord referred to in the record. The absence of any reference to the paṅka may suggest that the month was solar.

The record begins with the symbol for Siddham. The charter was issued from the victorious Simhapura by a Mahārāja who is described as bhagavata Damaṇēvarasvāmin, pādātmikā, and Bhaṭāraka-ṭāḍa-parigrahā. Bhagavat Damaṇēvarasvāmin was apparently a deity whom...
the sister of the grant held in special esteem while the Bhaṭṭāraka was a monarch to whom he owed allegiance but whose name has not been mentioned. The name of the Mahārāja is given as Satrudamanaṇḍāvā. Whether the deity Damanaśvara, worshipped by him, was named after himself (cf. the latter part of his name) or after one of his predecessors named Damana cannot be determined with certainty.

Mahārāja Satrudamana's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was issued to the villagers (grāmān in the sense of grāmasyakān), headed by Brāhmaṇas and others, residing at the three localities called Dvārakāna, Vasuvātaka and Gūvātaka within what is called the agrahāra (revenue-free area in the possession of Brāhmaṇas) of Giri-Kaliṅga-Vardhamāna (i.e. the Vardhamāna agrahāra in the Giri-Kaliṅga district). As the gift villages are stated to have been situated in an agrahāra, the present grant may be regarded as a reallocation of the localities, which were already revenue-free, in favour of the donees of the charter. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas named Bappaśarman and Sarvaśarman who were the sons of Yaṣṭiśarman and residents of Paṭṭuvāmra. They belonged to the Kaṇḍinya gīta and were students of the Taittiriya school of the Yaśurvaṇa. The gift villages were made a brāmana-dēya and granted to the donees as a dēya-bhūga. The three villages constituted three vṛttis or shares, two of which were granted to Sarvaśarman and one to Bappaśarman. The villagers were enjoined to receive orders from the donees and follow them as well as to pay to them whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (pratyagāta), produce of the fields (māṇya), etc. The above is followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas in the Anuvātikā metre in lines 14-22. Next comes the date of the charter, already discussed above. The name of Vaisya Krishnasatta, who was the dāta or executor of the grant, occurs in line 24 with which the document ends.

There are several points of interest in the inscription under study. It reveals for the first time the existence of a king named Satrudamana who ruled from Simhapura which has been identified with modern Singurpuram near Sriakulam. It is well known that this city is mentioned as the capital of the Kaliṅga country in the Ceylonese chronicles and that many Mahārājas enjoying the title Kaliṅga-ādhipati or sakula-Kaliṅga-ādhipati, who flourished about the fifth century A.D., issued their charters from the same place.1 We also know that the history of Kaliṅga about the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pīshapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in South Kaliṅga and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Simhapura.2 Kings Umāvarman and Chaṇḍavaran of the Pitrībhaktas family had one of their capitals at Simhapura. The Māṭharas, who originally ruled from Pīshapura, appear to have ousted the Pitrībhaktas from Central Kaliṅga. The Rāgolū plates,3 issued by the Māṭha king Śaktivarman from Pīshapura, record a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Simhapura, while the Ningoudi and Sakunaka grants4 of Prabhaṇjana-varman and Anantaśaktivarman, respectively the son and grandson of Śaktivarman, were issued from Simhapura itself. The Vāsishthas of Dēvarāṣṭra in Central Kaliṅga, i.e. the modern Yellamanchili area of the Visakhapatnam District, appear to have extended their power over the Pīshapura region and extirpated the Māṭharas sometime about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Satrudamana of our inscription appears to have ruled earlier than all the rulers mentioned above as having issued their charters from Simhapura.

An interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that, while the other Mahārājas of the age and area generally claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga and were apparently independent

---

2 See The Classical Age, loc. cit.
3 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
monarchs, Mahārāja Śātradama acknowledged the supremacy of a Bhātta-rākha or paramount ruler. The style Bhātta-rākha-pāda-parigraha applied to a Mahārāja reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors. We also know that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Āśvamedhika sacrifice, enjoyed the title Mahārāja and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja-bhaṭṭāraka.

The feudatories (including those enjoying a semi-independent status) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title Mahārāja and were often called Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-āmudhyāla, i.e. meditating on or favoured by the feet of the overlord. The expression pāda-parigraha also occurs instead of pāda-āmudhyāma in the same context in epigraphic records in the description of certain subordinates of the Gupta emperors. It is therefore very probable that the overlord of Mahārāja Śātradama was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the Mahārāja of Sinhapura could have possibly owed allegiance in the age in question while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Prithivivigrahaka-bhaṭṭāraka about the middle of the sixth century. The absence of the name of Śātradama’s overlord in the charter under study and its date given in his own regnal reckoning instead of the Gupta era appear, however, to suggest that the king was enjoying a semi-independent status at the time of issuing the grant.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions certain rulers of the Kaliṅga region, who were defeated by the Gupta monarch but were reinstalled by him in their respective kingdoms. Whether the rulers of that area acknowledged Gupta supremacy as a result of Samudragupta’s expedition cannot, however, be determined although that is not improbable. We have also to note that the ruler of Sinhapura is not mentioned in the list of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and that the city may have become prominent after the third quarter of the fourth century when the said epigraph was engraved. One of the rulers of the Kaliṅga region mentioned in the list of Samudragupta’s adversaries is Damana of Bṛṇḍāpallā. This king can hardly be identified with Śātradama of Sinhapura because not only are the names of the rulers but also those of their capitals are different. In any case, the combined testimony of the Pedda-Dugam plates of Śātradama and the Sumandala plates of the time of Prithivivigrahaka would point to the hold of the Guptas on parts of the Kaliṅga country. If the area in question did not come under Gupta influence during the reign of Samudragupta, it may have been subdued by his son Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) or grandson Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) as the latter members of the Imperial Gupta family do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the conquest of such a far off tract. But the Mahārājas of the Sinhapura region must have thrown off the Gupta yoke considerably before the end of the fifth century not long after Śātradama’s reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Sinhapura has been indicated above. Duhāgrāma seems to be no other than modern Pedda-Dugam (literally, ‘the bigger Dugam’) which is the find-spot of the record. The identification of the other two villages is uncertain though they appear to have stood in the same neighbourhood. The location of Paṭuvagrāma cannot be determined. The Vardhamāna agrahāva is stated to have been situated in Giri-Kaliṅga which seems to be the name applied to a hilly district of Kaliṅga. In ancient times, usually the Godavari (sometimes even the Krishna) was regarded as the south-western

1 Cf. IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.
3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
4 Corp. Ind. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.
boundary of the Kaliṅga country. About the fifth century A.D., as we have seen, 'the lords of Kaliṅga' were ruling from Piaṭṣapura in the south and Śiṁhapura and other cities in the Śrīkapulam region. With the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, often styled 'lords of Kaliṅga', at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkapulam) about the end of the century, the name Kaliṅga gradually came to be exclusively applied to their kingdom. The Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa, which formed part of the ancient Kaliṅga country at least down to the sixth century, became later known as Tōsali after an ancient capital of the land identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Siddham \{[*]\} Vijaya-Śīha(Śīhas)pūrād bhagavatō Damanēvara-

2 svāminaḥ pād-anudhyātō Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhi-

3 hitō mahurāja-śri-Śatrudamanadēvaḥ Giri-

4 Kaliṅga-Vardhamān-Āgrahārē Duhāgrāmō Vasuvāṭaka

**Second Plate, First Side**

2

5 Gōvāṭaka sa (cha) Vṛṇ(Brā)hmaṇa-pūrūṛad=ā grāmāhīr=chhātrai-ādi-kuśalam

6 apri(psi)ṣhīṛvā likhaty=ṣatya-ētē mayā grāmakā [ś]*tmana[h] punyā-ā(ny-ā)pyāyāna-

7 nimittam Brahmāṇāni(bhyaṁ) Paśṭuvagrāma-vāstavyāya(bhyaṁ)

8 Kaundinya-saṅgōṭrīya(bhyaṁ) Taittirīya-savra(bra)bhāmacharīn(ē)bhayaṁ

9 Yajñāśarmmanapi putra(ttābhayaṁ) Vappasarmmanapya Śarvasarmma-

**Second Plate, Second Side**

2

10 nāya cha śṛṇvy=apī grāmakā dattā bhayaṁ[ṛ]rṇa(brā)hmaṇa-dayaṁ[ṛ] kṛtvā

11 dvija-bhūgī viṣṭha=stadd-yushmābhī[ṛ] śṛṇtvamāśa-jānā cha kartavyā [ś]*

12 attra cha Śarvasarmmanapya(ṛṇa) vṛtti-dvayaṁ[ṛṇa] Ya(Ba)ppasarmmanapya(ṛṇa)

13 cha vṛttīra=a[k] sarvve cha samuchita-grāmāṇaṁ[ṛn] pratīyaṁ-

14 māy-ādiṁ=upanāya(shya)cha [ś]* bhavanti cha-attra śiśkā[h]* Yaṁ=kriyāṁ dharmma-

15 sa[rṇya]yuktam manas-āpy=abhramandati [ś]* vardhāte sa yathā-piṁna(aḥtaṁ=cha)

---

1 For the geography of Kaliṅga, see my article on ancient Orissa, in JIH, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 203 ff.

2 From the original plates and their impressions.

3 Expressed by symbol.

4 The figure, which is a modern Telugu-Kannada numeral, stands in the margin near the beginning of line 6.

5 A similar figure for 1 is found on the blank side of the first plate.

6 Read purṇāṃ. The word grāma appears to have been used in the sense of grāmēyaṁ or grāmavāsīya.

7 Read Bappasarmmanat Śarvasarmmanat cha or Bappasarma-Śarvasarmaśāyaṁ.

8 Read rūpāḥ. The word āpyāḥ is understood in this sentence.

9 Better read śṛṇtvamāśa. The word sa[rṇya] is understood in this sentence.

10 Better read grāmāṇaṁ samuchita-pratīyaṁ-māyāti. The word āpyāḥ is understood here.
No. 15] PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

Third Plate, First Side

31 16 tukla-paksha iv=śāsumāni || [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datā
17 vasudhā± vasudhā-ādhipalī || [1*] yasya yasya yadda bhūmi
18 tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [2*] Pūrvva-dattāh dvijātihīyō
19 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira || mahīm=mahimatāh ārāhī
dannāch=chhrēyō=napālanam(nam) || [3*] Šhashṭih varshsha(reha)-sahasāpi

Third Plate, Second Side

21 sva[t*]ggō mōdati bhūmidah || [1*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha
22 tāny=sva narakō vasē[t*] || [4*] ity=ēvam=likhita-samba(samva)sarō
23 navamō 9 Āśādha-māsa-dīvasā daśamā
dūtō vaidya-Krishṇadatta[bh ||*]

---

1 The figure (a modern Telugu-Kannada numeral) stands in the margin near the beginning of lines 17-18.
2 Read paksha in-āhāmān.
3 There is an unnecessary dash-like mark after the word.
4 Read šādātā.
5 Read ēkānta=ōṣya.
No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(1 Plate)

T. V. Mahalingam, Madras

The two subjoined inscriptions1 are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Ardha Perumal temple at Little Kanchipuram, Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language as well as the script of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The object of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of Udayakâlam in Antarudra-vishaya by Somaladevi-mahâdevi, for offerings and worship, to the god Allâlanâtha while she was at Abhinava-Varânapo.2 The inscription is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Mihaîla-âdârâja Râjaparamâdâra Anantavaranârâhuâdâva who is stated to have belonged to the Gaṅga family. The king is further described as the son of [the god] Purushbottam and a Paramâvishyadâva who regularly observed the śākâdi-vrata and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the mahâvâka. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., Mina 8, Wednesday, Râvati. As the year of the commencement of this king’s reign is known to be 1211 A.D., the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the tâthi quoted having ended the following day at 02. The nakhaṭra Râvatī is misquoted for Râbini.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by Kalâbâhuara Aniyakabhimâdeva-râhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumâl. The sthânatâr of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjarâja III and contains the following astronomical details: Ađi 12, Saptami, Monday, Aśvâti, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kâncipuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gaṅga king’s wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chôla king Râjarâja III, the second is dated in the latter’s 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are found at Kâncipuram. It would appear that king Aniyakabhimâna III (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

2 Abhinava-Varânapo has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sinha with Abhinava-Varânap-katakâ (modern Kutâkâ in Orissa). Aniyakabhimâna III issued from that place a number of grants in 1229-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-236; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). Antarudra-vishaya, in which the village Udayakâlam was situated, has been identified with the modern Antarûda Pargana in the Sadar Sub-division of the Puri District of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 3).

political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of overgrown and disloyal Chōla vassals like the Kadavarāya chieftain Köpperunțiṅa. The reign of Rājarāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh trouble for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājarāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Hoysala king Narasimha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāṭava chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (mlechchhaśa) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamaṅgalam (Śendamaṅgalam). When Narasimha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kadavarāya and restored Rājarāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāṅkabhinna III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kadavarāya chieftain but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōla kingdom. Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kadavarāya chieftain or actually sent his army to the Chōla country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoysala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāṭchipuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoysala Narasimha II: “His forcible capture of Adiyava, Chāra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāṭavas why should I describe? Describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikaliṅga forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequalled valour.” Another contains the following details: “The king Vira Narasimha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Maṅga king, set up the Chōla king who sought refuge with him and, having seen [the god] Allālanātha, stationed there a body of the bhārūydas (the name of a regiment?) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Rāmakūta capital, was at peace. Then the body of the bhārūydas, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāṭchipur. And having seen the lord of Kāṭchipur, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allālanātha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhyas mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of vīra-bhārūydas.”

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1230 A.D. Among the many achievements attributed to Hoysala Vira-Narasimha II in the first of the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to, mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikaliṅga forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vira-Narasimha invaded the Kaliṅga country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāṭchipuram it was defeated by the Hoysala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāṭchipuram by the army of Aniyāṅkabhinna is further indicated by the second Hoysala inscription which categorically mentions Vira-Narasimha’s invasion and uprooting of the Maṅga kingdom (Maṅga-rājyaṁ nirūṭya), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōla king who had sought
his protection (toranâgala-Chóla-rájar pratihtábhâya) and his stationing at Kâñchipuram of the army of the bhûrunḍâ for uprooting evil-doers (dushta-nirmukta-ásthakam tatra bhûrunḍâ-vargyam upâpajñanâ).\(^1\)

One does not know what the dushta element at Kâñchipuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikaliṅga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Magaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem regions), or the Kâñjavarâya chieftain whose hostile activities against Râjarâja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the dushta element at Kâñchipuram being the Trikaliṅga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the bhûrunḍâ-vargya after remaining at the place for sometime went forth and conquered unqualified hostile forces and the Vindyâ mountains (nirgâyâ tasmât parabolam-atulam Vindyâm-xdrih víjüya) The para-bala (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyâkabhîma, which was the dushta element at Kâñchipuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.\(^2\)

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaishnava temple in the heart of the Chóla kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chóla king Râjarâja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance,\(^3\) though the document could have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Râjarâja III was then a prisoner at Sândamaṅgalam with his vassal Kâp peruhjâga, and the Chóla country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kâñchipuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was not end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.\(^4\)

Though the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kâñchipuram in the course of 1230 A.D., Kâñjivarâva Aniyâkabhîma's devotion to the god Allâjanâtha of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumâl, for which the arâñattd of the temple agreed to measure a nâli of ghee by the Arippavallâ-nâli. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chóla Râjarâja III. It suggests that, after Râjarâja's release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyâkabhîma III recognised him as the Chóla king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chóla country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kâliṅga king was at Kâñchipuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant in absentia from Arahamâ-Vârânavâsi itself in the same way as his wife Sômalâdevi had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.\(^5\)

**Inscription No. 1**

**Text**

1 Syasti [*] Chatu[*]iddasa-bhuvan-ãdhipati-ári-Purusótama-charan-ãdâsa(â)t [*] Samaramukh-ãnêkâripu-di(â)ppa-marddana-bhujabala-parâkrama.\(^4\)

2 ma-paramavaishnava-paramâbhatâraka-jagamûlakârâga-ári-Purusótama-putra-traiva-sudharâ-samundha(â)dra-praba(cha)nda-ôô.

---

\(^1\) [See below pp. 99 ff.—Ed.]
\(^2\) *EC*, Vol. V, Cn. 303 and 211.
\(^3\) From an impression.
\(^4\) This surmise is redundant.
\(^5\) This role, which was first omitted by the scribe, seems to have been later engraved on pu.
Hail! At the command of (the god) Purushottama, the lord of the fourteen worlds; in the 19th year of the increasingly victorious reign of Mahārājaśīrīja Rājaparamēśvara Anantavarman, rāhutadēva, who has destroyed by the prowess of his arm the arrogance of the enemy in many a battle, who is a Paramaraśīvaya (and) Paramabhaṭṭāraśa, who is the son of (the god) Purushottama the original cause of the universe, who is the (terrible primordial) Great Bear that raised high the three worlds, who by his observance of ēkādaśī the best of all the vrata is free from the slightest touch of the black evils of the Kali age, who has attained the supreme bliss of Brahman by constant devotion to and practice of the meaning of the Mahāvēśa, and who is the pillar supporting the family of the Ganges, on Wednesday, Minaśūkla-pañchamati, Rēvatī, while staying at Abhinava-Vārānadvēśal, Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi grants, with libation of water and for as long as the moon and sun endure, the village of Udiyakāśam in Antarudravishaya, for worship and offerings, to the god Allānātha. (Thus) I, Sōmaladēvi, (give). (This is) the writing of Vishvakāśa.

**Translation**

**Inscription No. II**

**Text**

1. The punctuation mark is denoted by the sign known as pāṭhaśūla ṣeṭi.
2. This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. I.
3. This a is redundant.
4. This m is redundant.
5. The word uru is not used while mentioning the other group of 64 cows above.
6. This a is redundant.
TRANSLATION

In the 20th year of Rājarājadēva, on Monday, Śādi 12, saptamī, Āvati, we, the sthānātār of the Perumāḷ temple, agree to supply (daily) as long as the moon and sun endure, a nāṭi of ghose measured by the Ariyapaccaṇḍi-nāṭi for burning four perpetual lamps before (the god) Perumāḷ, for which purpose 128 cows made up of 64 milch cows and 64 heifers and pregnant cows and four bulls were given by Aniyākarthiṣumadēva-rākuti.
No. 17—NOTE ON TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam suggests that the Eastern Ganga monarch Anangabhima III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chōja territory as a result of the temporary imprisonment, in 1230 A.D., of Chōja Rajaśa III (1215-45 A.D.) by the Kājaṇa king Köpperuṇḍiṇa I and that for a time the Eastern Ganga army entered Kājhipuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chōja king’s relative, Hāysala Narasimha II (c. 1220-35 A.D.). He further contends that, since one of the Kājhipuram inscriptions bears a date in the regnal reckoning of Anangabhima III, the locality must have been for the time being under the Ganga king. But the suggestions appear to be unwarranted in view of certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question, which Dr. Mahalingam has ignored totally.

In the first place, about a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore Districts prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chōja dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatiya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.), a contemporary of Chōja Rajaśa III. That the Kākatiyas were expanding their power towards the south is proved by two of Gaṇapati’s own inscriptions, dated 1250 A.D., at Kājhipuram itself. It is interesting to note that Kājaṇa Köpperuṇḍiṇa II, son of Köpperuṇḍiṇa I, claims in his Drākshārāma inscription, dated Śaka 1134 (1261-62 A.D.), to have been the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-mahārāja, i.e. a subordinate of Kākatiya Gaṇapati. The Eastern Ganga army therefore could not have penetrated as far south as Kājhipuram without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatiya territory and there is absolutely no proof to show that Anangabhima III was ever engaged in a successful war with Gaṇapati.

Secondly, as Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has shown, Hāysala Narasimha II assumed the titles ‘establisher of the Chōja kingdom’ and ‘destroyer of the demon Kājaṇavarāya’ after an engagement with Kājaṇa Köpperuṇḍiṇa I in 1224 A.D. and that he had defeated the Magada (Maṇḍhāra) chief and the Pāṇḍyas king and planted a pillar of victory at Rāmēśvaram by Śaka 1145 (1233-34 A.D.) prior to the said engagement. Most of the achievements of Hāysala Narasimha II, referred to by Dr. Mahalingam, have therefore to be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A.D. to which he is inclined to ascribe them.

1 For a discussion on the question of Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kākati, see also above, Vol. XXX. pp. 19 ff.
2 Rangachari’s List, Nos. Gd. 72, 84A, 118, 125, 317, 325.
6 Ibid., Nos. Gd. 654, 809, 908.
7 Ibid., Nos. Gk. 86, 87, 129, 807, 900-01.
8 Cf. Sewall, Hist. Ind., pp. 128-34, a.v. 1919 and 1918 A.D.
10 SII, Vol. IV, Nos. 1341, 1342, 1343.
Thirdly, Hoysala Narasimha II is known to have been ruling on March 10, 1229 A.D.¹ from Kāṭchipuram which was the eastern limit of his possessions,² while a number of Hoysala generals are mentioned in the Kāṭchipuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Rājārāja III, i.e. between 1230 and 1240 A.D.³ No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammaṇḍa at Kāṭchh on the 25th February 1230 A.D. (14th regnal year of Rājārāja III, Mina-śa 11, Monday), while No. 406 of the same year to that of another Hoysala general named Goppya in the 15th regnal year (1230-31 A.D.) of Rājārāja III. It has to be noticed that it was these Hoysala generals⁴ who were responsible for the defeat of Koppurāṇiṇja I and the consequent release of Rājārāja III. Between 1229 and 1231 A.D. therefore it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kāṭchipuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anāgabhima III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Dr. Mahalingam’s identification of the dusṭha element at Kāṭchipuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

A Vṛiddhachalam inscription,⁵ dated in the 14th regnal year of Rājārāja III, corresponding to 1229-30 A.D., records a benefaction of a person who was the chief of the body-guard of Kāḍaya Koppurāṇiṇja I. Hence the capture of the Chōla king at the hands of the Kāḍaya chief seems to have occurred at a later date. We have also inscriptions of the reign of Rājārāja III dated the 15th and 17th February, 6th May, 3rd July and 5th August of 1230 A.D.⁶ The date of the capture of Rājārāja III is placed by scholars⁷ in 1231 A.D. or “a little earlier”. In Dr. Mahalingam’s opinion, Rājārāja III was in captivity for a short time in March-April 1230 A.D. and the Eastern Gaṅga forces entered Kāṭchipuram exactly at that time. A strange coincidence indeed!

It will be seen that this time factor is the very basis of Dr. Mahalingam’s theory, although the fact cannot be ignored that the equation of the 19th year of Anāgabhima III with 1230 A.D. is by no means certain. We know that none of the other records of this Eastern Gaṅga king is dated in his regnal reckoning. They bear dates only in the Śaka era and the Aṅka reckoning. If, considering the style of dating favoured by the Eastern Gaṅgas during the period in question, the date of the Kāṭchipuram inscription, viz. the year 19, is referred to the Aṅka reckoning, it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anāgabhima III and to 1227 A.D. But it should also be remembered that the date of the king’s accession, generally believed to have taken place in 1211 A.D., is itself uncertain.⁸ Thus Dr. Mahalingam seems to stand on an extremely shaky foundation.

Fourthly, Dr. Mahalingam forgets that Kāṭchipuram was a place of pilgrimage and that at other holy places also there are records dated in the regnal reckoning of kings who were not really the rulers of the kingdom to which the areas in question belonged because the pilgrims responsible for them may have been their officers or subordinates. It may also be noted in this connection that sometimes partisans of a king who had ceased to rule over a territory continued to mention him as the lord of the land in preference to the new ruler of the country.⁹

¹ E.P. Corn., Vol. XII, Pt. 42. The date quoted in the record is Śaka 1192 (current), Vṛiddhā, Chalra-śa 15, Saturday. For brha-śa meaning Saturday, see A. Venkatasubbiah, Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions, pp. 90 ff.
² E.P. Corn., Vol. IV, intro., pp. 21-22.
⁷ Cf. ibid., p. 140. ¹
⁸ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 200-01.
⁹ Cf. J.A.S. Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 43 ff.; The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II), p. 131. It has also to be noticed that, while the first inscription seems to have been drafted at the Gaṅga capital, the second was apparently drafted by the priests of the temple at Kāṭchipuram.
Attention in this connection may be drawn to three inscriptions at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District, which is known to have formed an integral part of the Kākatiya empire during the reigns of Gaṅgāpati (1199-1281 A.D.) and his successor Rudrāmba (1281-91 A.D.). These are Nos. 193a, 206b and 262a of 1895, respectively bearing dates in the 72nd (Saka 1211), 37th (Saka 1175) and 6th (Saka 1144) years of the reign of a king named Rājādhirāja. There is no doubt that he cannot be identified with any of the Kākatiya rulers whose dominions comprised the Drākshārāma region during the period in question.

A similar case seems to be offered by No. 201a of 1906 found at Tripurantakam in the Marksapur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra State. This record is dated in the year Kandri (1260-61 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Chōla king Rājendra III, although there are numerous inscriptions of the Kākatiyas showing that the area formed a part of the Kākatiya empire.

An inscription has been recently found on a stone built into the wall of the granary in the Raṅganāthā temple at Srirangam. It mentions a Pradhāni of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana I and is dated in the year Khara (1111 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Hoysala king. There is no proof to show that the Hoysalas were in actual occupation of the Srirangam area during the life time of the Chōla emperor Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.).

A Drākshārāma inscription records a donation of Jayaśākuntalāśi, queen of Anantavarman Chōdasangana of Kaliga, on the svayāpāta day of the month of Śiśa in Saka 1060 (1138 A.D.) without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, it may be concluded that the Drākshārāma region formed a part of the empire of the said Gaṅga monarch. But we have several other inscriptions at the same place bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of Vishnuvardhana.

As has already been shown above, it was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there. In the twelfth century, the Kadamba chief Jayakāśī II of Goa is known to have granted a village in the Dharwar District in favour of the goddess Śrīmanātha in Kashiwar, apparently without visiting the temple himself. A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta refers to a grant of land made by an inhabitant of a village in North Bengal, in his own locality, in favour of two deities worshipped apparently at Varāhachhastra (Varāhakhastra) in Nepal, although it is uncertain whether he had visited the holy place.

The real significance of Hoysala Nārāyaṇa’s claim of success against the Trikaliṅga forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it may be as empty a boast as his other claim regarding the conquest of the Vindhyan region.

It has been suggested above that Śrīmaladāvi, wife of Gaṅga Anūgabhastra III, was a sister or daughter of Rājarāja III, although her name may point to her birth from a Kānṭha;

---

1 Rangachari's List, No. Gd. 98; SII, Vol. IV, No. 1019.
3 Rangachari, op. cit., No. Gd. 167; Sewell, op. cit., p. 136. The dates have been wrongly read in SII, op. cit., No. 1116.
4 Rangachari's List, No. Kl. 294.
5 Bhārathi, op. cit., No. 1194.
6 See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 5. For even ordinary people performing pilgrimage by proxy, see Sreevivasacahar, Corpus of Inscriptions, Nos. 80-81.
8 See Vol. XXX, p. 32, n. 6.
princess. We know that the name of a queen of Hōysala Narasimha II was also Sōmaladēvi1 and that the said Hōysala king gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Chōja king, Rājarāja III.2 As the practice of naming grandchildren after their grandparents was a popular one,3 it is not impossible to think that Sōmaladēvi, wife of Amaṅgabhima III, was a daughter of Rājarāja III by the daughter of Hōysala Narasimha II through his queen Sōmaladēvi. If such was the case, the presence of the inscriptions, edited above by Dr. Mahalingam, at Kāṇchipuram can be easily explained.

1 Pd. 188; Sastri, The Cholas, p. 191.
2 Beweck, op. cit., pp. 182 (c. v. 1230 A.D.), 261.
3 A daughter of Eastern Chāluṅgāra Rājarāja I was named Kundaśvēti after his own mother. See also Geiger, Catalcatus, trans., Part 3, p. 211.
No. 18—SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

(1 Plate)

S. L. KATARN, NAGPUR

The charter consists of three plates, of which the first is damaged, nearly half of its right portion being broken off and lost. The plates were first noticed by Hiralal in the revised edition of his Inscriptions in the C. P. and Barar.\(^8\) They were then in the possession of Ramratanlal Agrawal, Talukdar of Sirpur, but seem to have been later on acquired by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur. The Pandit sent the inscription for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India who noticed it in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46.\(^8\) It seems that, when the plates were with Ramratanlal Agrawal, they were taken out from their original ring bearing the seal of Mahasudevaraja and were misjoined to a seal which must have originally belonged to some charter of Mahajayaraja.\(^4\) Each of the plates has in it a round hole (about half an inch in diameter) at a distance of about an inch from its left edge. Each plate measures 5\(\frac{1}{2}\)"\(\times\)3\(\frac{1}{2}\)"; and the three plates together weigh 46 tolas. The plates are smooth; their edges are neither thickened nor raised to give protection to the writing. Though a portion of the first plate is broken away and lost, the writing of the record is well preserved. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, while the second and the third are inscribed on both the sides. The third plate has only one line of writing on its second side. There are altogether 25 lines of writing. The average height of the letters, which are well-formed and carefully engraved, is about 1/4".

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls 'the Central India alphabet',\(^6\) in which the charters of the Sarnabhupura kings were engraved. It may be pointed out that the letters on the charters of the Paharpur rulers, Tivaradha and Mahasivagupta,\(^6\) particularly those on the Badril, Lodhpir and Mallir plates, are angular and elongated in comparison with those on the records of the Sarnabhupura kings. The top horizontal bar of the box-head in the letters is also slightly projected on both the sides in the case of the former. The language of our inscription is Sanskrit and, except the benedictory and the imperative verses at the end, the composition is in prose. The upadakṣenya has been used in gopradaj-paramadhivaranā in line 5 and ābhijñā-

---

\(^1\) [The real name of the king was Sudēva. Mahāsuḍēvarāja is similar to Sudēmaḥāśvarāja.—Ed.]

\(^2\) See p. 196-4, No. 177(b).

\(^3\) See p. 12, No. 32. [The text of this inscription was published by Pandit Pandeya in Mahakutas Historical Society's Papers, Vol. II, 1937, pp. 48-48.—Ed.]

\(^4\) [This conjecture of the author is not easy to prove as we have several other instances of a king's charter being endowed with the seal of his predecessor. See JBOBS, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 184. The name of Sudēva's predecessor was really Jaya. The legend (in two lines) on the seal reads: Prasama-Prasama-pādi, and Sundara-vālīka(\(\text{⟨}\)) kriyā Śaya-jagatāja-vivaṁśaḥ rupah katham\(\text{⟩}\):[name].—Ed.]

\(^5\) CII, Vol. III, pp. 18-19, 192, 196.

\(^6\) [His real name was Śivagupta.—Ed.]

\(^7\) Above, Vol. XXVII, Plate between pp. 290 and 291.

\(^8\) Ibid., Plate between pp. 314 and 315.

\(^9\) Ibid., Vol. XXIII, Plate between pp. 130 and 121.

---

(102)
pravanantiki in line 15. Attention may also be drawn to the doubling of k followed by r, as in viśkrma in line 1; the doubling of the consonant preceded by r in many cases; and the doubling of v in svauṭ (sauvatu) in line 24. There are a few mistakes of spelling, e.g. tāmra for tānra in line 11.

The charter was issued from Sarabhapura by king Mahāśudāvarāja, described as a para
dhārtaravatī, on the 10th day of the second Bhādra in the 7th year of his reign and records the confirmation of the grant of a village, the name of which is lost in the broken portion of the first plate. The village was formerly granted by the venerable Nanna to Kaśyapa Kanipattavāmin of the Āśvāra gōtra and the Taittirīya ṭākhā. The resident agriculturists of the village were informed that the grant was being renewed by the king after making the village a-chāta
dhāta-prāṇīṣṭha (not to be transgressed by regular and irregular troops) and sarva-kara-visarjita (free from all taxes). They were further enjoined to pay to the donee his due share.

This is one of the three charters of Mahāśudāvarāja issued in the 7th year of his reign, the two others being the Arang (1) and the Kauvāṭā (2) plates. Of the six copper-plate grants of his time so far known, five, including the one edited here, were issued from Sarabhapura and they were engraved by Drūpasinīha. The sixth, viz. the Kauvāṭā plates, as well as the Thakurīyā plates of Mahā
dravarāja, both of which were issued from Śirupa, modern Siripur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, were engraved by Gōlasinīha. This shows that Mahāśudāvarāja had Drūpasinīha as his official scribe at Sarabhapura and Gōlasinīha at Śirupa.

Mahāśudāvarāja belonged to the dynasty of the so-called Sarabhapura kings whose history and chronology have been a matter of controversy among scholars. The names of the kings of this family so far known from the inscriptions are: Narādrā, son of Sarabha(4); Mahājayarāja, son of Prasanna(5) who is also known from a number of gold and silver coins(6) on which his name occurs as Prasannamātra; Mahāśudāvarāja who was the son of Mānamātra (descended from Prasanna according to the Kharis(7) and Arang(8) plates) or of Mahādurgarāja(9) according to the Kauvāṭā(10) plates; and Mahāpravarāja, son of Mānamātra(11). The real name of the father of Mahāśudāvarāja, as revealed by the Kauvāṭā plates, was Mahādurgarāja. Mānamātra was therefore his secondary name. Whether Prasannamātra was also a similar secondary name is not possible to

---

1 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22, n.4.
2 Ancient India, No. 6, p. 49; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 33 and Plate.
3 [The real name of the king is Pravara.—Ed.]
4 IHR, Vol. XIX, p. 145. It has been suggested (cf. also The Vākhāja-Gupta Age, p. 80; The Classical Age, p. 219) that this Sarabha is identical with Sarabharjā, maternal grandfather of Gōparāja of the Kanj inscription (Gupta year 191) of the time of Bhāmogupta (CII, Vol. III, p. 81). There is nothing to substantiate this identification except the common names. [The identification seems to be quite satisfactory in the present state of our knowledge.—Ed.]
8 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 22.
9 [His real name was Durga.—Ed.]
11 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.
say at present. Another king who apparently belonged to the same family and is known from a number of gold coins1 of the same type and fabric and with the legend in the box-headed character of the ‘scopped out’ or ‘closed’ variety, as found on the coins of Prasannamātra, was Mahāndrāditya. He seems to have ruled before Śravbhavi and may have been a contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A.D.), who claims to have defeated king Mahāendra of Kōśala. The suggestion, offered on the strength of the seal of the Khariar and Arang plates, that Mānamātra was the son of Prasannamātra is doubtful. Scholars who think that the said seals represent Mānamātra as born in the family of Prasanna appear to be right. The older view that Mahāpravararāja was the younger of Mahāsudāvarāja was based upon the possibility of Mahāpravararāja having transferred his capital from Śrādhavara to Śrīpura, which he himself may have founded, is now disproved by the Kaubāta plate issued by Mahāsudāvarāja from Śrīpura in the 7th year of his reign, in which year were also issued the present charter and the Arang plates. This shows that both Śrādhavara and Śrīpura were seats of the government of Mahāsudāvarāja. This also disproves the conjecture, based upon the above hypothesis, that the need to shift his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura was felt by Mahāpravararāja as he had ‘extended his kingdom in the west’. Consequently, the suggestion that the dynasty of the so-called Śrādhavara kings came to an end after Mahāpravararāja as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍava king Tīravādā of Kōśala can no longer be sustained, as it is not possible to say which of the two brothers, Mahāsudāvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, was the elder and which of them was defeated by Tīravādā.

Nānna, who had formerly granted the village, and which grant was being confirmed by Mahāsudāvarāja by the present charter, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The respectful manner in which he is spoken of in the record shows that he was of some consequence. He may have been a predecessor of Mahāsudāvarāja or an officer like Rāhuḍēva of the Pāṇḍava plate of Nūndadra.

1 JNSI, Vol. X, pp. 187 ff. The first coin of Mahāndrāditya was published by Mr. Prayag Dayal in a numismatic Supplement, No. XLIV, No. 309, and he assigned it to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. Mr. Ajit Ghosh (ibid., No. XLV, p. 22 n.) thought that it was probably a coin of Kumāragupta of the Bhītari seal. A fresh hoard consisting of one gold coin of Mahāndrāditya and 11 gold coins of Prasannamātra was recently discovered at Bhandara in the Chandā District of Mahāra Pradeś (cf. JNSI, Vol. XVI, p. 216). This is the first hoard which contains the coins of both Mahāndrāditya and Prasannamātra and all the facts taken into consideration lead to the conclusion that Mahāndrāditya of the coins was a king of Kōśala and belonged to the house of Prasanna and that he was a brother of Prasannamātra. Pandit I. P. Pandey suggested his identification with Mahāndra of Kōśala who was defeated by Samudragupta and is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (ibid., Vol. XII, p. 9, n.1). Mr. Rode, who published the Khariar hoard of Mahāndrāditya’s coins, assigned them to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. X, pp. 137-39) and Dr. Altekar, while commenting on the article of Mr. Rode, thought that the coins were issued by some ruler of Mahākōśala, who had adopted the bāda of Mahāndrāditya (ibid., p. 142). Prof. Mirashi in a long note on these coins differed from all others and made an ingenious attempt to identify Mahāndrāditya with the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 108 ff.). I have examined the coins of both Mahāndrāditya and Prasannamātra in the Nāpur Museum and have no hesitation in saying that Mahāndrāditya of these coins was a king of Kōśala.

*This date is too early for Mahāndrāditya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 83. The bāda-ending name, which appears to have been popularized by the Gupas, is not expected in other families so early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. Mahāndrāditya of Kōśala seems to have been named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahāndrāditya.—Ed.*

* Cf. Bhandarkar’s List, p. 263. (The passage Prasannadyuvasamabhāva-Mansāmātr addressed means to say that Mānamātra was born from Prasanna just as the moon is born from the ocean. The moon’s birth from the ocean is indicated by its epithets like aran-eśvaras, śandhyāja, etc. It is thus almost certain that Mānamātra was a son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra.—Ed.*

* Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 17.

* [There is some reason to regard Pravaras as successors of Sudēva because the earlier kings are known to have ruled from Śrādhavara, Sudēva from both Śrādhavara and Śrīpura and Pravaras only from Śrīpura which was also the capital of the Pāṇḍuvamśa who succeeded the rulers of this dynasty.—Ed.]*

* IRQ, Vol. XIX, pp. 140-41.*
and Pratihāra Bhīgilla of the Āraṇi1 plates of Mahāndēvāraṇa, each of whom had granted a
village which was later confirmed by a charter by the kings in question.

The kings of Sarabhapura2 appear to have been, in the beginning, the feudatories of the
Guptas and Sarabha, father of Narendra, like Gopārāja of the Eran stone inscription3 of the Gupta
year 191, was probably governing one of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad
pillar inscription4 of Samudragupta speaks of Mahāndra of Kosala as one of the kings defeated by
him. This bears clear testimony to the extension of the Gupta influence in South Kosala. The
successors of Sarabha had the status of sāmanā and are praised in their records as sāmanā-maṅga-
chādāvarī.5 They had their seats of government at Sarabhapura and Sripura. Towards the end
of the Gupta rule when the empire was plunged into confusion because of the Hūṇa inroads, these
kings appear to have assumed an autonomous or semi-independent status. The suggestion that the
Sarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas6 does not rest on a sound foundation.
The use of the box-headed characters by these kings could not necessarily be due to Vākāṭaka
influence or domination when it is known that the box-headed characters of the ‘scooped out’ or
‘closed’ variety were in use in the Eran inscription7 of Samudragupta and the Udāyagiri inscription8
of Chandragupta II. The statement in the Balaghat9 plates of Prithivīśaṇa II that the king of
Kosala was a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Narendraśaṇa and that of the Ajanta inscription10 which
describes Harīśeṇa, probably, as the conqueror of Kosala along with several other countries need
not necessarily be taken to imply that the Sarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas.
Kosala appears to have had much wider extent than the territories governed by the Sarabhapura
kings.11 There is nothing to suggest that they ever ruled over the Chanda District or even the
whole of the Bilsapur and Bastar Districts of Madhya Pradesh.12

TEXT13

First Plate


2 For the identification of this city with Sarpasgarh in the former Gangpur State in Orissa, see above Vol.
XXIII, p. 17; Vol. XXVI, p. 220, fn. 2. Hirakal favoured Sipur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh (ibid.,
Vol. XL, p. 185, n. 5).
3 Cf., Vol. III, p. 93.
4 Ibid., p. 7.
5 [The author has misunderstood the meaning of the epithet vikrama-sāmanat-sāmanat-ma[kuṭa-chūḍā-manī].
prabhā-prastāk-aṃbu-dhanta-pāda-yugalo which suits independent rulers only.—Ed.]
6 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff.
7 Cf., Vol. III, Plate II-A.
8 Ibid., Plate II-B.
12 The Bhandara (Chanda District) hoard of gold coins containing one coin of Mahāndracitya and 11 of Pra-
manamanāra need not be taken as evidence of the extension of the territories of the Sarabhapura kings over the
Chanda District as it is likely that the coins travelled to that place which was not far away from the Sarabhapura
domains.
13 From inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
14 Expressed by symbol.
15 A portion of the first plate is broken off. Thus six letters of line 1, seven of line 2, eight of line 3, and nine
each of lines 5 and 6 are lost. But the lost letters can be restored with the help of other charters of the king.
Seal

(from a photograph)
No. 18] SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

3 hētur=$vvan=vasudhā-gō-pradāh=parama-bhāga[yyatō mitā-pitrī-pād-ā]1
4 muddhyāsta=ārt=Mahāsūdevarājaḥ vu[. . . . . . . .]1
5 vakē pratīvāsi-kutumbinas=samājñā[payati | viditam=astu vō]1
6 yathāsamābhīr=ayam grāmastrī(t-satri)=āsāpati=sa[dana-sukha-pratishthā-karō]1

Second Plate, First Side

7 yāvad=ravi-daśi-tārā-kirasā-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatihṣha-1
8 tē tāvad-upabhōgya=sa-nilhis=s-ūpanidhir=a-chāta-bhāṣa-pravēṣya=saṛvve-ka-
9 ra-visarjita[h*] pūrvarā Nanna-pādais=Taittiriya-Pārśāra-sagōtra-Brāhma-
10 na-kāraṇika-Kamippasāminī(ṇē) datta idānīm=apy=asamābhīr-api1
11 mahādevī-rājakulāṇāṁ viṇjāpyāstāmbara(t-tāmra)-āśaṃkṛitaḥ tē yūyam=ē-
12 vam=upalabhyo=say=ājñā-āravana-viḍhyā bhūtvā yathā=chitatām bhūga-bhāga-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 m=upanyantas-sukham pravatasya(sa)cha [[*] Bhavishyatā=cha bhūmipāṁ-san-
14 darśayati | Dānād=vishitam=anupālanajam purāṇā dharm̐ādu nishita-
15 dhīyaḥ-pravadantā dharmam(rammam) | Tasmā[da*]=dvijāya suṣīuddha-kula-śrutya dattāṁ-
16 bhavam bhavatu vō maśīrēva gōpta[m*] || Tad-bhavadbhir=apy=ēśā dattir=anu-
17 pālayitavyā [[*] Vyāsa-gītāḥ=ch-ātra śōkān-udāharanti [[*] Agnēṣu=apayaṁ pra-
18 thamasu suvastām bhūr=vaśiṣṭhavi sūryya-suntā=cha gāvah [[*] dattāṁ-tayyas=tē-

Third Plate, First Side

19 na bhavanti lōkāḥ(kā) yath-kīchchanaṁ gān cha maḥī[m] cha dadyat [[*] Śhaṣṭi-varaṁ-sa-
20 haśriṇī svargasē mādati bhūmidaḥ [[*] śāchchhettā ch-ānumantā cha tān=ō-
21 va narakē vatsī [[*] Bahubhīr=vasuṣdha dattā rājaḥbhis=Sagar-ūdibhit [[*] yasya
22 yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=tai)sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [[*] Sva-dattāṁ para dattāṁ vā
23 yatnād-śakaṁ Yudhisṭhirāharesta[[*] Mahīṣṭha(m=ma)ṣmatāḥ=śāchchhreṣṭha dānāḥ-

chhrōyō=ṇupāla-

1 See p. 106, note 15.
2 This portion of line 4, which is broken off, contained the name of the village and probably also the district in which it was situated.
3 Metre: Vasumatiśādī.
4 Metre: Indraśvasti.
5 Metre: Aṣṭavajja for this and the following two stanzas.
24 nam-iti ["""] Sva-mukh śnjaya pravardhamāna-vijaya-savva(sarva) 7 dvi-Bhādra-
di 10 ["""]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 Ukti(skt) rṇam Drōnasinghēṇa(simhēṇa) ||
No. 19—ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

(5 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

A set of inscribed copper plates was discovered about the beginning of 1919 from the house of a Santal inhabitant of Pargana Asankhali in the Mayurbhanj State, now the District of that name in Orissa. The Santal is said to have found it several years earlier. U. N. Chakidar, a Tahsildar in the Mayurbhanj State Service, submitted the plates to Kamakhya Prasad Basu who was then the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mayurbhanj. The officer tried to decipher the inscription with the help of Nagendra Nath Vasu who was then serving as Honorary Archaeologist to the Mayurbhanj State, and actually prepared a short note on the record, although it was never published. I am grateful for the above information to Mr. P. Acharya who also supplied me with an extract from the unpublished article by Kamakhya Prasad Basu. The plates are now the property of the Museum at Baripada, chief city of the former Mayurbhanj State and headquarters of the present Mayurbhanj District. In 1941-42, the plates were received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several of their impressions were prepared by the office mechanic. I am editing the inscription from one set of these impressions.

In the manuscript note on the Asankhali plates by Kamakhya Prasad Basu, the set is described as follows: "Its weight is 18 seers. It has seven plates containing 14 pages, of which the 13 inside pages are inscribed. These seven plates are secured by a stout ring of copper which passes through the perforations of the plates at the top. The plates are each 14" x 9". The copper ring has a lotus attached to it, on which is found a seated bull. There are the mystic symbols of the trident, gománta and half moon on the lotus on both sides of the couchant bull." The impressions at our disposal show that the record was engraved on six plates. Of these the first and the sixth are inscribed on one side each, while the second, third, fourth and fifth plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 212 lines of writing on the plates. Of these the inner sides of the first and sixth plates contain 20 and 17 lines respectively. The first and the second sides of Plate II as well as the second side of Plate IV have 22 lines each, while the first side of Plate IV and the two sides of Plate V contain each 21 lines of inscription. The two sides of the third plate have no less than 23 lines each. Five of the inscribed plates are consecutively numbered. In the margin behind the ring-hole on the inner side of plate I is written gau 1. The second sides of the following four plates have similarly in the margin gau 2, gau 3, gau 4 and gau 5 respectively. The sixth plate, only the inner side of which is inscribed, contains no such number. The letter gau seems to be a contraction of the name of the deity Gangesvaratva, the foremost amongst the recipients of the land granted by the charter under discussion. The Khandapatna plates of Narasimha II, dated Saka 1217, are also similarly numbered; but in their case the numbers are preceded by the letters kuma (only ků in one case) which seem to be a contraction of the official designation of Kumara-mahaputra Bhimadēvaśarman donee of that charter.¹

The palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of the inscription under discussion are the same as those of the other published records² of Narasimha II. They resemble very closely the characteristics of the palaeography and orthography of the Nagari copper-plate inscription of


(109)
Anaṅgabhūma III, which have been fully discussed above. The consonants p and y are undistinguishable. Similar is the case with superscript n and superscript t, with subscript v and subscript d, and sometimes with u and n and r and ch. The conjunct ndh is in some cases written like r̥t (cf. lines 209-10) and r̥tv is often like r̥t. The final forms of t and s occur many times in the record. In many cases such half consonants have been used instead of joining them with the following consonants in conjunctes. V and b are indicated by the same sign. In a number of cases, medial i has been written as in Nāgarī and not in the usual Bengali or Oriya fashion. Of initial vowels, au occurs once in line 198; but a, å, i, u and ê occur in a number of cases. As already noticed, the inscription employs the numerical figures from 1 to 5. It is interesting to note that the figure 2 resembles the shape of an English or Telugu 3, while 3 is written almost like the present Nāgarī and Bengali 2. This is also the case with other medieval Orissan records such as the Kundupatna plates of Narasimha II (Śaka 1217), the Puri plates of Bhāmu II (Śaka 1234) and the Polasara plates of Arkaśvara (Kaliyugāda 4243). The letter l occurs in line 192.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. The rules of sandhi often remain unobserved even in verses. There are a few cases of sandhi where a sibilant has been preferred to a visarga (cf. surai-saha in line 135). Often the last consonants of the sarga have been changed to amusara in sandhi. The reduplication of some consonants after r is found occasionally (cf. both rm and rmn in line 138). Final m has in all cases been changed to amusara at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1226 and in the Ṛṣaṇa year 31 corresponding to the 26th regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth, twentieth, twenty-sixth and thirtieth years) of the Gaṅga king Narasimha II (circa Śaka 1200-27, i.e. 1278-1305 A.D.). The actual date was Māsa (i.e. Vaiśāka)-baddha 6, Tuesday. The date is irregular. If the Śaka year is taken as current, Vaiśāka-baṣṭi 6 would fall on Wednesday, the 24th April 1302 A.D., but, if it was an expired year, the date would fall on Monday, the 8th April 1303 A.D.

The introductory portion of the charter consists of 105 verses with a number of stray names between verses 6 and 7. This part is also found, with slight variations, in the other records of king Narasimha II who issued the charter under discussion. It has been shown that the later monarchs of the Imperial Gaṅga family copied the introductory part of the records of their predecessors and added to it a few verses about their own reigns composed by their court poets. Thus, of the introductory portion of the charters of Narasimha II, the earlier part down to verse 79 is also found in the Nāgarī plates of Anaṅgabhūma III, great-grandfather of Narasimha II. It has been fully discussed above and need not be dealt with here. Verse 80 of our record says that king Anaṅgabhūma III died after a reign of 34 years. According to the Āṅgika reckoning, adopted by the later rulers of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty, 34 Āṅgika years would correspond to 28 actual years. The king is usually believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.) and ended his rule in circa Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A.D.). Verse 81 introduces king Narasimha I, son of Anaṅgabhūma III from the queen Kastarāddevi. Verse 84 says that, as a result of the exploite of Narasimha I, the waters of the river Gaṅga became as black as that of the Yamuna owing to the colliery in the eyes of the Javana or Yavana women of Rādhā and Varṣendrë being washed by their tears and mixed into the waters. This refers to the success of the Gaṅga king against the Muhmmadans of Bengal. According to the Tabaqat-i-Nāşiri of Minhāj-ud-dīn Sīrajī, the Rāj of Jajnagar (i.e. the Gaṅga king of Orissa) commenced molesting the Lakhanavanīt territory (i.e. the Muslim

---

1 Ibid., pp. 236-37.
2 Ibid., p. 64.
3 Ibid., pp. 240 ff.
No. 19] ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

kingdom of Bengal having its capital at Lakshmanavatī near Gaur in the Malda District) in Hijra 641 (June 21, 1243, to June 9, 1244 A.D.). In the month of Shawal (March 18 to April 10) of that year Malik Tughril Tughān Khān, ruler of Bengal, led an expedition against the Jāñagar kingdom and reached Katāsin (on the Mahānadi, lat. 20° 32′ N, long. 84° 50′ E) within that kingdom. But the Muslim army was completely defeated by the Jāñagar forces and Malik Tughril Tughān Khān retired from the place without having effected his object and returned to Lakshmanavatī. In order to avenge the attack on Katāsin, the Rāi of Jāñagar invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bengal next year and on Tuesday, the 13th of Shawal, Hijra 642 (March 14, 1245 A.D.) the army of Jāñagar appeared before the gate of Lakshmanavatī. The Orissan forces are said to have been led by a general called Sāhantar (Sāmantarāya, which was really a title and not a name) who was the son-in-law of the Rāi (king Narasimha I). He drove the Musalmān forces as far as the gate of Lakshmanavatī. The forces of Jāñagar, according to the Muslim author, had, however, soon to return to their own country. The success of Narasimha I against the Muhammadans of Bengal is also referred to in Vidyādharā’s Ekavatī. There is possibly a reference to the performance of the Tulāpurusha-mahābhārata ceremony by Narasimha I in verse 86-86. Verse 86 refers to the fact that the king constructed the temple of the Sun-god at Kōnakīpa (modern Konarak), although the magnificent building is humbly mentioned as a kuiraka or hut. According to verse 88, Narasimha I ruled for 53 years (i.e. 53a. years, corresponding to 27 actual years). As Narasimha I is believed to have ascended the throne in Saka 1160 (1223-29 A.D.), he may have ended his reign in circa Saka 1186 (1254-55 A.D.). The next verse says that his successor was his son Bhaiṇu I born of the queen Sītādevī who was the daughter of the king of Mālava. Queen Sītā’s father must have been a ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa, although he cannot be identified with any amount of precision. Verse 90 refers to king Bhaiṇu’s 16 Purās or ministers and verse 94 to the 100 sāmanas (areas of land granted as revenue-free holdings) created by the king. Verse 95 says how Bhaiṇu I died after a rule of 18 Aśka years (15 actual years). This would place his reign between circa Saka 1186 and 1200 (1254-75 A.D.). Verse 96 speaks of Jākalladevi, who was the queen of Bhaiṇu I and the mother of the next ruler Narasimha II, issuer of the charter under discussion. Verse 97 says how the reigning monarch was the destroyer of enemies and the savour of his family, while verse 99 refers to the 100 sāmanas that he granted at the request of his mother.

The grant was made when king Vīra-Narasimhadēva, endowed with a string of titles beginning with ‘the lord of the fourteen worlds’, was staying at the Bhaiравpura kāśaka (city, camp or residence). The passage Gaṅgādevī-mandira-āṅtar-vijaya-vāsasrē used in this connection suggests that the occasion of the grant was a royal visit to the temple of the goddess Gaṅgā at Bhaiравpura. In the passage quoted above, the word vijaya has been used in its Oriya sense of ‘staying’ and vāsasrē means ‘while staying’, ‘at the time of his stay’. The epithet chaturṛasa-bhuvana-
āśhipati is really intended for the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, whom the Gaṅga kings regarded as their overlord since the dedication of the kingdom in the god’s favour by Anāgabhimma III in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. By abbreviating an epithet originally meaning a subordinate of the god in the above way, quite familiar to students of Indian history. Gaṅga Narasimha II seems to have attempted to endow it with an equivocal meaning just as a semi-independent feudatory of a weak imperial ruler often did.

---

1 JASR. 1903, p. 124.
2 Ibid., p. 120.
3 She is stated to have been born in the Chālmīya family; but her father cannot be identified.
4 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff. For the epithet chaturṛasa-bhuvana-āśhipati applied to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha, see the Kanchipuram inscription edited above, p. 96, text line 1.
5 See ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 79.
6 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 186.
The *mudala*, a Telugu word meaning 'an order' and here indicating the royal order in regard to the grant itself or its execution, passed through the *Purā-Pariksha-Pātra* Raṅgū Vājapēyin. The word *vājapēyin* indicates 'a performer of the Vājapeya sacrifice', although later the epithet was claimed also by the descendants of a *vājapēyin* and became stereotyped as a cognomen of the family. It is difficult to determine whether in the present case Raṅgū himself or one of his ancestors was the real performer of the sacrifice. *Pātra* indicated an officer of the ministerial rank, while *Pariksha* (same as *Parikshaka*) possibly meant an inspector attached to some administrative department. The word *purā*, prefixed to the official designation, may be the same as Sanskrit *purā* and the inspector may have been attached to the capital city; but it may also be the same as Sanskrit *purās* suggesting that the officer in question was the chief of his class. The order of execution of the grant seems to have been given in the presence of three persons, viz. Viśvanātha, Mañjula and Vidyaadhara. The grant was made on behalf of Hirādēvi who was a queen of king Naraśimha II and the mother of the king's son (cf. *taj-asya va-chara-rasa*) Gañgarājadēva. This prince having apparently died a premature death, his bereaved parents (king Naraśimha II and queen Hirādēvi) were willing to make in his name a grant of 341 *vājikās* of land in favour of gods and Brahmaṇas so that the merit accruing to the pious act might lead their dead son to heaven (cf. *varga-prapañṭaya*). There were altogether five plots of land which was granted to a deity named Gaṅgēśvaradēva and to no less than 104 Brahmaṇas of various *gōtras*. The writer of the document, who was the king's record-keeper (*āsana-ādhihārin*), as well as the engraver of the plates also received their perquisites in land.

The first plot of the gift land was an area originally covered with jungle which had, however, been cleared before the grant was made (cf. *krītt-ārāṇya-bhā-bhāya*). The area of this piece of land, situated in the Vamśādāchaoura vīthaya (district), was determined according to the *nāla* ('measuring rod' from which in Oṛiya 'measurement of area') of the *Purā-Pratikhastra* Allāładēsakarana. Allāładēsa was a *karaṇa* or scribe or more probably a Karana by caste as the scribe is usually styled in the records as the *brī-karaṇa*. In the designation *Purā-pratikhastra*, the word *pratikhastra* means 'a representative'. It seems that Allāładēsa-karaṇa was the chief amongst the representatives of the principal officer in charge of the measurement of lands. The eastern limit of the above piece of reclaimed forest land touched the west of the Vamśādā road, while its western boundary was marked by a *sāla* tree. To the south, it touched the northern limit of Vamśādāgrāma and in the north a plot of land belonging to two persons named Viḍāi and Ravi. The land within these boundaries measured 56 *vājikās*.

The second plot of land was also a reclaimed forest area similar to the above and situated nearby. It had its eastern boundary touching the west of the Vamśādā road, while the western limit was marked by another *sāla* tree. In the south, it touched the northern fringe of a piece of land belonging to two persons named Gōvindā-karaṇa and Koḷāi and, in the north, the southern fringe of the land of a man named Kītāl or Kītāka. The land within these four boundaries measured 56 *vājikās*.

The third plot of the gift land consisted of a locality called Gaṅgēśvarasutra which is described as homestead land. It was also situated in the same region and was bounded on the east by the highway (vājapatha) to the west of the Vamśādā road and on the west by a *sāla* tree. It is again said that, in the west, it touched a piece of land in the possession of two persons named Gopāla and Champaḍās, while its eastern limit is said to have been a *sāla* tree. It will be seen that, in the

---

1 Technical terms like this also occur in other later Gaṅga records. For a discussion on them, see *J. A. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 35-36; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 187-88.

2 He was possibly different from the *Purā-karaṇa* Allālā-nāraka mentioned in the Alāpur copper-plate inscription of the same king (above, pp. 17 ff.). It is, however, interesting to note that this person was also similarly associated with the measurement of land.
case of Gaṅgāvarapura, the eastern and western boundaries are separately and differently mentioned, but that the northern and southern boundaries of the place have been omitted. The enumeration of the boundaries in the other cases would suggest that the reference to the western and eastern boundaries in the second instance actually means respectively the southern and northern limits of Gaṅgāvarapura which thus seems to have been bounded in the east by the vājapathas near the Vāmaṭō road, in the west by a sāla tree, in the south by the land of Gopāla and Champadāsa and in the north by another sāla tree. This piece of land called Gaṅgāvarapura measured 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas.

The fourth plot of the gift land touched, in the east, the western limit of the Kumārabhōgya haṭṭa (market-place) lying to the east of the land belonging to two persons named Gaṅganārāyaṇa and Purakāgūḍa. The western boundary was marked by a sāla tree. In the south, the land reached an akṣatthā tree standing at the end of the land of Vīdāi-Paniyagṛhākhi, while its northern boundary touched a field in the possession of Gopāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third plot of land. The expression Pāṇi-yāgrākhin (modern pāṇi-yāgrākhī which is a surname among Oriya Brāhmaṇas) means ‘a recipient of water’ literally, but ‘a recipient of a grant’ actually. This is because, according to Indian custom, a ceremonial gift of land, etc., was solemnised by offering water in the hands of the donee. When a grant was made to a large number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief amongst the donees seems to have been called Pāṇi-yāgrākhin especially. In the present record, though all the donees are referred to as Pāṇi(yāgrākhī)-mahājana, their list is headed by a Brāhmaṇa with Pāṇi(yāgrā)grahi as his surname. The plot of land in question measured 66 vāṭikās and 4 mānas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the locality called Kumārapura. It was bounded in the east by the highway to the north of Kumārabhōgya (the haṭṭa or market-place of this name mentioned above) and in the west by a sāla tree. Its southern boundary touched the northern limit of the land of Gopāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third and fourth plots, while its northern end was marked by a hījāla tree. The land within these boundaries measured 66 vāṭikās.

Thus the five plots, measuring respectively (1) 54 vāṭikās, (2) 55 vāṭikās, (3) 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas, (4) 68 vāṭikās and 4 mānas, and (5) 66 vāṭikās, made a total of 344 vāṭikās and 12 mānas. Out of this area, land measuring 5 vāṭikās and 12 mānas was subtracted for covering gōhari, gō-patha and gō-prachāra. The word gō-prachāra means pasture land, while both gōhari and gō-patha indicate broad pathways for cattle. The remaining land measured 341 vāṭikās out of which an area of 100 vāṭikās was granted in favour of the god Gaṅgāvaradēva. Whether this deity was installed in the temple of Gaṅgadēvi at Bhairavapura referred to above or at the locality named above as Gaṅgāvarapura and whether he was named after the dead prince Gaṅgaradēva cannot be satisfactorily determined. Of the remaining 341 vāṭikās of land, an area of 203 vāṭikās was allotted to 104 Brāhmaṇas, each one of them having a share of 2 vāṭikās. The list, however, contains 101 names and 3 names appear to have been omitted inadvertently. That the omission was not detected was possibly due to the fact that often several persons had the same names. To a deity to be installed in a temple in the āśana (land granted by the charter under discussion) was granted land measuring 4 vāṭikās. Two colleges for Vedic and grammatical studies to be started in the āśana received respectively 7 and 10 vāṭikās. For making (or covering periodically with thatch) a mandapa (public building), a grant of 3 vāṭikās was made. Another grant of 5 vāṭikās was made for the excavation of a tank in the āśana. The āśana-bāhiḍdēva in Kāmadavatārman who

---

1 Cf. Agni Purāṇa, ch. 209, 49-50: Dravyaguna nāma prihatya-dadām-śī tathā mdeśa | evam dadvaitaye haṁ dāñc vāṭikā-pañci omprad |
was a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Pātimāsha gotra received 2 vājikās. The śasan-ādhikārin was apparently the head of the king's record department, who seems to have written the document. Kama-
dēvaśarman, as suggested before, probably received the piece of land as his perquisite. He no doubt succeeded Allālanāthaśarman, known from the earlier records of the king including the Alalpur inscription edited above, and appears to have been a member of the same family, as both are said to belong to the Pātimāsha gotra. Another area of 2 vājikās was allotted to the ātri-
karana (i.e. scribe) Nāgū-nāyaka, who seems to have engraved the plates or drew the letters on them to facilitate the work of the engraver. Thus altogether 341 vājikās of land were granted to gods, Brāhmaṇas and others with the hope that this meritorious act would lead the king's dead son Gaṅgarājadēva to heaven. The śasanā was styled Gaṅgarājadēvapura after the prince and was made a perpetual rent-free holding endowed with the right to enjoy land and water as well as fish, tortoise and old trees. Seven traders belonging to different markets were attached to the grant as rent-paying subjects. But their names are not specified.

A mention of the names of the Brāhmaṇas donees, called Pāṇigrāhī-mahājana, as well as their gotras and titles is necessary as they, along with the other personal names mentioned in the charter and referred to above, throw some interesting light on the social history of medieval Orissa. The expression Pāṇi-grāhin is no doubt the Oriya corruption of Sāṅskrit Pāṇi-grāhin explained above. The gotras represented by the donees are Brāhadvāja, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Kamāṇḍiya, Parāśāra, Śapāliya, Āṅgira, Kṛishnātrāya, Kuśāka, Sāṅkhyaṇa, Māyāvīya, Brāhmaṇa and Aṇupamanyava. With the exception of the Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja gotra, who are mentioned at the beginning and at the end of the list, the names of the other gotras are only once mentioned and are followed by the names of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to each one of them. The Brāhmaṇa heading the list of the donees is called Gopāla-Pāṇigrāhī; but the names of the other donees are invariably preceded by a title or surname. The expression put before the names of most of the Brāhmaṇas is Pāthin meaning a student of one Vēda, while the expressions Pāṇdita and Tripāṭhin (student of three Vedas) are prefixed to the names of some. One name is preceded by the word Upāsani and two by Vābhi. The word Upāsani, from which upāsani is derived, generally means 'worship' and 'religious meditation'; but according to the Yājñavalkya-
smṛiti, III, 45, it also indicates 'sacred fire'. Upāsani in the present case may be the same as Agnībhyātīrthin indicating 'a Brāhmaṇa maintaining the sacred fire'. Upāsani is known to be a surname among the Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāṣṭra even today. The word nābhi is hard to explain; but, considering the similarity and confusion between the forms of n and s in some cases, one may suggest the reading nābhi possibly indicating the head of a community. Besides Gopāla-
Pāṇigrāhī, the other donees bore the names: Ananta, Guruḍāśa, Sahādeva, Raghudāśa, Keśavādāśa, Haradāśa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Jālāvāra (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Jagannātha, Gaṅgēvara, Sākhīdāśa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kṛmādāśa, Vāsudāśa, Vidyādāśa, Chāmpadāśa, Gōvinda (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chapāḍāśa, Sannū, Chitrākara, Lakṣāmidāśa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vishvādāśa (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Ravi (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kūṭrīnāthā, Mitāśa (borne by five Brāhmaṇas), Gōvindarātha, Śrīvambhū, Chōdū, Utsāvakara, Kamāśi, Brāhmaṇadāśa, Āpjū (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Priyaṇākara, Dāmādara, Māṇika, Gānū, Vṛddhi, Nārāyaṇa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kanū (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Alātā, Mantā, Mādāvakara, Nākū, Viśvapāṇi, Kōgāi, Brānuvākara, Gulpākara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Gāndū, Hāri, Brāhmaṇi, Śivākara, Raviṇāśa, Gaurjīdāśa, Sarvāvāra, Jāgāvāra, Sāṭu, Anandī (Āparī, borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kachū (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kadū, Gṛipākara, Devādāśa, Jāi, Dharmū, Nāgū, Rudrākara, Bhāskara, Champāi (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vāsunābara, Purushottama, Vānādeva, Rataṇākara, Kālādāsi, Māṇikadhāra, Śrīśatā, Śaṅkhādāra, Kāti, Dīsanī, Kuārū, Ganapati and Kūttāpā. The popularity of names like Mitāśa, Kachū, Champāi, etc., is interesting to note.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the introduction, some have already been discussed above in connection with the Nagarí inscription of Anudgabhima III. Rādhā and Varāndra, described indirectly as the land of the Javanas (Yavanes or Muhammedanas), have to be identified respectively with South-western and Northern Bengal, while, as already noticed, Kōṅkāṅga, where the temple of the Sun-god was built by Narasimha I, is modern Konarak in the Puri District. The Bhairavapura kaṭaka cannot be satisfactorily identified. But Vamādāgrāma, as Kamakhya Prasad Bhaṭṭa rightly suggested, is apparently the present Basta which is a railway station on the South-Eastern Railway in the Balasore District. The Vamādāchāra dāgana, in which the five plots of the gift land were situated, was no doubt the district round this locality. Basta seems to be a corruption of Vamādā through the intermediate form Bānda. There is a place called Bānda-Sadanandapur near the Basta railway station. The vījanapata near Vamādāgrāma, mentioned in the inscription, seems to be the old Puri road running half a mile to the west of the present Puri road built in the thirties of the nineteenth century by Rāja Sukhamay Ray and Rāji Saṅkari Dēvi of Cuttack. The old Puri road passed via Jaleswar, Khunta, Basta, Rūpasa, Ramachandrapur and Rōmnā. According to the Bengali works on the life of Chaitanya, the saint reached Rōmnā after crossing the Suvarṇaparīkāha via Jaleswar and Bānda. Of the intermediate stations mentioned in this connection, Amarda is a village in the Mayurbhanj District (former Mayurbhanj State) and Ramachandrapur is a village near the Haldipara railway station.

TEXT


First Plate

1 Ĉ [naṃ] Nārāyaṇa || Lakṣham-pāda-saracuha-dvayam-adaḥ śrīyāḥ[ī] daśśeṣta vaṣ prasphūrja[ṃ]-nakkha-raṣmī-


3 n-nakkha-diptaḥu bhramaratān-dhaṭṭa sa [Lā]*khaṃ-priyaḥ || [1*] Kehrś-āvṛthuḥ(bhāḥ)r= mmaṭhitat sur-śūra-gaṇaḥ prādeviḥbhavantī Rāmā Śambh[u]-

4 Vṛa(Brahmā-Purandava-prabhārtiḥu prakhā(khājta)-kṛiṭtihv-apī il] pāyate=Amv[=u(bu)-]Janāḥ-pa=īsaṃv[=ī-lōkaka-vāhāṁ apāḥ] bhimūg-ālī sahakāra-

5 m-cī hi va[r] phu(lā)-nya-tākhy[ny] apī || [2*] Tan-nābhi-sarasīruḥ-ōdhuva-Vidhār-Aṭrīn- vā(ḥ bbb)bhūv=īvmutaḥ Cha(ṭa=Ch)ndrāḥ-chandrikayā prakhāśi-

6 ta-jagat sambhūtavān-nētrayōḥ || (1) traṭikṣya-grasan-aika-dakṣha-timīra-grāṣṭvā-sāmyg-ṣī yō laksmaṇa-vyājā dadhata-tamaḥ pr-

1 See Vol. XXVIII, p. 243.

* From impressions.
7 tivapuḥ sūrya-ādlikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] śrīdēvi-sīdharatvād-amūrī-sakhataya kalpa-vrikṣaṃ-
\ñuṣyati in-lōk-ānanda[uś*] vídhāti ti-
8 mira-viha-haraḥ sarvadā-sīv-ōpabhogyāḥ ||(i) tat-tat-sa[ṛ] sargga-lābhāt-tad-adhigata-
guṇam ev-anigya-lō[ḥ]sa[ṁ]n-adbhānaḥ svasvai(s=ai)tan-nirmma-
9 latvam jagati vijayatō dārśayanām-anām-[m] duḥ || [4*] Varphē tasya narēvarah samabhava-
\vana(van) tēṣām guṇa(m)ochha(ś)chha(ś)ndasaḥ próphulā(lā)
10 iva [ya]ṣ-puruṣa-matagāḥ ta(gās-ta)tr-ēpi nō sammitiḥ ||(i) tanta(t-ta)t-kāśya(vya)-
\pi(pa)tha śrītās-trī-bhuvanā mū[ṛ*]ttin-dadā-
dasī-vanās-bhūpati-bhūja-
12 vyāpāra-satik[e][r]tanām(nam) kartuṇ-kaḥ [ksa]haba[ḥ] kha[taṃ]n va(h) hu-mukhā yatra-ārij-
\naḥ(na)sa[ṛ]-aśva hi ((i) dūrma(r-da)ṣ-ājita-ki[ṛ*]tī-varṇa(na)-par[a]*[m*] tad-Bhā-
13 ratam prabhavat-tasmād-āhavya-māitrana(m-a)di-nṛpati-śreṇī-kramālī-khyatyāt || [6*]
tathā hi Chandrāḍa[Vu(d-Bu)]ḍhāḥ | V(ub)dhāḍ-Aṅalāḥ | Aṃ-
14 lāt-Puruṣavāḥ | Puruṣavāvah Vva[Va(y)a]ḥb | Vāyo-Naghu(hu)ahb | Naghu(hu)ahd-Yajā-
\(yā)ṛtiḥ | tattās-Turvaṣuḥ | tatō Gaṅgēyaḥ | ta-
15 tō Viścanaḥ | tato Samvē(śaṃvē)dyāḥ | tatō Bhāsvaṃ | tattō Dattaśenaḥ | tatoḥ Samyayaḥ | tatō(ta)n Ahvaḍataṭhā |
16 tatoḥ Saurāṇaḥ | tasmāḥ-Chitrāgadaḥ | tatoḥ Sridhavaḥ | tatoḥ Dharmmaśi [i] | tatoḥ Pa[r]kshat | tatoḥ Jayāś-
17 nāḥ | tatoḥ [Vijyasaṇāḥ | tatoḥ Vṛṣadhaṇaḥ | tatoḥ Pragbhaḥ | tatoḥ Śaktāḥ | tatoḥ Kālaḥaḥ [] | sa [v-A]ma[nta-vrmmā]
18 abhavat | Dhana-kanaka-sampiddhā Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prāśīddhaḥ sakala-viṣayā-bhūtaḥ svarggī-
\vargg-ōpabhogyāḥ | taud-adhipa-
19 tin-āṭh-āyō-nantaṁvṛmna nripāndraḥ || samabhavati-ṛuḍhā Gaṅga-nāmā tad-
\sdyāḥ || [7*] Kālaḥaḥ samara-mu[ṛ]ddhān tato nri-
20 pūpāṁ bhūtō yataḥ sa cha pū(ṇ)raṇaḥ-oḥa śa tādyam-stra ||(i) Gaṅgā(ha)(1-2)hva(ṃ)-abhāt
\sura-sāṣma-tulam tasaṃ krāmē nripadābhira-vva(r-bba)h-

**Second Plate, First Side**

21 bhira-[vva(r-bba)]bhūvō || [8*] Rāja-sri-bhūti Nārāṣṭrana-nripaṃtan jyāṣṭhaṃ kim-neṛ-śamahā
dūr-daṇḍājīta-bhū-taṭṭhītā-Ramā-kaṇṭha-grah-ānandamāḥ | kim
22 oh-āśmānaṃ-iyaṃ bhūj-āśl-latikā samvēṣaḥtataṃ vė(vai)rināṃ kaṇṭha-āraṇyam-iyaṃ cha
\krīdi-latikā dyāṃ-naṃ-samārāhātu || [9*] Bhūmyaadbhāḥ

---

1 The danda is superfluous.
2 Rūpaka was originally engraved.
3 Elsewhere (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 240) we preferred the reading Sauropuras śaka suggesting that Ananta Varman's chief city named Sauropura became famous as Kōlaḥa. But the idea seems to be that both Ananta Varman and his capital (not named) became famous under the name Kōlaḥa.
4 This lō, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.
23 vi(bhir-vi)jīgahayā kahi-talē kv-sāpl(ī) dvishad,vanditaḥ kv-āpi dvāshi-kula-
pramāthibhiḥ-apī prāptāḥ Kaliṅgaṁ kīla || (1) taṅī
24 Kāmārṇava-pāchamanir-nripa-vararāmm-yuddhaṁ Kaliṅgaṁ samam prāptam drasāṁ-
va-ārguvādūragamātmūn-āvāro Ṛhariḥ i (10th) [Kū].
25 rmma-evāmini śakhibi Trinayaṁ taṁīn-Mahāndraṁ gatō Gokarṇāṁ paśu-mahā-adhau
vīyati vā sūryē tathē-endāv-āpi ||(1) Kā-
26 liṅgīm-bhuvaṁ-āhara-va-huva-(ba)-lād-an-yā-panu(bhu)baktāṁ chiharr lakhiṁbāṁ v-āy-athā
27 rē-āsau Kāmārṇava-mahapatiṁ ||(1) yasya-sīt-atu-paṁitra-vi-rājānāṁ khyāta-vi-
28 rvv-ārthi-varga-pariḥtaya-hētun-(tu)-vājīrggaṁ || (1) āchārātō-Śi muni-pumgava-mārga-
chāri tasmād-abhūn-nripa-varō bruvi Vajrahaṁ Ṛhari || [13th] Nūa(Na) nāmā-
29 taṅ kāvalam-arhatat(i)Śi sa, Vajrahaṁ Ṛhari(stas-Ṭri)kaliṅga-ṇāthab ||(1) kō Vajrahaṁ Ṛhari-
aparāḥ prīti-vyāyāṁ vējraḥ patat(tad)-vārayītaṁ samarthab
30 || [14th] Vējērē Gaṅgā-kul-ūṭamasya yēsā śī(ḍi-)khaṇkralē śēśi-prayēn-Śi-malēlē(ś)i na
yasa bhavana-prabhād-sa.
31 mādina || (1) sūnḍrīrā-mati-saṅkha-pañcāḥ paṭalāḥ ka(ku)mīs ha-sthālpaṭaṁkēhva-Śīlimpati
puñca-ha hari-
32 tām-ādhaṁpa vērapāṅ || [15th] Mahīṁ Naṅgaṁ taśya Pārvvat-tva Piṅkāṁja ||(1) taṁmaṭ-
tasyam-abhūt-virō Rājāraṁ-
33 Ṛa-mahāpatiṁ || [16th] Sa Rājāraṁ dvijā-rāja-kāṁārīṛ(r-bhu)jaṁa-rājānā-vaṁ-
kirttaḥ ||(1) śrīmaṭ-tāv-lēkhaḥ[kṣ]kṛta-rājārājav ava-vikrama-nya[kṣ]kṛtā-
34 dōva-rājaḥ || [17th] Tasya-śpra(ma)-mahīṁ rājāvā nāmabhu-Śaṁjāv(a)ndar | Lakṣmīṁr-
Naṅgaṁvaṁśayāvav Chandrasyāvav tu Bōhini || [18th] Tattas-tasvam-abhūd-Śūvā-Chō-
36 svatam-śṛy-a-vāl(h)a kula-tamaḥ Śrī-Chaṅgāṅgah payaḥ ||(1) tādīg-Vē diameter kathā
nipuçata śīrādam tādvik-kathāṁ tādīk-kāvya-kritiḥ kathā[ma] pa-
pada-dvandvaṁ-śtasya vraiv-khēm-bhūtā-bhūk-śēhēh-vrīyi-Śtariṇi stutir-iri kiya-
38 ti Čhaṅgāṅg-Śvarasya ||(1) nūnavī purunāḥ sudḥ-āṁśāḥ para-nripa-dhaval-ohohatra-
va(bu)dhīyā( dubious) pahṛttāmām-āṅgaśyā vṛiddhīṁ tsvajati yesta iva stra(ta).
madhyē paśyateśu virēhu prāṇaṁ prāṇhaṁ prāṇaṁ[stri].
40 yā iva || [22th] Pratibhaṁ-kara-śastra-tyāḥśata-śv-āṅga-nirya-dharmac-avvīnānvitaṁ
nō bhavē-ya-tad-ulva | niśa-kara-dhṛita-śastra-occhhē[n].

1 A śīrṣa sign, originally engraved after rā, is scored off.
2 Do has been written over an erasure.
3 A śīrṣa, originally engraved after dhē, was penned through.
[bhinn-tāg]aṃ-cātāṃ-aṅgita dharapī-sāvyā[m]a-dvandva-yuddhēshu Gagāha||[28°] Yat-
tīṣṭha-parbhūṭa-satru-nagara-prabhūṭa-dhām-ādhām-āgāravahānāh Khaṇḍā[va]-
ndāi-śaṅkhaṃ yātām-iva pravahih-tasya nuva[nti]

Second Plate, Second Side

dharmānaṃ sa-nārāyaṇī-nīvitaṃ durggamam oṣahasāh-khaṇḍa-gatāsya-prabhu[va]-
[26°] Pādaṃ yasya dhar-āṇābhikam-asah-


[27°] Lakhmīn-dharmān-aṅgitaṃ yāyaṃ-āsavaṃ oṣahasāh-khaṇḍa-gatāsya

[28°] Tva[ma]ḥ Kūrma-ādhipa niṣa[da]ṃ tvam-āpi bhū vyāṃ-

[29°] Āranyā-nagara-Kaliṅga-

Pārtha-śeṣai[(tra]i)ṃ-yuddha jarācakrāṇa-namad-Rādha-

Pārtha-śeṣai[(tra]i)ṃ-yuddha jarācakrāṇa-namad-Rādha-

[32°] Kīm praptā mahīṣa ta-

Pārtha-śeṣai[(tra]i)ṃ-yuddha jarācakrāṇa-namad-Rādha-

1 Read dhaivaṃ vah.

2 A śivatra, originally incised after ra, was later penned through.
Third Plate, First Side

{kum} [va*]a]-tu sakal-[endo-divikār[ā]-bhām]|{|[bham ] krittir-pratapa-mithunas| sahakāri lōkō
slipya(shyata)-aḥo para-nirpān-anurā-gāṇyān |{[38*]} Yasā-si-nirṛvasradda|li-

{vai}a|[kar]-indra-kumbha-nimmukta-mauktika-phalāny-saruru(rig)-sahithāni |{|{|} Kāmārṇavasya ripu-saṅgha(sainha)ti-hai(hetvaka)-kāla-[a] sa[m]dhya-prabha[ta]-bhagana-

va bhānti yuddha[ddha] |{39} Dripīyada-vairi-chamūr[mmayā] kavalitā n-aiya[m*] may= asvāditā=tya-sundara kalabha tu(tu) nirṛnaya-vidhau bhāgad-pratap-e[ccc]

ā-gamiteśva ni[ṛ]mmalata tā krittir-yadgīya vra(bra)vimy-ālo(lō)chy-ahā mahadbhūri-itya= upagatā dāttatu(tu)ḥ tṛiti oh-āśārkt |{[40*]} Amrakab[ita] Hira-

nyagartham[aparam] lokāṃ(ko) Mahātā pura-śtya(tvyat)ppana(na)n pravadanyā yā va(chā) vadaana-vṛtō niruddha[ddha]nā |{|{(t)ebhāṃ yat-tu hi[a]nyagartham-akarō-

{t} Kāmārṇav-āsas-tataḥ sampannam janitam jagad-vata iha pratyaśkatha prapinīc[ān]m |{|{|{41*} Sapt-āmbhūdhi[va]nānti kāhi[ta]-ati-atarā

{ā}gā-kūrma-ga[rvarāpānāṃ sāhāya( yyā)ā] mānchchhaha(chha)-līyam tad-sāni punar-ayaṃ kal-
pitā bhāṅga[ra]-a[хи] Dāhā Kāmārṇav-ākhyāṃ sa cha ni[sa]-tu(tu)-

la[na]-mā nirdahāya svarna-bhrār-bhūyā vasiyor-tulāyanāni sthita iti dharṣa[pa]-bhāra-vā[bb]

{a}m-ā吽maharasa[ia]nama] daśā-vādi(ddd)[i]-akrod-rājyaṃ Kāmārṇava-mahipatiḥ |{[42*]} Śri- Chōjagane-pratapīmmahāśi tato[nyā] tasya-[dīrīrā

1 Read 'jagad-rāja-kāntāya.'
2 A śāraṃ had been originally engraved after dāka but was afterwards deleted.
4 The letters kara had been as first engraved after vēnd and then deleted.
5 Bi was originally engraved but the medial s sign seems to show marks of anumāna.
"Third Plate, Second Side"

1. Ti, which was originally omitted, is written above the line in a small size.

2. Tribali ya had been originally engraved; but it was afterwards deleted.
92 ma(mā)nti yasya paraśa śraddhā padda[ṃ]ḥ śriṛgati[[58*]] ānandaṁ vidadhāti chātasi bhavata-(vat)kṛtattigga(rṛ-guṇa)-grāḥi [ṇaṣ-]sūṛ ēvadhams-arthināh(mañ) su-maṇasi śri-Rājarājī
93 ja dhruvaṁ(yama) | [s-āśyaḥ karṇa-patha[m]ḥ] samātya hridaye śalyāyat vairāṇḍ(m) śv-śām(m-t)ochha-anvividhāyaṁ[ṃ*] na hi nī jhāvāḥ kvac(iḥ)[ṃ*] dṛṣṭyāt [[57*]] ētasyāṁ[m*]
95 tushāra-kirāṇa-āṛṇa-rasād-āsanād-udgajācchhata-purur[h]ṛta-ga-charita-ārī-Rājarājī nipāṭa (|| [[58*]]) Tasya-anuṣo nipatī-rāja-padē=
96 bhishktaḥ sūkta-priyaḥ parimitā-ud-ṃripaḥ[ḥ]ḥ(pa)-prasātih (||) prthvī-[pa]ṭīḥ kālī-maṇ-ōjaiḥ-dharma-śravitaḥ kārya-kshamaḥ pra bhu
97 r-sāva=Aniyākabhimān | [[59*]] Vir-ādhiṣṭhita-saṅgrā-ādṛśikharā śaṁkha-svan-śāś(āś)etit kunt-ōḍhinnah-mah-śība kumbha-vigalana-mukta-svālam(lī)-
98 pūjṭe | harṣhād-ugra-nilā-pratāpa-dahanā khadga-āru(sru)ḥāḥ vidvishāṁ rājām-ānana-purkajāṇa nipatāḥ hu(t)ru(hu)tv-anayāvya-[t]-Śrīyāḥ(yam)
99 || [[60*]] Kāhīr-āvṛtē(bāhē) anśītāt sur-āśra-bhūja-yāpyār-vikābhiḥcitāḥ-chandrasyā-ārddham abhūt-tad-āpy-apā(dhi)yavā-
100 dī(ṛ-ṛ)saṁkāḥ kila (||) ca śaṁcādva(d-bā)ḥu-va[ba]lōna saṅgara-bhūvi tvat-khadga-dhārā-jālā-jātāḥ tv-a(tas-tv=sa)ḥf(uḥta)-dig-śavāra-
101 t(n) prthvī-yaśas-candra-sama-sa(m[sa])māṅgati || [[61*]] Yat-prayāṇa-sanmati(mu)ḥbhūta-rajaḥ-sampūrṇitāt-mva(mha)ḥ(ē) || (||) abhūt-vidra-vāyaṁ3 dhūlī-(ma)da-
102 okhā tanub || [[52*]] Daṣa varahaṁ virō-sau nirjīt-āsthīmaṇḍalal (||([[[[ ))) Aniṣagbhimāna-bhūpālō dharitrīṁ samapālayat [[53*]] Praudh-ānagala-vikra-
103 maḥ kula-grhāya yo daṇḍa-nitriḥ-sīraḥ saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāhā-charitaḥ puny-sīka
dārayaḥ (||) tasya-śādī Aniṣagabhimā-nipatē-
104 r-āardhrā-kāga-lakṣa[m]ḥ[k*] svayaṁ saṁsārya-tātisēyaḥ paṭa-mahīśā Vāghballādev bhūvi || [[64*]] Ttu(Tu)lita-pitrī-ghṛg(u)nṣaṁghaḥ sūnur-apā(la)ṃ sampyāṣaḥ(ṣya) nirati-
105 āvita-teṭā yaunva-vāṃtā-paṛjyāḥ (((||) praṇa(ta)-nipati-ōdhā-ratna-rōḍi-[pi*]śaṅgī
dīya-kṛtā-charaṁ-saṣā[ṛ]ō Rājarājī nipāpā-
106 laḥ || [[65*]] Yasya-dvāya-vājī-śrinda-prakharā-kaṭa-puṭ-āghāta-nirdārīt-śrī-sa[n]m*ḥbhūtaṁ bhūvi(r)ḥ-bhāṣvat-kara-nikara-sagā(m)phau(yuṭa)sādṛ(du)ṃ prayaḍe [||
107 visthāpa[r]n*] karṇa-tāl-āhātibh-avirat-ōnmatta-sāṇā-gajānāṁ-asṣṭā(bhū)ṁ[ṃ*]] dig-gajānā[ṃ*] muṃha-paṭa-ttu(tu)lanāṃ-ādādhaṁ dhūlī-pāḷi(lam) || [[66*]] Yā-
108 smin sāsati sāsī-āśīr-kāṛaḥ sāmsya(kya)m[su]-ṣaṇḍra-ṃvā(ṃva)ḥ(ṣ)-[n*]ṃ prthvī[r]n*] pāṭhita-pa[nt]va-gāyaḥ yayag[aḥ]ḥ śri-Rājarājī nipē ((||) chakram
109 Mādhaṛa śva taikṣhnyam-adhyaka[ṃ]ḥ kaukha-yāṣṭe chintanāḥ āśtā-ābhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha joṣab kālī kālī ṛṣi(ṛ)yaṛaḥ [[57*]] Yat-kṛitti-du-
110 gāha-jalaḥdrī-śhuvāṣ(n-)&ntarālaḥ sa[n]m*plāyva (dṛ)rataram-uṣa(ḥohha)litaḥ sa bhāti (||) tār-gaṇaḥ sphuṭa-rucōḥ gaganā sama-

1 Read obhad-virudha-rājasya.
Fourth Plate, First Side

111 tat sūkṣhm-āti-sūkṣhma-ta[rā]ja iva vipṣhuranti || [38*] Tyāgē śauryye cha satyē[cha*]
Karnag-Ajuna-Yudhishthirīḥ | sadṛśeṣyān maha-virō Rā-

112 jarājī nar-vā陂|- [69*] Rājarājī narā-patri-dāda sapta cha tvā(va)tsaraṇa ||( ) bhuv
rājā-sāryām bhūtvā svāśājīyā pratasthīvān

113 || [70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūtā vēḷā saundaryya-vārīdhē[ḥ] | nāma n Mahaṇaḍētvī
to mahīśa tasya bhū-patēḥ || [71*] Taṣyām-abhiḍd-udbhā(dh)va(dh)va-virīka-

114 me-ārīṣh ārīṃnāyam bhū-bhṛt-ānāgabhatmaḥ | virajātē kirtiṇ-sudhā-taraṅgair-
ndhāntāu dig-bhiṣṭiṣāḥ yat-praṣastiḥ || [72*] Yasay-ā-

115 narggala-dōr-vvīlāsa-lāhañ-tāva-vāra-vraja-krandat-paurur-vadhū-vilō[cha*]na-pu(pa)-
yāḥ-pārājī-dhārā danturā | kīṃ[cheh]-

116 t-[tyāga-taraṅga-ta(bha)gī-kalanaṁḥ pāthōdhī-yā[ḥ]-]otsaṇvād-vṛjā-vakrītā-kandharāḥ sa
bhugavāṁ mēṇē(n-m)ṇaḥ pu(rē)(jī)nā(n-m)ṇaḥ || [73*] Ka-

117 s-tvamabhāḥ (m-bhōḥ) Kalir-casti kimna(n-nu) vimanāḥ kasmai nivēyāy-stmaṇaḥ śōk-
āmībildhim-apāharāmī kalaya kim vēṭi nō mārī Hā-

118 rīrī(ṛim ) | yady-evaṁ kalay-aśmadīya-samay-oḍ(ṛt)*khēpāya Gaṅ-gaṁvāt yātaḥ oṁmat-
ānāgabhīma-nipatiḥ sō-narthha-bhūtō mama || [74*] Dīyaṅ-ā-

119 va(nu)va(ba)n[Mh]vi ni-vī(ḥ)bīḍa-prasara-pramōda-mādhvīka-mugdha-maśripaṁ hṛiday-ārvini-
dani(nda) ḍaddal vṛīhābaḥ saḥkhit vṛīhābaḥ yasā ṛūl(a)[m]-

120 va(ba)-ṛaṃva(mba)ca-kāla[m] kalayaṇāchakāra || [75*] Lakṣhari-raśaṇa-sauvīdall-
padavi[m*] pratyaṛtiḥ-prīthviruhīm prā[y-Ś]-

121 karṣaṇa-rajja-vvīhrāma-tta(tu)ṝamṛ(mu)d̐dam-āṃśanayam ||( ) saṁgrāma-sthala-kēt-
tāṇḍava-kāla-pāyḍītyaṃ-yā-ā-

122 manḍayān [ḥ] yasay-āya[m] jagad-adhīt-aika-viḷasat-kṛiṇā-nataḥ sāyakaḥ || [76*] Yasay-
ānagalla-vikrama-ā-

123 njīte-yāsah-kehir-ōda-dān-Ś[j]mmibhir-dātāraḥ kila Kāmāgō-prabhrītyayā prōṭśātīta-
ārātāḥ kim ca-śyām cha hiraṇya-

124 garbha-kalana-vaḍadhyām-karṇṇaṇān leja-ōla-ohatur-mukh-ākṣhi-yugalo manyō māhaṁ
Padmaḥbhūḥ || [77*] Yēn-ābhিśe-śaṃyāḥ kalīta-

125 trayaṛṣa nītaḥ tu(tas-tu)ḥ-puruṣa-dāna-kal-ānuva(ba)ndhaḥ ||( ) laṃdhā(bhōḥ)pi
na[h] kaḥtir-sūtyaḥ muḍeh mē ṛtā bhaṇḍ(bhūḥ)dṛyādṛig-dvijātī-jana-bāsana-dā-

126 no-kōliḥ || [78*] Ḡaṁṛatā hṛidayaṁ-ṇa-viḷoḥāna-nām-ādhunvātā cha parītāḥ prati-
pārthvīvaṁ(ṇa)ḥ(ṇa)ḥ | arth-āṅvahṣya[ya]-prāṣaylnā kṛiṇā-

127 m-Ānagabhīma-prasiddhir-śam[ñ] vīḍāhṛī nipīpā || [79*] Jagāma dhāraṁ dēvaṁ sa
dēvaḥ sāvika-priyāḥ | bhuvātvā bhūtvā-pratāpyena

128 ohatuḥ-trī(ṭas-trī)ḥat-samāḥ kahamas(mām) || [80*] Śrī-Kaś[ṭ]paḍavāyaṭ Adīnau tāmāca-
cha Kaśyapā-ṛuvyām(ṛvām ) | jagad-uddhārṭum jātaḥ pāṣaka-hantar vīra-[Na-]
Fourth Plate, Second Side

staraṅgā Gaṅgā-ājap[i]ṇum-anumāna Yamuna-ādhunāśabhuḥ || [84] Bārūja-

133 bhuvī girayā-śras tuṣya bhām-Indra-bharrtōḥ kṣhitī-śharapā-samaththāḥ kīu-cha dīk-

134 kvantar-bhadrāḥ ||( ) ātulayad-īha sa svañçhā(hī)-ōchēt tulāpūrụshōna [kva]

dvijasāch-cha kṛtvā Mēruṇi nṛt[i]ṭu[bh]-purusha[sh]ō-a[m]ukhya-mah-āṛtīha-
dānaiḥ | athaṁvūn sura-saḥa mahīt-kalayatri(y-aṭra) Kōṇākōṇī kuṭirakam-aḥīkarad-

136 Ucchāraśmēḥ || [86*] Asht-āśa-chakravāla-bhārama(va-ra)ṇa-

137 mahā-yāsea-sainihita-kshuḥ kahā-īksh-śāḍanvad(ā)-(ā)sy-ōpagamitaṃ-apī vī viñghayatvā
sur-āvhitvī(bhīn) | sarpiḥ samśarpad-āyur-dadbī-madh-

138 ram-ath-āsvāda dagdihēna triptē yat-krttiḥ kānta-śūriḥ śaṇa-līla-nidhitvā-sth-ā

139 kāman-am-ācāmatva-īva || [87*] Kṛtvā nirmathita-dvijahṛ vāsamatt-

140 m-avvā(bā)yāh-trayastriśatvam bhuktvā bhogam-anuttamaṃ nārapti[ṛ]|-dār-garvva-

141 sarvakṣarāḥ ||( ) anah-ātyanta-vi(n)-kṛtō-nitama-āśa(mā)śaśāya dip[ṛ]-

142 paṃah || prāptē kāla-pataṅga-puñāga-vaśu(śa)ni yat-sa niṣvāpatōḥ[tī]m || [88*]

143 Taṣya ārīmāṇa su-dina-vidhayē Mālav-āṇḍ-ārtmajyō[ṛ][ḥ] S[I]-

144 tādēyyēm-sajāni tuṇjōḥ bhūnava(vad)-Bhūnudēvah ||( ) padm-ōllas čāt nīvadhad-ṣa[nt]-

145 m kārava-gānīmek-učchcharī Vīitreṇa[mb]dhanē[ma]n paras-dhara-

146 ni-bhrīn-manḍi-vinva(nya)sta-pādaḥ || [89*] Pratuy[j]ivana-karaṇasā-ja[m]a[na] padasy-

147 śāḥṣṣaṣa-ntya-āgamaṇḍrisht-ṣaḍpiṭaṣṭa-phala-

148 pradēna vidhinā nityaṃ nīrās-tīrihīḥ | pātraḥ śhōḍhasabhīr-viśuddha-charit-āmogha-

149 pratjiṇīṣrayaḥ stī || [90*] Va(Ba)dha-muṣṭiṃ-

144 api nirbhara-dātā vēpanō-pi sama-

144 r-aika-dhurīṇaḥ | ugra-muḥtītō-apī kṛṣyēṣā-śarīrō yat-karēṇa kalītē kārovālaḥ || [|| 91*]

Pāyam pāyaṃ havir-aviratiṃ prastūtō ya-

\[1\] The fourth foot of the verse, the metre of which is Gītt, is short by one syllable. To rectify this defect we may read vṛttō for vṛttā.

\[2\] Read bahu*. After this, the okshara śṛṅ had been incised and afterwards deleted.

\[3\] To is written below the line.

\[4\] After it, the okshara te had been engraved and then struck off.

\[5\] The dasaṃ is superfluous.
124  

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA  

[Vol. XXXI]  

145  

śya yañgējñē jātējīrṇaḥ Hari-atitarāḥ yātī nīḍrān samudrē || || dhūm-marṇī lavoṣa-saivī jāmaḥ pīvatē vājāvō-giṁ prō-  

146  

tyamahā-maśeṣa samajani Śivaḥ kālakāp-āsanā-śir || [92*] Vṛć(Brū)ma[ha] kim-asya tulāṁ-laghat-śpanita-tat-tat-parah(ra)-kshhitibhrāh kih-  

147  

la dāna-tauryāh||[ryam | ] sadbhīr-padēśa-kansak-āchala-kāma-dhēnu-kalpa-drumān-adita  

148  

rirjita-sampadās-tān [[ || 93*]] Ā-achārd-arēkka-paṁ-śpa-  

149  

bbhēga-sulabhīny-āty-učchha saudh-śvalit-ābbha-visphurītānī sāsana-satānā-tēha kaham-hētvarah | su-čchhāyānī rasāla-pūga-  

150  

kada-la-prāyaḥ(yai)-taskara[ṃ]ṇā pānī gaṅgaiḥ kriyāvā tāmra-vilēkhitāni vidhivat saḥ-čhṛti-  

151  

triyēbhīyō dudau || [94*] Čhindānmanau sura-mahi-  

152  

ruha-kāmadhēna(ṃ)|ra)|ḥṣaḍaśa-āṁ-kam-adhitihīthati Bhā(bu)jēvē || | jāyēn-amīkha  

153  

bhavītā katām mām-ēti dhūrur-viśhēra-vāsa-  

154  

gō uripatīrv(a(r-ba)bhuva || [95*] Chālukya-kula-sa[ṃ*]bhūtā ārimej-ākalladvikā || || Ābhā-hūr-Nārāyasye-ēva Bhuṇḍeśvya tā-  

155  

(dprē) ||[96*] Tasyām[ai]tī || sūmara-abhūd vīrāh āri-Nyāstrībhā-śahipatih | Gaṅga-vahā-  

156  

samuddhārtta ha[ṛ*]ttā vairi-mahītalai(ṃ) || [97*] Yathā-Ā[ṛ*]ju-  

157  

nas-tathā sāstrī śāstrī Vīcharapatiyathā dānē Karṇāva(va(ba)|la| Bhīmaḥ saundarye  

158  

Karunāyudhaḥ || [98*] Tēna dattāṁ dvijā-  

Fifth Plate, First Side  

159  

tibhyāḥ śaivasam ga(sta)sa-śamkhyaakaṁ||(kam | ) mahā-dānavi dānavi śriman-mātur=  

160  

anujūṣṭaḥ ||[99*] Vīru-ṛṣṭ-Nāravindhiṣvada-nripatau siṃh-a-  

161  

sa-ādhiśēvēti bhūtā-pāla-kṛita-kōti-kirāṇa-pradyōtit-āṁghrī- Duchē || pratyā[nth]-kṣhitipā  

162  

vidinā-pradēṣyā ti(bh)tyā  

163  

prabhū-sēriyāḥ prāṇa-trāṇa-parṣyānāḥ samabhaban prāthiv-dhar-āvāsinaḥ || [100*] Yasmīn  

164  

-praśaṭartha bhuvain kula-bhūdar-ēndrā-  

165  

ḥ || Kūrmā bhūjāngama-paritṛ-ṛg-anika-pārśva(ā)-cha | ] bhū-bhāra-gauravā-kriyā-ānī-ārō-  

166  

vikārāvā śrīrāma-śahamsa-bhajantā  

167  

kriyā-kānā-sa || [101*] Vīra-Āsanaḥ samadhitihēthāti kūra-jānaṁ virō vahēn-ruṣa-  

168  

dhūraṁ bhuvi kō-trā nāma | indr-śydaḥ-  

169  

prabhā-[bhujā]-d rave-sadvitāyē kampan-tanōti karavā-la(la)ṣ-āpi yatra || [102*] Yaḥ  

170  

khaṅga-chanda-sa(ma)ḥaṣa ripu-jākānām-ābhṛtya  

171  

sampadām=amarṣṭya-tarōḥ samānāḥḥ nam | bhū-śe(s)a[ṛ]kṛita bhūtala-bhūshaṇā dān-  

172  

ānāhabās-āṛ[ṛ]dṛtā-śes-kara-pallavēna || [103*] Tasyā-saṁ kṣhiṭī-  

173  

pāla-mauli-vadābbhi-vinyasta-pād-ānva(bu)jayē-āhō hānta kim-uchyate-dya mahimā  

174  

kṛttī[ṛ*]-nṛṣa-āṛ-bhūrīh | yad-g[ṛ]ttēn ki-  

175  

la Kinvar-gaṇa-mukhād-dīg-dantināṁ su(sti)pyātāṁ rōlaṁv(ma)-madam-śpida(ḥ)nti  

176  

nihhitānāṁ ni(ha)kiḥka(ḥkha)roṣa-tālā mukhē || [104*] Yasyā[ṛ*]ṣya(ya)ṣya(ḥt-ā)-  

1 The devotes are superfluous.  
2 Ṛṣya was originally engraved.

---

1 The donḍa is superfluous.
2 There is an ornamental flower design between the double donḍa.
3 Pārakṣa is a local modification of Pārakṣa found in some records.
4 These two letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indications that they should be inserted in their proper place in the sixteenth line on the face of the plate in question.
5 The two words, devabhīde Brāhmaṇabhīdaḥ, are redundant.
6 A circle inscribed after śi was afterwards deleted.
126 

178 Gaṅgaṇārāyana-Purakṣāt[1] -nāmnōr-bhuvah-pūrva-Kumārabhūga-haṭṭāsa-paśohimam-pūrva-śvadhikritya sāla-vṛkṣha-paśohimam-maryādaṃ(dam) | dakṣhipa- 

179 taḥ | Viḍīk-paṇḍyagārhiṃ | kaḥatra-ś(ā)m-śāvattha-vṛkṣham-śvadhikritya Gōpāla-Champadāsayōr-bhū-paryant-śtara-ś(ā)mān-ṃaṃ-śvadhikritya Gōpāla-Champadāsayōr-bhū-paryant-śtara-ś(ā)mān-ṃaṃ-śvadhikritya sāla-vṛi- 

180 ś(ā)m-śvadhohiṃmam | chatur-mān-ś(ā)dhiḥ-ś(ā)ha-śaḥāśṭri-vāṭikā-parimitaḥ(tam) | Kumārapura-ś(ā)mā | Kumārabhūgaḥ-ū(g-y-ō)ttara-rājapatha-pūrva-śvadhikritya sāla-vṛi- 


182 vaḥ chatur-ś(ā)m-śvadhohiṃmam | sāḥ-śaḥāśṭri-vāṭikā-parimitaḥ(tam) | āvain khandar-paṇḍhakam milita | dvājasa-mān-ādhika-śaṭ-śat-vāṭikā-śat-traya- 

183 madhayāt(dhyāt) | gōhari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-śvācdasa-mān-ōptā-paṇcha-vāṭikā va(ha)-śvadhikritya nīvara[kar-ōna]chatvāśīdasi(trīśa)ōttara- 


185 tra-Gōpāla-pānigrāhi | pāṇḍita-Ananta | pāṭhi Gurudāsa | pāṇḍita-Sahadēva | pāṇḍita-Ragūdāsa | pāṇḍi- 

186 ta-Kēśavadāsa | pāṇḍita-Harasāsa | pāṭhi Jalēsara | tripathi Jagannātha | pāṭhi Gāṇē- vāra | pāṭhi Shaśāti- 

187 dāsa | pāṭhi Kūrmmadāsa | pāṭhi Vāsudēva | pāṇḍita-Vidyādhara | Āṭrēyā-sagōtra | pāṭhi Chāmpādēsa | pāṭhi 

188 Gōvinda | pāṭhi Shaśātīdāsa | pāṭhi Chaṇḍīdāsa | pāṭhi Sannu | pāṭhi Chitrakara || Vatsa-sagōtra | upāsant Lakshmīdhara | pāṭhi Vīṣṇudāsa | pāṭi-

\[1\] The letter ś is written in the upper margin of the plate with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the fourth line on the face of the plate in question.

\[2\] Viṃśhottarāsvadbhiṃma was originally engraved. The intended reading seems to be ardhaśīva-paśohiṃma-maryādaṃ.

\[3\] The akṣara ś was inclined and deleted after taḥ.

\[4\] The letters drākṣā are engraved in the upper margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the sixth line on the face of the plate in question.

\[5\] The akṣara ś was engraved in the upper margin with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the eighth line on the face of the plate in question.

\[6\] The akṣara ś was engraved in the upper margin with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the tenth line on the side of the plate in question. The correct expression is of course pāṇḍita-gōpatha (cf. line 179).

\[7\] This word is written in the lower margin of the plate with indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in the eighth line on the side of the plate in question. The correct expression is of course pāṇḍita-gōpatha (cf. line 179).

\[8\] The names are written without ṣvahās and are separated from one another by a single ṣorā as in English. The name of the pātra is put at the beginning of the list and is sometimes preceded and followed by a single or double ṣorā. The expression used in some cases is ṣorā but in others ṣagōtra. Some of the names exhibit considerable Prakrit and local influence.

\[9\] Vū was originally engraved.
190 Ravi | Kāśyapa-saṅgaṭa-tra | pāṭha Jalēśvara | pāṭha Vṛ(Brāhamadāsa | pāṭha Āpti | pāṭha Pariyānākara | pāṭha Dāmodara | pāṭha Āpti | pāṭha Mitā-
191 i | pāṭha Māṇika | pāṭha Gansū | pāṭha Mitāi | pāṭha Vṛiddhi | pāṭha Nārāyanā | pāṭha Kāṇḍu | pāṭha Mitāi | paṅcita-Viśhvudāsa | Gautama-
192 saṅgöttra-paṅcita-Alālā | paṅcita-Ravi | pāṭha Māntāi | pāṭha Mitāi | pāṭha Mādhavakara | pāṭha Nākū | pāṭha Viśvapāni | pā-
193 ti Kōṇāi | pāṭha Bhānakara | pāṭha Viṣahūlāsā | Vasi(s)agha-gōtra-pāṭha Gūnakara | pāṭha Chāndu | pāṭha Hari | pāṭha Vṛ(Brāh)amāi | pā-
194 ti Gṛiva | pāṭha Śivakara | pāṭha Gūnakara | Kauḍgīnīya-gōta-tra | pāṭha Bavi-
195 dāsa | pāṭha Gaurīdāsa | pāṭha Sarvāvēvara | [pāṭha Jāgēvāra] [*]paṭhi Sātā | Paścāsa(s)a-gōtra | pāṭha Ānandī | pāṭha Kāčū | pāṭha Kādū | pāṭhi Hridayakara | pāṭhi Ānandī | Sānda(pālīya-saṅgōtra | vā(nāī)bhi Nā-

Sixth Plate

196 rāyana | A(is)igirass-gōtra | pāṭha Kachū | pāṭha Dēvidāsa | Kṛṣṇāṭrīya-saṅgōtra | pāṭha Jāi | pāṭha Dharmmā | pāṭha Nāgū | pāṭhi Rudrakara | pāṭha Bhāskara | Kauḍgīnīya-gōtra | pāṭha Champāi | [Sā[m]*]khyāyān-
197 rgoya-gōtra-pāṭha Haradāsa | pāṭha Purushōṭama | pāṭha Vāmadēva | Aupamānyaya-
198 gōtra | pāṭha Rasnākara | pāṭha Bhāradvāja-saṅgōtra | pā-
199 ti Kālidāsa | pāṭha Māṇikadharā | pāṭha Lakshmīdhara | pāṭha Jalēśvara | pāṭhi Spishṭi | pāṭha Śankhadharā | pāṭha Kītāi | pāṭhi Dīsa-
200 nt | pāṭha Ruṇu | vā(nāī)bhi Kanū | paṅcita-Gaṇapati | pāṭhi Kṛttipāṇi | pāṭhi Kachū | etēbyahā-chatur-adhika-saṅgōtra Vṛ(Brāh)maṅbhyaḥ.
201 praṭihārāṃ vāṭikā-dvaya-vyavasthayaḥ ashā-ōttara-sata-dvaya-parimitam(tam) || śāch-
202 chchāśana-dvaya vāṭikā-chaturmahāṃsyaḥ(yam) | vedā-maṭh-ārtham sapta-
203 vāṭikā[h*] | vyākaraṇa-maṭh-ārtham dasa vāṭikā[h*] | maṇḍapa-rāhukānānāṃ vāṭikā-
204 trayam(yam) | pushkarini-artaiḥ paḷiha-vāṭikā[h*] || Pūtimāśa-gōтра-
205 ya śasān-ādhikāṛī-Kāmadēvasarmasmanā vāṭikā-dvayaṃ [Śrīkaraṇa-Nāgū-nayakas(kāya)] vāṭi[k*]-dvyuḥ(yam), [devēbhya Vṛ(Brāh)maṅbhyaḥ Kumāra-Geṛiṣajādē-
206 vasya su(sva)ṛgga-prāptayāḥ anyēbhayaḥ [cha*] ṣrāsidikriya jala-sthala-maṛcchh(tya)-

* Of. / in the Orissa part of the Bhubaneswar bilingual inscription (JASB, 1924, Plate I).
* These letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the twentieth line on the face of the plate in question.
* These letters are incised in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the eight line on the face of the plate in question.
206 m=akarīcītya prādātu (dāt) || [4] āstuttu(sya) Gāngharājadhavapura-sāsanayā sūgatayā nanā-haptī(ṭī)ya-
206 nānāvidhā saptā praṣā api prādātu (dāt) |[0]| Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthāṁ tād-rakṣā-
phala-siddhyā | mad-dharmam pa-
207 ripāyōya[ra[ra]] bhūpaira-ohandra-tārakam(kam) || [106*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-samkā tē para-datta-āti pārthiva | sva-dattād-adhikam punyaṁ para-da-
208 tē-anupālanam(nam) || [107*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām=vā(tāṁ vā) yatnañ-rakṣa
Yudhishṭhira | mahā[r][ra]| matimatāṁ ārṣaṁtha dānat | āryo=[n]anupālanam(nam) || [108*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām=vā(tāṁ vā) yō ha-
209 rēta(ṛ=ṛu) vasundhāraṁ(tām) | sa viṣṇujāyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pitrībhīṁ saha pachyata
[[109*] Nirjana prāntara dēśo sūbhka-kōtara-vāsinaḥ || ] krishṇa-sarpā hi jāya-
210 ntō haranti vasundhāraṁ(tām) || [110*] Gām=śka(kā)m sva[r]ya[rumam]=śkaṁ mva(vā)v
bhūma[r]-apy-arḍham-āngulam(lam) | haran=[n]akam=āpto(pnō)ti yāvadā-bhūta-
mahaplavaṁ(vam) || [111*] Ṣatrum-āpi krītō
211 dharmmaḥ pāṇanyō manahbhīṁ || | [112*] śatrur-śva hi śatruḥ syāṛ(syād)=dharmmaḥ
śatrur-mna kasyachit || [113*] Mad-valāḥ(varṣa)yaḥ para-mahapati-varmaṣa vā pāpā-
212 d=spēta=maṇḍe bhūvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ ||[*] yē pālayanti mama dharmmaṁ-idaṁ
samastam-tēlāṁ mayā virachito-ādīlīśa mūrddhni || [114*] || 0 ||

1 There is an ornamental flower design between the double dandas.
2 Read dāndaḥ-yākṛīpās.
3 There is another ornamental flower design between the double dandas here. There is a passage engraved below the second half of line 212, but it was meant for insertion in line 202. See p. 127, note 3.
No. 20—THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

(2 Plates)

M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras

The three sets of copper-plate grants, edited below, come from Guḍīvāḍa, a village in the Sarsusiddhi Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. When, how and where these plates were discovered originally is not known. For a long time they have been carefully preserved in the house of Mr. Pericherla Peddiraju, a landlord of Guḍīvāḍa. My friend, Mr. G. V. Raghavarao Pantulu, a pleader of Yellamanohili, having come to know of the existence of these plates, secured them on loan for a short time from the owner, who happens to be his client, and kindly sent them on to me for decipherment and publication. I cut the rings of the sets for study and for taking impressions of the plates. All the three charters register gifts of localities presumably associated with Guḍīvāḍa.

A.—Grant No. 1, Year 18

This set consists of three plates, each measuring 6½" long and 2½" broad. The plates are held together by a circular copper ring, 3½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are joined at the bottom of a circular seal, 1½" in diameter. When the plates came to me, the lower part of the seal was found broken away. On the top of the seal there is an arc-like curve in relief with its ends turned upwards, probably representing the moon. In the middle of the seal is found the legend Śrī-Sarasīḍḍhā in relief in Eastern Chālukya characters. The plates are considerably thick. The ends of the plates are not raised into rims; yet the writing is well preserved, the letters having been engraved deeply. The outer faces of the first and last plates are left blank, and the remaining faces of the plates bear each six lines of writing.

The characters are of the early Telugu-Kannada type, commonly styled the Vēṅgī script. They resemble those of the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Of the individual letters, the forms of final ṭ (line 1) and m (lines 13, 18, 21, 23) are noteworthy. Dravidian Ī occurs in Plakki (line 10) and in Kujivāṭaka (line 16). The numerical symbols for 5, 8 and 10 occur in the date of the grant in the last line. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two impercussory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. As usual with the early grants, consonants are mostly doubled after r. The doubling of dh before y in pāḍāṇudāḥyātaḥ (line 9) is noteworthy. The expression punaadapadrasādaṁ in line 16 is unintelligible.\(^1\)

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the western portion of the village called Ādivāṣa in Plakki-vihaya along with some of the fields of Kujivāṭaka, having converted the whole into an agraḍāṇa by making it immune from taxes.\(^2\) The gift was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor was the Eastern Chālukya king, Prithiviraja-Jayasimharavallaṅka I, son of Vishņuvarman and grandson of Kirtivarman. He had the title Sarasīḍḍhī as found on the seal. He issued this grant from his residence at Kallūra. The donees were Vīṇāyaśarman and

---

\(^1\) [See A. R. Jr., 1918-67, No. 1 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

\(^2\) [See below, p. 133, note 2.—Ed.]

\(^3\) [The correct interpretation of the passage (lines 15-18) seems to be that Punnādāpada which was a hamlet of the village of Ādivāṣa was populated and a portion of Kujivāṭaka was added to it. This new unit forming the western division of Ādivāṣa was made an agraḍāṇa and granted to the donees.—Ed.]

(139)
Vishnuśarman, sons of Vasuśarman and grandsons of Kumārśarman of the Maudgalya gātra. They were students of the Kauṭumika-Chhandōga (a śākka of the Śāmavēda). The aṣṭapati of the charter was Paramānanda-varman.

This grant does not furnish any historical information beyond what we already know about the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅga. Its main interest lies in the date it furnishes. King Jayasimha-havallabha made this gift on the day of a lunar eclipse and the 15th day of the 8th fortnight of Hēṃanta in his 18th regnal year. This is the second grant of Jayasimha-havallabha I to be dated in this manner, viz., in the seasons, fortnights and days, the first being his Pulimbūru grant. This method of dating is similar to that of the Prakrit grants both of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus. It shows that this early custom of dating grants persisted till the middle of the seventh century. According to this arrangement, the year was divided into three seasons of four months each, namely, Grīhma, Varhā and Hēṃanta, a season being subdivided into eight pakhas or fortnights. Since the gift was made at the time of a lunar eclipse, the eclipse in question must have occurred on the 15th day of the bright fortnight or pūrṇimā-tīthi, evidently of Phālguna, the last month of the year. This enables us to understand that, according to this ancient method of reckoning, the months were pūrṇimānta and not amanta.

In a way, the English equivalent of the date of the grant under review can be ascertained. The date of the Kopparaṃ plate laid by Hultzsch and Sewell on the assumption, which I think is correct, that Prthivīdvaravāya, the aṣṭapati of the grant, was no other than Prthivīdvaravāya, i.e. Kūjja Vīśṇuvardhana I. On the date of this record, Vīśṇuvardhana was the dvaravāya, i.e. vīra rāja. It is to be presumed that some time after that date he proclaimed his independence and ruled the kingdom in his own name. The grant recorded in his Chippurapalle plate was made, on the 15th tīthi of Śrāvaṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in his 18th or last regnal year. If his independent rule began some time in 631 A.D., his eighteenth regnal year would correspond either to 648 A.D., if current, or to 649 A.D., if expired. During the period between 631 and 651 A.D. there were four lunar eclipses in the month of Śrāvaṇa, one in Śaka 554 or 652 A.D. and the others in Śaka 563 or 641 A.D., Śaka 572 or 650 A.D. and Śaka 573 or 651 A.D., respectively. One of these four years must be the 18th regnal year of Vīśṇuvardhana I. The first may be ruled out as it is too early to be his 18th regnal year. One of the remaining three may be taken to have been the last year of his rule. The grant under review helps us in determining this date since Jayasimha-havallabha I was the son and successor of Vīśṇuvardhana I.

The 18th regnal year of Jayasimha-havallabha I, either current or expired, when counted from any one of the three aforementioned years, should have a lunar eclipse on Phālguna-śu. According to S.K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris there were lunar eclipses on Phālguna-pūrṇimā in Śaka 579 or 657-58 A.D., Śaka 580 or 658-59 A.D. and Śaka 588 or 676-77 A.D., within the period from 650 to 651 A.D. Of these, the last date need not be taken into consideration as it would be very late for Jayasimha-havallabha’s 18th year. Hence, either Śaka 579 or 657-58 A.D., or Śaka 580 or 658-59 A.D., should correspond to the 18th year of Jayasimha-havallabha I. Of these, Śaka

2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.
580 or 659 A.D. proves to be the 18th year, current, of Jayasimhavallabha I, when counted from Sakas 563 (i.e. 641-42 A.D.), the 18th year of his father Vishnubhadra I. Thus the date of the grant under review is 659 A.D., February 12, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the regnal years of the Eastern Chalukyas were current and not expired. Since the 18th year of Vishnubhadra I happens to be Sakas 563 or 641-42 A.D., it may be definitely said that his rule over the coastal region of the Andhra country, or in other words, the starting point of the Eastern Chalukya chronology proves to be the Sakas year 546 or 624-25 A.D. It is thus evident that by the date of the Kopparam plates the conquest of Veergi by Pulakeshin II and the establishment of the Chalukya rule there were already accomplished facts. Vishnubhadra I's independent rule must have begun sometime after 631 A.D. But he seems to have counted his regnal years from the beginning of his governance over the coastal region in 624-25 A.D.  

The localities mentioned in this grant are Kalluravasaaka, Kutivataka, Adivasa or Adivasa and Plakki-vishaya. I am unable to identify Kalluru. Kutivataka is also mentioned as Kutivada and Kutivata in the following two grants respectively. Kutivata is the present village of Guviviada. I am unable to identify Adivasa or Adivasa. But its situation is not difficult to guess. It must have been adjacent to the village of Guviviada (Kulivvataka of the grant), since some fields of the latter and the western portion of the former were joined together and constituted into an agrahara.

Plakki-vishaya is mentioned in the Ramatitha plates of Indravarman of the Vishnukundin dynasty and in the Chipurupalli and Timmappuram plates of Vishnubhadra I of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. The name occurs as Plakki in the first two records and as Palaki in the last one. The villages granted in the Ramatitha and Timmappuram plates are Pervavada and Kumuluru respectively. Both these villages remain unidentified. The gift registered in the Chipurupalli plates was made by king Vishnubhadra I from the town of Cherupuru in Plakki-vishaya. Thus, altogether we come to know of four villages situated in the Plakki or Palaki vilshaya, namely, Pervavada, Kumuluru, Cherupuru, and Kulivata. Cherupuru was identified by Fleet, though with some doubt, with Chipurupalli, the chief town of the Chipurupalli Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, since these plates were said to have been found near the village of that name. This identification is not correct as will be shown presently.

If Kulivataka is identified with Guviviada in the Sarvasiddi Taluk, the other villages also have to be located in the same Taluk or in its vicinity. There are two villages by name Chenna Gummuluru and Pedha Gummuluru in the Sarvasiddi Taluk. One of these may be identical with Kumuluru of the Timmappuram plates. Timmappuram, the findspot of these plates, is also in the same Taluk. As to Pervavada, I have no doubt that it is identical with Paravada in the south-eastern portion of the Anakapalli Taluk which is adjacent to the Sarvasiddi Taluk.

---

1 S. V. Krishna Rao rejects both the identification of Prithivudavarja by Hultzsch and the date 631 A.D. of the Kopparam plates as suggested by Sewell. He does not approve of Fleet's scheme or my scheme of chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas. Yet it is interesting to note that he arrives exactly at the same date as the above, i.e. 624-25 A.D., for the initial year of Vishnubhadra I of Veergi. Vide 'The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas', JAHRES, Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp. 1 ff. [See also JOB, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

2 [This dating does not solve all the problems of Eastern Chalukya chronology. Cf. N. Venkatarasamanaya, The Eastern Chalukyas of Veergi, p. 58.—Ed.]

3 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff. The name of the district was wrongly read as Plakki.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16.


6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 15 and 95.
If these identifications are correct, it may be concluded that the Plakki or Palaki visahya comprised at least the contiguous portions, if not the whole, of the Sarvasiddhi and Analapalli Taluks of the Visakhapatnam District. As such, Chepururu must also be looked for in the same region. There is a village called Chipurupalli in the Analapalli Taluk, which may be identified with Chepururu. I think that Kubja-Vishnupardhana's plates were found near this Chipurupalli and not near the other village of the same name. Both the grants of Vishnupardhana I issued from the coastal region of Anidhra thus appear to have been discovered in the Analapalli-Sarvasiddhi region which was known in early times as the Plakki or Palaki visahya. The s in Plakki and Palaki was later changed into r and the name became Prakki which was applied to this territorial division in later times.

1 Ōh* svasti | Śrmsat-Kallāra-vāsakāt śvāmibhaṣṭāraka-pāda-padma-prasād-ā-
2 vāpta-rājyānām Hārīti-priya-puṭrānām Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām-Āsva-
3 mādha-yājinaṁ Chalukyānāṁ hula-jaladhi-samudbhūta-rāja-ratna-
4 sya sakala-jagad-ārthī-hara-karmmanaḥ ari-Kirttiarmmananāḥ priya-
5 napatā-sva-pitar-ānūna-guṇa-gaṇ-o[ā]d[d*]dyōtī-śrōcīṣvāra-aidāmyugina-Ma-
6 hāvīhaśāṁ Vishnupardhadhana-mahāśāya priya-tanayaḥ

Second Plate, First Side

7 pravardhdana-pratāp-jāpanāmā-sripaṇ-pipati-makṣa-taṭa-ghaṭita-ma-
8 ni-mayūkha-maṇi-puṇja-piśācarita-charan-śravinda-yugalaḥ para-
9 na-brahmaśyā mātā-piśā-pād-śrīmuktātaḥ ari-Pri(Pri)thvi-Jayaisinha-
10 vallabha-mahāśāya Plakki-vishayam-ādhyātinaḥ kumbhinaḥ
11 samājāpayati [*] Yathā Maudgalya-sagōtra vya Kauhuma-Chhando-
12 ga-sabrahamahārīnāḥ Kumārasarmaṇaḥ pautrābhyaṃ Vasuārmmanaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

13 putrābhyaṃ(bhyāṃ) Vinayasa[rms]-Vishnusarmaṇabhyāṃ Trisahasra-pārābhyāṃ(bhyāṃ)
14 saḥ-karma-niratābhyāṃ asmad-āyur-ārūgya-jaya-yad-śti-
15 vyāddhayā Sōmā-grahaṇe udaka-pūrvaṁ kṛtvā Ādīvāsān

* The village of Sarvasiddhi after which the Taluk got its name was, in all likelihood, founded by Jayaisinha-vallabha I who had the title Sarvasiddhi.
* From the original plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
* The expression more familiarly found in such contexts is yad-Śrīpārāddhaya.
* This may be read as Ādīvāsāḥ also, since there is little difference between s and ṣ in this period.
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

16 Punnâgapradavastâdham kṛtvâ Kujâvâka-kabâtra-sahitam pa-
17 śêchâka-khanâyâ( القطان serveva-karâha)parihrâtak-âgrahâram kṛtvâ ā-cham(cha)nâdr-ârka-
18 târakam-mayâ samprattatâ [*] Tad-viditvâ yath-echitam bhâga-bhôga-

Third Plate

19 m-uptanayantaḥ suphâ(कांठ) prativasathâ(tha) [*] Kais-chid-api bâdhâ na kartta-
20 vyâ [*] Vyäsâ-gitâḥ [*] Bahubbhi-vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhâ-ch-anupâlitâ [*]
21 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmih ta(mis-ta)ya yasya tadâ phalam [**]
22 Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yatnaâ-raksha Yudhisîthra [*] mûhîm ma-
23 himâtaṁ śreyôha dâñchâ-ôhrêyô-nupâlanam [***] ¡yêpî[ê]
24 Paramâvaravarmâm [*] Sârîn 10 8 Hâ 8 di 10 5 ||

B.—Grant No. 2

This grant also consists of three plates which do not have raised rims. Each plate is 7.1" long and 2.1" broad. The plates are strung together on a circular copper ring (3.1" in diameter) which passes through a hole (5.1" in diameter) at the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1.7" in diameter. On the upper and lower portions of the seal are engraved in relief a crescent moon and a lotus respectively, the middle portion being occupied by the legend Śrî-Svârâstivâda. The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both sides. Of the inscribed sides, the first three have each six lines of writing, the last containing seven lines.

The characters belong to the Southern Class of Alphabets, being normal for the period and the area to which the inscription belongs. They are similar to those found in the early Eastern Châlukya grants. Final t occurs in line 1 and final m in lines 14, 15, etc. The consonants d, t, m and n after r are doubled as in the early grants. Dravidian l occurs in line 12 in Pâkki and the jihâmâliya in line 16. The initial vowel ai, which rarely occurs in inscriptions, is met with in line 5. This ai resembles khâ in line 17 divested of its medial d sign. The form of kh in line 1, m in lines 2, 14 and 19 and hris in lines 4 and 17 are noteworthy on account of their peculiarities. The letters kh and ch are almost alike.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the last two imprecatory verses, it is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Prithivî-Jayasimhavallabha I of the Châlukya family, who is described as in the previous charter. It records that the king, having created (made provision for) a dwelling place in Kujâvâka, granted thirtytwo sêvâtanases of land, separating it from the village of Kundûru and constituting it into a separate agrahâra by freeing it from all encumbrances. The donors were two Brâhmana brothers, namely Śvâmîyasas and Vishayaâsas who were the students of the Chândogya and belonged to the Vatsa gôra. They had studied the Vêda, Vêdânga,

---

1 The meaning of the phrase is not clear. Could it be Punnâgaprasthâna-sthânam?
2 [The intended reading of the passage in lines 16-18 appears to be Punnâgaprasthâna-sthânam kujivâka-kabâtra-sahitâ yathâksmirmân...—Ed.]
4 [The correct interpretation of the passage seems to be that the village of Kujâvâka was populated and, having been constituted into an agrahâra with the addition of thirtytwo sêvâtanases of land taken from the adjoining village of Kundûru, was granted to the donors.—Ed.]
Iitikas, Purana, Minamsa and many other Sastres, were proficient in the Trisaktivam and performed the Agniishtoma sacrifice. They were the sons of Vishnuyasa and grandsons of Mitrayasa. The king issued his order from his residence at Asanapura and addressed it to the elders and officers of the district of Plakki and to the ryots of the village of Kunduru in the Plakki vishaya. A ninth portion of this village was again given by these donees to their own sister's son, Vishnuraman, who belonged to the Gavishami gatra and was a student of the Bahujiba.

The achari of this grant was Bhamasarma who is described as a great devotee of Vishnu and performer of the Vajapeya sacrifice. This officer is not known from any of the grants of Jayasimha I published so far.

Of the localities mentioned in this record Plakki-vishaya is already known from the previous charter. I am unable to identify Kunduru. It must, however, have been in the neighbourhood of the present village of Gudivada, since some land from the boundary of Kunduru was separated and added to the former village. Both the owner of the plates and my friend Mr. Raghavarao Pantulu inform me that there are some Harijans in the village of Gudivada who have Kunduru as their family name. Gudivada is Gudivada itself.

Asanapura is unidentifiable. It appears from the grants of Jayasimha I that it was an important town in the early Eastern Chalukya times. A Chitaram, the donee of the Niduburu grant of Jayasimha was a resident of Asanapura and is described as gaishika-sahasra. Evidently Asanapura must have been a gaishika-sthana. Rudrasarma, the son of Sivasarma of the Gautama gatra and the donee of the Pulimburu grant of Jayasimhavallabha, was also a resident of Asanapura. Originally, his father Sivasarma was an inhabitant of Kunduru in Karna-rakhra and was the recipient of the agrahara village of Pulimburu from king Madhavavarman of the Vishnukundin family. During the rule of Jayasimhavallabha, Sivaram's son Rudrasarma emigrated from Kunduru to Asanapura. Asanapura thus appears to have been one of the educational and cultural centres of the early Eastern Chalukya times.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Om svasti [**] Shrimad-Asanapura-vasakat eva-sakti-mukha-dalita-danuja-pati-mahasenena
2 Mahasenin-abhivaddhi(rodhi)tanami Matri-gana-paripilitanam Manavya-sagotra gam Hariiti-(ti)-putrapati(ga)-
3 m=Avamadhi-yajinam Chaulyana kula-jalandhi-somuddhita-raja-ratnasa sakala-jaga-
4 d=Ati(tati)-hara-karmmanath shri-Ki(Ki)rttivarmmanath priya-napti(pti) saty-api Kalyugaye Kritayuga-iva
5 pra=arpal=attham=avat=rita=manushya=janmamath aidamyugina-Mmam(Ma)havishyore=Vishnuvardhama-
6 maharajasya priya-tanayath pravardhamatma-pratap=apanata-samasta-samanata-manjala:

---

1 I am informed that Brahma was well-versed in this lore belong to the Madiyandina sthaka of the Kausika sect. It is the same as Trisaktivam mentioned in line 13 of the previous grant.
2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 56 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff.
5 From the original plates.
6 Expressed by symbol.
THREE GRANTS OF CHALMUKYA JAYASHRA I

Second Plate, First Side

7 svasa-taksi-traya-trisul-avabhinna-paranarapat-sakala-bala-chitanaha aneka-samara-sathgha-ta-vi-

8 jayavapta-yaeso-vishvha-bhusa-para pratidinam aneka-samanta-mukta-mani-prabh-pra-

9 paroja-parinajita-pada-pithha Yudhishtira-iva dharmma-parayaagha Brahma-vaspativ-

10 nayaja Manu-iva vinayajaha Airavata-iva-panavarata-dan-sobha-hasta-svaja-

11 na-parijana-vatsalaha paramabrahmany(o) masta-pitri-pada-anudhyatah eti-Pri(Pri)dhi-

(th)-vi-Jayasingha(sinchha)-

12 vallabha maharajja(ja) P(a)kki-vishaya-vishaya-vriddha-anakairi-paht Kundura-grama-kut-

umbina-cha

Second Plate, Second Side

13 samajhayaati[*] viditam-aatu voh yath-asambhish-chaturvidya-paragasya Mitrayasasa

14 paurabhyam(bhyam) sva-pitu(tri)-ga-ilaajakritya Vishnusasa putrabhyam abh-

karma-dharmma-anuashtha-

15 parabhyam(bhyam) Veda-Vedang-Evi(tri)hasha-Purapa-Mimara-adya-aneka-ti-str-arta-tatra-

(tva)salasa-

16 prabhallit-antakara-paukabhyam Agnisehima-yajibhyam(bhyam) Vatsa-sagotrabhyam

17 Chhandoga-sabrahamchabhirbhyam(bhyam) trisahasra-vidya-ilaajakritya-mukha-aravinabhyam-

(bhyam) Svama(miya)[45]

18 Vishnuabhyam(bhyam) Kudivada-nama-grame* vasati[i] kritva Kundura-grama-sih(at)-

mn dvatra[nasara]

Third Plate

19 varttanaah chhitava(ttvah) puyy-abhivriddhaye sarvva-kara-parilahren-ahabhairi(tri)krapy maya

sambrattam[*]

20 tatha bhuvadbhir-anaya-cha paripalani(miyah)[[*] tatabhya(bhyam)-eva Gavishmi-sagotra-

Bhuvrachaha(sah)-sabraham-

21 chari-sva-bhagiyaya-Vishnusarmanesa-saya grame(masaya navamo bhag datta[[*] ajaaptih

22 anaka-dha(rmm-ahpahtha-panya-saichhaya parama-vahnavo Vajpeya-yaj Bhitma-

23 Vyasa-gitaau[[*] Babubhir-vvasudha datta babubhisa-ch-anupaliita [[*] yasya yasya yada

bhuv[hu][[*]]

[*] This akshara is redundant.
[**] The reading is grama[**].—Ed.
[*] Read dvaitabhir-vaishnavah.
[**] Read somprastha. [Better read somprasasth.—Ed.]
24 ta(s-ta)ya teṣyā tatā phalam | Mā bhūd-aphala-tanākā van(vah) para-dattāti pārthivah-
(vah) | śva-dānāt-aphala-

25 m=śnantyam para-dān śnapālanam ||

C.—Grant No. 3

This set consists of three plates without raised rims. Each plate is 6-9" long and 2-4" broad. They are strung together on a circular ring 2-5" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1-5" in diameter. The seal after cleaning shows only a spiral sign on its face.

The script is the early Southern Class commonly styled Telugu-Kannada. The letters resemble those found in the other grants of Jayasimha I. They are very indifferently written and therefore the form of individual letters is not always the same. Initial ai occurs in line 5 in aidamuyava. The shape of the letter ey in brahmapya in line 10 is interesting. Final t occurs in line 1 and final m in line 20. The medius i sign in ri in pārīḍāraṇa (line 13) and karita (line 24) is peculiar. It is not a simple horizontal stroke to the left. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is in prose with the exception of the two imperative verses at the end. The terms kandaṅkaṭṭatu, kadakṣaṭṭu and āvakaṭṭu occurring in the description of the boundaries are unintelligible.

This inscription also belongs to the same king, Jayasimha I of the Eastern Chalukya family. The record does not furnish new facts. The royal praṇaṅga and the details of the grant are similar to those of the previous record. The king issued this grant from Asamapura. Addressing the elders and officers of the Pajari vāhaya and the ryots of the village of Kundūru, the king granted the village of Kuḍīvāda to the same donees, Śvāmiyās and Vaiṣṇavas of the Vataś gūra, separating it from the boundary of Kundūru and constituting it into an agrahāra with all the usual immunities. The boundaries of the newly constituted agrahāra are given. They are as follows: on the east the boundary of the village of Kundūru; on the south the sea; on the west the tank named Gajava as well as the Nāgavula tank, Kandikṣaṭṭu and Kadakṣaṭṭu and on the north Āvakaṭṭu. The ḍāṣṣpāṇi is Bhīmaśarman, already known from the previous charter.

These three inscriptions thus register grants referring to one and the same village of Kuḍīvāda (Guḍīvāda). In fact, the order of these inscriptions, if I understand them aright, should be thus: Grant No. 2, by which the village of Guḍīvāda comes into being as an independent agrahāra, should be the first one. Then comes Grant No. 1 which says that the king granted the western portion of the village of Ādīvāsa along with some land detached from the extent of the village of Guḍīvāda, constituting the whole into an agrahāra, to the Brahmaṇa brothers, Vinayaśarman and Vaiṣṇavasrman of the Maudgalya gūra. To compensate this loss to the donees the king seems to have granted them again by grant No. 3 thirty-two svarthana of land, separating it again from the village of Kundūru, as stated in grant No. 2.¹

¹ [See A. R. Ep., 1945-46, No. 3 of App. A.—Ed.]

² [As the forms of many letters like k in line 1, a in line 3, ä in line 10, show later forms, the writing seems to belong to a later period. The seal bears only a spiral symbol and the village granted is the same as in the previous charter. This record appears to be another modified copy of No. 2, in the text of which the boundaries of the agrahāra are added while a statement regarding the allotment of a share of the agrahāra to the donee's sister's son, as found in No. 2, is omitted. No. 2 thus seems to have been forged by the heirs of the donees of No. 2 with a view to depriving the successors of the donee's sister's son of the share in question.—Ed.]

³ [This argument is unconvincing. As shown above (p. 129, note 3; p. 133, notes 2 and 4; above, note 2), the agrahāra villages granted as well as the donees in the first two grants are different and the third grant appears to be another modified copy of the second.—Ed.]
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

TEXT

First Plate

1. Ōṁ svasti [*] Śrīmad-Assāpurava-vaśakāt sva-ṣakti-mukha-dalita-dana-
2. japa-mahāṃśana Mahāśeṣṇaś-bhivaddhi(t)īdhi(t)ānāṁ Mātṛ-ge-
3. na-paripālitānāṁ Mānavya-saṅgītrāṇāṁ Hāriti(t)ī-putrāpa-
4. m-Aśvamēthārājānām Chaud(ar)īkṣaṇāṁ kula-jaladhi-samudbhū-
5. te-rāja-ratnasya āśv-Kīrtitī(r)īvarmanāḥ priya-naptā sidhyugeśa-Mahā-
6. vishnuḥ Vishnavoraddhanā-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamā-

Second Plate, First Side

7. na-pratīf-śpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ sva-ṣakti-traya-parā-
8. jita-para-ṣaktiḥ anēka-samara-sanghaṣṭha-vijay-avāpta-yado-viśēsha-
9. bhūkhaṇāḥ pratīdinam-anēka-sāmanta-maṇḍa-maṇi-prabha-ra-nā-
10. jita-pāḍaṭṭhaḥ paraśa-brhamanyo mātē-pirii-pāḍ-śuṇḍhīya-
11. tāḥ āśv-Prithvi-Jayasahasr(a)nāḥvalabha-mahārājaḥ Pjakki-viśayaḥ
12. viṣṇa[ya]-vṛddhā-n-adhikāriṇāḥ Kundūra-gṛāma-kujumbinaḥ-oḥa semājāpaya-

Second Plate, Second Side

13. ti [*] viditam-astu vā yathā-śāmābhīḥ-chaturvīdyā-pāragaṣya Mitrayaṣa-
14. saḥ paurābhīyāṁ sva-pitu(t)ī-guṇ-śāhakrītasya Vishnuyāśaṣaḥ putrābhīyaṁ chat-ka-
15. mmak-harmeś-śuñghaṇa-parbhīyaṁ(bhyam) Agniśṭōma-yājihīyaṁ Vata-saṅgītrbhīyaṁ
16. Cchandoga-sabrahamahābhīyaṁ Svāmiyaś-Viśnuyābhīyaṁ Kuḍivāga-na-
17. ma-grāmaḥ vasatiṁ kriyā Kundūra-gṛāma-simnō(mnāḥ) prithak-kṛitya puny-śbbhipddhayā
dataḥ [||] Bhavadbhir-aṇyāś-oḥa pā-
18. sarvva-kara-parihārō-agnihārkṛitya mayā datataḥ [||] Bhavadbhir-aṇyāś-oḥa pā-

Third Plate

19. lanṭyāḥ [*] Aaya aśīm-śvahāgha [*] Pūrvvataḥ Kundūra-gṛāma-śīmā(mā)mā(va simā) [||]
20. Dakhinataḥ samudrama(dra) [||] Paṭasimataḥ Gōlāva-nāma-taṭkam punah Nāgavula-

* From the original plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
21 obeṛuvu-Kandikaṭṭu-Kadakaṭṭu[*] Uttamaṭh Āvakaṭṭu[*] Ājñāptiḥ pī(pa)ri(ta)[mi](ma)-
22 vaishnavō Vājapeya-yājī Bhūmaśarmaś [*] Bahubhīś-vasudhā dattā bahu-
23 bhī-ḥ-chāṇupālitā[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis-ta)ṣya tasya taddā phalaḥ(lam) [*] Sva-
24 dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēṣṭa vasundharābh(rām) [*] sahaṣṭhi(shti)-vṝṣaṇa-sahāsṛapī vishṭhāyāḥ jāyate kṛmīḥ [*]
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA — PLATE II

C. — GRANT NO. 3

Scale three fourths
No. 21—KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

The Late Mr. V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS.

These hooper plates,¹ eleven in number, were received in 1905 from the Estate Guardian at Kamalapur, near Hampa, Bellary District, on a short loan by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. The plates were returned to the owner. I edit the inscription from its impressions available in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The Government Epigraphist describes the plates thus: “Eleven copper plates with highly-raised rims and rounded tops, containing twenty sides. Round ring with its edges pressed close together in a hole behind the seal. The seal is hung on a copper ring whose edges are closely pressed together as stated above. The copper ring measures 3½ in diameter and is about 1¾ thick. The seal bears in a counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar with up-lifted tail and facing the proper right. It is surmounted by the sun and the moon in relief. Below the boar are some symbols. The plates measure roughly 11¾ long in the middle and 8½ inches on the sides; the breadth varies from 7¾ to 7¾ inches.”

The first and last of the plates, as usual, have been engraved on the inner side only, while the others on both the faces.² They are numbered, like the Unananji plates of Achyutaraya, on the first inscribed side of each plate with Telugu-Kannada numerals from 2 to 11. The writing has been done well and it is intact on account of the raised rims. But between lines 67 and 68, there is a blank space for a line and a half which can be filled up from similar epigraphs. At the end of line 448, which is the last on the second side of plate 9, there is a blank which can be covered by six akeharas; and at the close of line 608, the last on the 10th plate where the list of donors ends, there is also a vacant space for four letters.

The characters are Nandinagari, except the last word Śrī-Virupaksha in line 522, which is in Kannada. The sign for rough r in Māturāyana is not distinguished from ordinary r as in other records. The middle stroke of i is occasionally missing as in Kālipata in line 171.

The following orthographical peculiarities can be noted. The visarga sign is occasionally omitted, the omission usually before the word śrī. It is redundant in the expressions like podaśr-avitāvita in line 29 and samaśe-Tirmalak in line 363. A consonant after r is usually doubled. Instances of the doubling of a consonant after visarga and elsewhere are also available. The anusvāra is usually used for the class nasal. Wherever there is double m the first is made into an anusvāra as in Tūmārā in line 127. The consonant t is sometimes wrongly used for d as in tavātāvasha in line 106.

There are some names of unusual interest among the donors who number as many as 308 and belong to all sects. The three Vēdas and various śākdas and gōtras are represented. Though a Dvaitin, Vyāsārāya, the chief donor, included scholars of every persuasion among the shareholders of the endowment. The individual shares ranged from 3½ to ¾, the exact quantity being apparently dependent on the attainments of each recipient. The total number of shares seems to have been slightly above 437. The gōtras represented by the donors are: Agasty 3, Ātriya 18, Bhāradvāja 51, Daivarāṣṭā 1, Gārgya 8, Gautama 10, Gūrja 1, Harita 1, Jāmadagnya-Apastaṃba 1, Jāmadagnya-Vatasa 1, Kānva 2, Kāśyapa 52, Kuṇḍinya 12, Māndgala 3, Kauśika or Viśvāmitra 30, Pārhasa 2, Pūtimāśa 4, Ratthisha 1, Salāvata 1, Śāṇḍilya 8, Saṭhamaraṇa 1.

¹ It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when the article was still in the press.
² A. R. Ep., C. P. No. 12 of 1905.
³ It is presumably in the case of the first plate which was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. It seems that the stampage of Plate 1B was missing in the set of impressions received by the author. It has 27 lines of writing, which are practically identical with lines 1-24 of the Conjeeveram plates (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126-27).—Ed.
⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 147 ff.
The language is Sanskrit and the whole text is in verse. The introductory portion is in different metres; but verses 33-343 which enumerate the dones and their shares are in Anushṭubh. Verses 344-52 are again in different metres. The first thirteen of the introductory stanzas ending with the expression paśki-rathād-īva, are not available as that plate was not received in the Government Epigraphist’s office\(^1\). The remaining stanzas are 32\(^2\) and cover lines 1-67. The first six verses (lines 1-18) carry the genealogy down to Vīra-Narasimha, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya. Verses 7-16 (lines 18-42) eulogize the ruling king Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya and are identical with verses 20-29 of the Hampi inscription\(^3\) of S. 1439 (1508 A. D.) with a single change in verse 14 (line 37), where we have Vīraprātara śy-ādi instead of Gaṇākarunda śy-ādi of the Hampi record. The beautiful prose passage, which makes the king immediately after these stanzas in the Hampi record is absent in the present epigraph. Lines 43-45 give the date of the grant in words: It is Śālīvahana-Saṅka 1447, Pārthiva, Phalguna śū. 12 corresponding to the 24th February, 1528 A.D. Lines 45-48 (verses 19-20) mention the place of the donation and the illustrious teacher to whom it was made. It was a royal order to the people of Ghamagiri-rāya to the effect that, in the Viṣṇu temple on the bank of the Tungabhadra, the grant was made to Vyāsa-tirtha who was the disciple of Brahmanyatirtha and had a mind exclusively devoted to the contemplation of Brahma and who had written commentaries on all the Śāstras. Then follows, in lines 49-60 (verses 21-29), a description of the village granted and its boundaries. It was in Koyyakurikṣeṣa and Mukutkuṭa-sthala, east of the village of Pulakulvā, south-east of Guṭjāda, south of Kundalapātikū, south-west of Grākaṭalakalvā, west of Bōyindapavā, north-west of Gaṅgānāyana-pallā, north of Mallakkumapaku, and north-east of Viṣṇu. With it were included the villages of Gita-pallā, Kamunāchēyū, Kandukūrū, Rāma and Guraināvāyāl. It was known as Beṭākoṇḍa and Vyāṣasa-nmadra and renamed Kṛṣṇa-vyāna-puram. Lines 60-67 (verses 28-35) give the usual formula of the sarvamanāya tenure and conclude with the statement that it was granted by the king Kṛṣṇadeva-mahārāya with daśaṁśa and the pouring of water. Then follows, in lines 68-608 (verses 33-343), a long list of householders and scholars, amongst whom Vyāsa-tirtha distributed the shares of the endowed lands. Lines 609-13 (verses 344-46) give the usual formula regarding Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya’s gifts and state that the śrīvīra was composed by Gahōṣṭi and engraved by Vīrapāchāya, son of Malanā. Verses 347-52 form the usual imprecation. The record ends with the royal sign-manual Śrī-Viṣṇu-pāthaka in Kannada characters in line 552.

The village named Beṭākoṇḍa or Kṛṣṇa-vyānapura no longer exists; but Vyāṣasa-nmadra and Kandukūrū are well-known even today. Kandukūrū is a village 27 miles to the west-northwest of Madanapallī, formerly included in the Cuddapah District and now in Chittoor. Its gift as an śrīvāya by Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya to a priest was noted decades ago by the compiler of the Madras Manual of Administration (Glossary, p. 442). The historic importance of the place is clear from two old Viṣṇu temples in it. Vyāṣasa-nmadra is a big tank close to Kandukūrū. The other villages and hamlets named in the grant are not traceable now. Mukutkuṭa-sthala is probably the same as Guṭjāda-sthānam in Madanapallī Taluk. Pulakulvā may be identified with Pulakullu, and Bōyindapavā with the Boyakupaṇḍa rock to the south-west of the hamlet of Pullagutiavāripalla near Pedda-Tippasa-nmadra which is five miles off Kandukūrū.

\(^1\) See p. 159, note 3.—Ed.
The donee Vyāsārītha, who is more familiarly known as Vyāsārāya, was the twelfth in apostolic descent from Madhāchārīya, the great Dvaitic philosopher, and the fifth head of the Vyāsārāya Maṭha founded by Rājendrārītha in the fifteenth century and renamed after this teacher. Prof. Aufrecht\(^1\) ascribes his death to 1539 A.D. and further says that he was the founder of the maṭha. As a matter of fact, he was only the fifth head of the maṭha and lived, according to the Vyāsārāyaśāstra of Vidyārātanākara-sūviaṁ, in 1447-1539. The exact date of his birth is given as Sunday, Prabhāva, Vāśākha-sukla 74\(^,\) corresponding to the 27th April 1447 A.D. The story of Vyāsārāya’s birth is variously given in the Vējāvijaya of Śrīnivāsārītha who is not identical with the nephew and immediate successor of Vyāsārāya but was a later hagiologist, and in the Vyāsāyangīṣcharita,\(^2\) a chompū written by the poet Somanātha, an Advaitin of Kāṇchipuram, who became an admiring disciple of the teacher in his later days. Both these versions agree that Vyāsārītha, whose juvenile name was Yatirāja, was the child of Balhaṇa Sumati, a native of Bannīţ in Mysore, and his wife Lakṣmī, as a result of the special grace of Brahmaṇyārītha or Subrahmanyaśārītha, the fourth head of the maṭha, afterwards known as Vyāsārāya’s maṭha. Young Yatirāja was spiritually educated and trained by Brahmaṇyārītha and was invested, according to Vidyārātanākara-sūviaṁ, with the headship of his maṭha in Savyajita, Vāśākha-kṛṣṇa 12 (1467 A.D.). Mr. Venkoba Rao places the event in 1475; but it seems to me that it might be a few years later.

The Vijayanagara king Vīra-Narasimha of the Tuḷava family is described by the poet Somanātha as having worshipped Vyāsārāya more than his father Daśaratha worshipped Vasishṭha. According to the poet, it was in his time that Vyāsārāya completed his three great philosophic masterpieces, the Tāṇḍavaśāstra, the Nyāyaśāstra and the Tarkatāṇḍava. It is probable that, by 1509 A.D. when Kṛishṇadēvarāya came to the throne, and when Vyāsārāya would have been about sixty years of age, he gave the finishing touches to the Vyāśa-traya as these works are collectively called.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya is credited by the poet Somanātha with the actual worship of Vyāsārāya. He is said to have visited him twice a day for receiving instruction. Once the king of Kalinga (Pratāpapūraṇa) sent an Advaitic work to the Vijayānagar emperor for opinion, and he sent it back with the thoroughly searching criticisms of the Dvaitic philosopher to whose judgment he had submitted it. On another occasion, Kṛishṇadēvarāya is said to have seated Vyāsārāya on a throne and performed kavak-abhisēka on his person, and the latter, with characteristic self-abnegation, gave away the gems showered on him to the learned poor. The abhisēka, continues the poet, saved the emperor from the fruits of his sins and gave him victory on the battle-field.

From 1520 A.D. onwards we have a number of Kṛishṇadēvarāya’s grants which indicate that Vyāsārāya was a conspicuous figure at his court. The only record previous to 1520 A.D. referring to Vyāsārāya is No. 370 of 1919, dated in Saka 1433 (1511-12 A.D.).

It has, however, to be noted that the claim of the above poet that Vyāsārāya was the royal guru should not be taken in the sense that the emperor had no other religious guide. From the time of Virūpākṣa, according to the Prapanāṃyaśāstra,\(^4\) and certainly, to judge from inscriptions,

---

\(^2\) The date is not regular as the week-day should be Saturday. The author moreover differs from the more authoritative Somanātha-kavi in respect of the genealogy of this teacher.
\(^3\) This work, which is a fine literary piece, has been edited very ably by Mr. Venkoba Rao of Bangalore. The historical introduction is very erudite, though not without controversial discussions and conclusions.
\(^4\) S. K. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijāyānagara History, pp. 71-79, No. 27.
from the time of Kṛṣṇadēva-rya onward, the guru who occupied the primary place at Vījayanagara was Tāṭāchārya. At Tirupati itself, from 1611-12 A.D., we have five epigraphs which record the gifts of holy offerings to the Aḥoṛya Kumāra-Tāṭaiya-rya. From 1621 to 1628 A.D., Vṛṣa-rya figures largely in the domastic epigraphs of Tirupati. The present grant was, in respect of chronology, older than the Odājamaṇṭu-grant² made in April 1628 A.D. It may be pointed out here that Vṛṣa-rya continued to play an important part in the Vījayanagara court even after the death of Kṛṣṇadēva-rya in 1530 A.D., and the accession of his brother Achyuta-rya (1530-42 A.D.). A noteworthy event in the saint's life in this reign was his installation of the image of Vākṣa-Narasiṇha in the courtyard of the Viṣṇu temple at Hampe on Thursday, Vaishnava-nakhaṭra, Śravaṇa-ba. 2, Indra-vāga, Śaka 1454, Nandana, corresponding to the 18th July 1532 A.D.

Vṛṣa-rya exercised considerable influence on the development of Dvaitic thought not only through his own philosophical skill, but by training a number of illustrious disciples. Another meritorious aspect of his work was the combination of music in Sanskrit as well as Kannada with philosophy. He composed songs embodying in them his teachings in the Mandāvaṇṇaṭjāri series, thus democratizing Dvaitism. A number of these songs have been included in the Dvāsanpadas; and a number of them in Sanskrit are yet to see the light. In popularising the religion and philosophy of bhākṣi through music, Vṛṣa-rya depended chiefly on his illustrious disciple Purandara-ḍāsa of Pandarpura, who was the saintly founder of the order of the Haridāsas and enriched the world with the kirtanas called dhvanāmas which are sung even today.

Vṛṣa-rya exercised considerable influence on the contemporary movements of Vallaḥā-ṛya and Chaitanya. According to the Śrī-Vallāḥā-ṛya-purāṇa of Muralidhāra-ḍāsa,³ Śrī-Vallāḥa went to the court of Kṛṣṇadēva-rya and saved the Vaishnavas from being defeated by the controversialists, for which he was honoured with konaḥ-saṅkha. In his Sanskrit-upadīpikā,⁴ Gada observes that the assembly in Kṛṣṇadēva's court, where Vallāḥa defeated his opponents, was presided over by Vyāsātīrtha. Though the writers on Vallāḥaism give exaggerated accounts of Vyāsātīrtha's obligations to Vallāḥa, there is nothing improbable in Vallāḥa paying visit to Vījayanagara.

Vyāsātīrtha's influence on the contemporary Chaitanya movement is obvious from the fact that Chaitanya, who was, like Vallāḥa, a younger contemporary of Vyāsātīrtha, took the Śannāṭaic robes from an ascetic of Mādhva persuasion. Kaviṅkara-puraṇa, the son of a direct disciple of Chaitanya, refers in his Govinda-pravallikā (1577 A.D.) to the works of Vyāsātīrtha as the Viṣṇu-saṅkhyā. The method of appealing to the masses through music and dance was specialised by Chaitanya as much as by Purandara-ḍāsa,⁵ the disciple of Vyāsātīrtha.

According to Purandara-ḍāsa, Vyāsātīrtha died on Phālguṇa 4 of the year 1539. According to Kaviṅkara-puraṇa, the 6th March 1539 A.D. His brindavan is located in an island in the Tungabhadra near Hampe.

² A. R. Ep., 1922-23, para. 84.
⁴ Ibid., p. 16.
⁵ It is interesting to note that this Purandara-ḍāsa is referred to in three places in the present record (lines 426-70 and 430). From these the following information is gathered about him. He belonged to the Vasiṣṭha gīta and Yajus śākhā and had three sons, viz., Laṅkāmaṇḍā, Hēpadāsa and Madhyapadeśā. This account differs in certain respects from the traditional details. See Kamākara and Kālandāna, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsa of Kumāra, p. 40—P.B.D.]
TEXT

21. T-pamkti-rathād-iva (2) Virau vinaya(yi)nau Rāma-Lakhamayā-iva nandanau (2)
22. jātau Vira-Nicināhāndra-Krishnaśya-mahipati (2) Vira-ārī-Narāśin-
23. hā sa Vijayanağaṛa rata-satīkānasanaṭhaḥ(sthaḥ) kṛtya nityā nirayam
24. (Nṛga-Na-Nahusān-apṣ-avayām-ath-ānyan | 2-6vör-ś-Śasa(m)īreṣ-avani-
25. sura-nuṣaḥ svairam-āt(oh-o)d(a) ādṛr-ā-śaṅkāty-āhala-āhātād-aṁha-śrīdya-vā-vay-
26. rājyaḥ ṣāṣaḥ (2) Nānā-dānāyaḥ-akārāḥ(reḥ)t-kanaka-sadasi yaḥ ārī-Virūpāka(kha)dēvā-
27. sthāṇā ārī-Śa-halastālītur-āpi nagarā Vāikṣakaḍrau cha Kāṃcyaśrī(ohyām) | Śṛśailē Šopa-
28. Šailē mahatā Hariharē-bhālē Saṅgamaḥ cha Śṛīraṅgē Kumbhagho(kō)pē ātaka-tamaśi
29. Mahānāthaḥ(di)-tīrthē Nīvṛitya(yaṭhau) (2) (3) Gākṛpṝa Rāmaśeṣaṁ ājagā tād-śarṣaya-ṣapy-e-
30. Ṛṣabhḥu parṇyā-ṣṭhānā-śaktiḥ (2) nānāvīdha-bahala-mahādānā-vā-
31. ri-pravahāḥ | yasya-śādahat-tūrākha-prakara-khura-reṣaḥ-tuṣhayad-ahbō(ḥ)bō(ḥ)bī-
32. magha-khambḥhīpt-paḥaḥ-khi(oh-h)dhī(oh-dhī)dd(a) ṛ-ṛ-ṭara-Śa-Kullāchar-śahākṛptāḥ kumāthī-s-
33. bhūt (2) (4) Brahmarīḍhaṁ viśva-ceshāraṁ ghaṭam-udita-mahābhūtakarṇa rata-bhēnun(a) saṁ-he-
34. bhūdhaḥ ca kalpa-khitruḥa-latikē kāñcchenāḥ Kāmadhēnun(a) (num) | svaṃṣa(gha)-kumāṁ
35. yō bhrād(ra)ny-ārās-ratham-āpi tulā-śurūhān gā-sahāras hām-sāvakā hāma-
36. garbhak kanaka-kari-ratham pahochā-lāṅgaly-āśτānt (2) (5) Prājñāṇi praśāya
37. nirvīghnah rājyaḥ dyām-iva āśītum(tam) | tassmin-guṇena vikhyāte kahi-
38. tād-āndre divah gatē (2) (3) Tāṣ-ṣāvārva-vāra-ārī-Krishnaṭye-mahipatiḥ |
39. bibharti maṇi-kṣāya-nirvīśahā(ḥ) maṅgā bhuṣṇā (2) (3) Kṛtya yasya sa-
40. mahatāca praśāyaḥ viśvaḥ rucḥ-āshisyaḥ vreṣādy-ṣāḥ(ḥ)āṇyā puṣa Purāṇī-
41. r-ahvadh-brāh-haṭhaḥ-ṣaḥhaḥ prāyaḥ | Padmaḥaḥ-haḥ-ṭhaḥ-muṣṭibhuṣṇaṁ jau ṛṣṭu-
42. r-vākṣṭṛā-ḥaṭvāḥ(ṛat-vat)-Padma-bhūt (bhūt) Kālā khadgama-adhādta-Rāma oochha(cha) kamalaṁ
43. viṇāḥ ca Vā-
44. 22. pī karṣ (2) (3) Sēṭrūpāḥ vā(ya)ḥ[ṃ]-eṣe datataḥ (2) ni rucḥ āniḥ su saṃ-ṛṣṭhu-rādhī(ḥ) nānā-
45. ekāḥ-tūrākha-tuṣṭa-vah-reṣhnaḥ-hūlā-śtukākīhūḥ | saṁhārahā vaśi-
46. rāmḥ-ṛṣ-ṭat-tat-ṭat-ḥuṣṭā-ṭhīkāḥbhī | yā vidhānta Brahmaṇḍa-Śvāra-
47. mānu-pramukha-ṛṣṭā-mahādānā-tōyair-śāyaṁ | (2) (3) Mad-ḍattām-ṛṣṭhi-sārthā(h)āpuḥ
48. āṇyaḥ-ha sucihrdha bhūṛhaḥṣāṭmaṃ-svāṭhyāḥ(tyam) prāyaḥ pratīlabhētī-ḥīṃs-ṛṣa-

1 From impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
2 This is the end of verse 18 of the Hampi inscription of Kṛishṇāya (above, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.). [See above, p. 158, n. 8.—Ed.]
4 Kilian considers it to be a mistake for "śyāt-hāyu,"
pāṇa-ṛathak-gatātrālayaḥ(yān) dēvatānām(nām) [ ta[*]-taḍ-dig-jātra-vrīty-āpi cha vi-
ruḍa-padaṁ(dai)-samākāleṣa-tatra tatra stambham(bhād)-jāta-praṭīṣṭhān-vyatanu-
bhūvi yō
dhūḥhirid-abhrāmkaś-āgrān [ || 10*] Kāmohi-Śrīvallī(ī)a-Śūnāchala-Kanakasabhā-Vīṇakaṭā-
ṛetri-mamukhyē[shv]-āvastavrātyā[ī] sarvēḥ[shv]-ājanuṣadā bhūyāsē śrēyastō yāh |
dēvasthānēhu tīrthēhīv-āpi kanaka-tulāpūru[sh-ā]diṁi nānā-danānīyōyō[*]
padānā-kaha[ma][m-a]khhilī-āgam-āktānī tāni [ || 11*] Rūṣa-kṛita-prāti-pārthī-
va-danīyā Śesha-bhuja-khiti-rakshana-saṃrāṇaḥ [1*] bhāṣhege-tappuva-rāyura-ga(sha)-
(dai)-a-
esṭēṣha-kridā(ṣa)ṣṭhī(ṛṭhī)ṣkē yō rāṇa-chānudiā[ā] [ || 12*] Rājādhīrājī ity-uṇktō yō Rājapara-
mēvareśa śārūṣyarnāgand-ākhyā[ṭh-ē] Parārāyaḥyamkaraḥ [ || 13*] Hindu-rāya-sura-
trāṇō duṣṭa-śāṛḍulā-mārmanāḥ | Vīraprātāpa [ṣṭy-ādi-bīruda-∪rṣa]⊆t[ar*-]*[y]-
ṛtaḥ [ || 14*] Abhāyā mahāchārya jaya jīv-śtī vādi(bhīḥ) | Āṅgika-Va[nt]*ga-Kha[ṃ]-
g-ādyai rājābhīḥ śāvetūtō cha yāḥ [ || 15*] Sutrā-sūbrāyaḥ[ṭh-ē] sudhībhī[ṭh-ē] sa Viyāyana-
rē ratna-sītuḥśana-sañgāh khamālēnā Kiṃrahayā-koṭhiti-pratī-adhikṛi-
tyā nītyō Niṃ-ṭīn [1*] a pūrva-ādṛṭē astā-koṭhiti-dhara-kṣetakād-ā cha ṛṣī-
mācaḥ-āṅtaś-a[stō]*tērthsi-śāṛdha-śāryam-śa bhāliṣṭēya kī[r*]ṣṭī śaṃmid[dbhē] [ || 16*]
Śāṭavahana-nirṇīṭe Śak-ābdi daśabhiś-śātīśaḥ [1*] chaṭṭu-śat-śānvitīaḥ
sapatā-cāttvārīnāḥ-yutau-miśi [ || 17*] Vatsarē Pārthiv-ābhikhē māsi Pa(Pā)gū-
na(ma)-nāmanī | śūkla-pakṣē ṣa[dbhē] lagna puch(pu)nyāyōm dvādaśi-tāhau [ || 18*]
Tūṅga-
bhādr-āpaga-tīrō Viṭhalaśvara-samridhau | Brahmapurātirtha-śiśiyāyā
brahma-dhīyān-aiṣṭha-cētasē [ || 19*] Vyākhyaṭ-ākhīla-śāśtraṇā Vyāsātirhāyā
dhīmatē | Ghanagirya-ākhyā-raṣṭiy-āṅtarvartinaḥ(ṃm) samuśārītav(tam) [ || 20*]
Kōyakurki-sīma-sthān Mūkuṭa-saṅgham-āśīrta(tam) | Pulakalv-ā-
hvayād-gra(ṃ)mat-praḥṣēm-śāṃṭī-paśārītav(tam) [ || 21*] Gūṭīva[va]ś-dāḥvayād-grāmā-
dē-ānāyā(ty)*m-āśīrta(tam) dīsam[ṃ*] | Kṛuḍalapāṭukṣa-gra(ṃ)mad-dakshinān dīsa-
m-āśīrta(tam) [ || 22*] Grākṣatālakalv-ākhyā(ḥvayān)-nairuniy(ṛṣṭīn) diśam-āśīrta(tam) |
grāmā-
dē-Bōyudapālī-v-ākhyāt-paśchimāyōm diśa aṭhīta(tam) [ || 23*] Gomāṅgaṇāpa-
λıtō vīyavūṃ diśam-āśīrta(tam) | Mallakamatakṣa-gra(ṃ)mad-uttarṣavyāṃ diśa
aṭhītav(tam) [ || 24*] Vēkōra-nāmaśa-gra(ṃ)mad(ṃ) nānā diśam-āśītav(tam) | śvāggama.
...mārū-Grāmātik-ṣamavita(tam) [ || 25*] Śrīya-gra(ṃ)matik-ōpeta-Kaṃma-
chhyya-samaviti(tam) | Rām-[ākhyā]-gra(ṃ)mak-ōpeta Kaṃdukṣru-samavita(tam) [ || 26*]
Third Plate, First Side

58 Guranivayulu-sahjöena grämaköga samanvitan(tam) | Krihârâyapuranam chä-
59 ti prati-näma-samä(ma)nvitam(tam) || 27* || Grämapa Vyasasamudrärköyaṁ Bättaköönd-ä-
60 par-äväyah(yam) | savrva-mänyaḥ cha traḥ-sümä-saśyutanä cha samsättataḥ || 38* || Nañjä-
61 nikahöpa-pañhöpa-siddha-sädhya-jä-änvitan(tam) | akshîny-ägämi-saṁ-
62 yuktam-äka-bhögayam sa-bhüruham(ham) || 29* || Väpi-köpa-tatäkaś-cha kachchhän-äpi
63 samanvitan(tam) | äśhya-präläkyä-[saṁh*]bhögayam [kramäd-ä*]o-hämä-träkañ(kam) || 30* || Dänasä-ädhäma-
64 nasy-äpi vikrayasy-äpi ch-ôchitam(tam) | param präyataḥ smiðhöaḥ pu-
65 röbäta-pürgamaï || 31* || Vividha-vibudha[h*] | šrauta-päthäkair-aśhikair-girä |
66 Krihârâyava-mahäro | mänanñyö mañasanän(ham) || 32* || Sa-hiräm(tam)aya-payö-dhä-
67 rä-pärväkañ dattävañ mudä | [32A*]
68 Śrîvata-s-götra | Känähâu-Räjëhdrasaya tañ-ûdbhavaḥ | yajvä Janärddä-
69 n-äbhäkhöö bhaväcö-tr-śhätYa-vrittäkañ || 33* || Śrîvata-s-götra-s-sûnu[h*] | Sri-Janärddana-
70 yajva | dhümä-äñj*]-ja-Timänä-bhäs-t-äkhöö baha(hvä)jöhra-tru dvî-vrittäkañ || 34* || Sûnu(mh) | Räjëhdhra-bhäñtaya Śrîvata-s-
71 sänvaya-s-sahhvavañ | baha(hwä)vöhö Lakshman-äbhäkhöö dhümañ(man) s-ärdda-tri-
72 vrittäkañ || 35* || Sûnu(h) | Räjëhödra-bhäñtaya Śrîvata-s-
73 ri-bhäñtaya sudhi[h*] || Śrîvata-s-götra-jäñ | baha(hvä)vöhö-nanta-bhäs-t-äkhöö vrittì-
74 dvayam-iñ-ñäntö || 36* ||
75 Śrî-Nä(Nä)rañämha-bhäs-t-äkhöö-sûriñ | Kadiri-bhäs-ta-jäñ | Śrîvata-s-götra-s-samhöütö bha-
76 hvöhö-tr-añka-vrittäkañ || 37* || Sûnu(h) Kadiri-bhäs-taya Śrîvata-s-sänvaya-s-sahhvavañ | [Uññä]-
77 yä-bhäs-ta-näm-äsa bhava(hvä)has-tä(tw=s)-çà-vrittäkañ || 38* || Śrîvata-s-götra-[sañh*]-
78 bhäs-tö Näräñämha-sudhi-
79 suta[h*] | s-ärdda-tri-vrittikö yajvä Nûhari-äkhöö-tru baha(hvä)chañ || 39* || Śrî-Chuñ-
80 çämañi-bhäs-taya
81 sûnu(h) Śrîvata-s-götra-kñ | dhümän=Nûhari-bhäs-t-äkhöö bhaväcö-tru dvî-vrittäkä(hkah) || 40* || Sûrë-
82 s-Tirumal-äkhöösa sûnu[h*] || Śrîvata-s-götra-kñ | [Śrî-Chuñçämañi-bhäs-t-äkhöö bhaväcö-tru
dvî-vrittäkañ || 41* || Sûrës-Tirumal-äkhöösa sûnu[h*] || Śrîvata-s-götra-kñ | bhaväcö-
83 na[mh*]ta-

1 Verse 32A is not complete. The other half and one full Asmäkñālë verse, for which there is just sufficient blank space, can be filled up thus:

praçägriksa cha tam grämañ Vyasasamudrärköyaṁ Bättaköönd-ä-
Vayudhås-sañsya cha praçägriksa Krihârâyapuranam chä-
vrällëkäñ(tam) | cakrâyañ sväñÇät-präñÇät-ä-

2 Read Śrîvata-s-säñaaya*.

3 Read götra.
80. bhand-amākhyō vṛttī-dvayam-ih-śānutē [|| 42*] Śrīvalasa-gā(gō)tra-jō dhimāna(mān) Yajñānārāyan-āhvaya[h*]

81. s-ārōha-aka-tra(vṛ)ttikas-sūnas-Trimā-bhātṛa-ya bahva(hvr)chā[ḥ || 43*] Śrūs-Tirumalā-ākhaya navadā

82. nō Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājushā-śan[tas]-bhand-amākhyō vṛttī-ābhayaḥ(ḥ)ḥ dhimān vṛttim-śākā

83. m-ih-śānutē [|| 45*] Dhimān-Abhahal-ābhikhyō yājushāḥ Kāyap-āṇavayyaḥ [ sūnas-Trimā]

85. 1-ākhaya navas-3-tr-āvaka-vṛttikāḥ [|| 46*] Kāyap-ānvaya-sambhūtaś sūnas-Tirumalā-

Third Plate, Second Side

86. khyaya yājushāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Rāmā-bhātṛ-āhvayaḥ-3-tr-āvaiḥḥ vṛttim-āpnoti yāju

87. chāḥ [|| 47*] Śrī-Nārāsima-bhātṛsa navadān Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | yājushā Vasdi-bhā
tī-amākhyō vṛttī-ābhayaḥ-3-śānute [|| 48*] Navadānō Bhānu-bhātṛsa yājushāḥ Kāyap-ānvaya

88. yāḥ [ dhimān Lakshmaṇa-bhātṛ-ākhya vṛttim-śākā-ih-śānute [|| 49*] Kāyap-ānvaya-jō
dhimān-U[tas]am-bhātṛsa navadān | Nararayya-āhvayaḥ-3-tr-āvaiḥḥ vṛttī-ābhaya-3-str-āvaiḥ yāju

89. sāḥ [|| 50*] Sūnas-Mādhava-bhātṛsa yājushāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Abhahal-āhvayaḥ [dhī*]-mān-a-

90. tra s-ārōha-aka-vṛttikāḥ [|| 51*] Sūnas-Ma(Mā)dhava-bhātṛsa yājushāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Na-

93. raharyya-āhvayaḥ dhimān-3-tra s-ārōha-aka-vṛttikaḥ [|| 52*] Kāyap-ānvaya-sambhūtaś-Charh-

94. nā-Okt(la)va-navadān | bahvriḥō Cē(Shaś-Cē)na-bhātṛ-śe-mān dhimān s-ārōha-aka-vṛ-
tikāḥ [|| 53*] Chāmā-Śrīvalasa(nala)-jō dhimān bahvrihāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārōha-aka-
vṛttim-str-āvaiḥ Chaunta-bhātṛ-śe mahā-mañjhi || 54*] Śrūs-Tirumalā-ākhaya sūnas-Trim-
umalā-āhvayaḥ | vṛttim-śākā-ih-āpnoti bahvrihāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ [|| 55*] Sūnas-Tirumalā-

96. khyaya yājvanah Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Tippā-bhah-āhvayaḥ-3-tr-āvaiḥḥ vṛttim-
m-āpnoti bahvrihāḥ [|| 56*] Abhahal-śandhi-sūnas-bahvrihāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Gan-

97. gādhar-dh-ākhya vṛttim-śākā-ih-śānute [|| 57*] Navadānō Bhānu-bhātṛsa yājushāḥ

99. Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | stā śrī-Baśavi-bhātṛ(ḥ)ḥ dhimān s-ārōha(śīl-ai)[ka*] vṛttikāḥ

100. [|| 58*] Pratapa-

102. kriyā-bhātṛṣasya sūnas-Āṭeṣa-gōtakāḥ | bahvriḥō-śan[tas]-bhātṛ-ākhya vṛttim-āvaya-
m-ih-śānute [|| 59*] Pratapakrāṣṇa-bhātṛṣasya navadānō-śoḥal-āhvayaḥ | bahvriḥō-3-tr-āvai

103. tē vṛttim-āvaiḥḥyam-Āṭeṣa-gōtra-jaḥ [|| 60*] Pratapakrāṣṇa-bhātṛṣasya sūnas-Āṭeṣa-
gōtra-

1* This expression is redundant.

2* These two syllables are redundant.
105  jañ | bahvrichō Basavā-bhaṭṭō āśā-vṛtti-dvay(ya) | ma(m-ī)h-āśāuṭ | [61*] Yājūshō Narahary-aśākhyō dhī-
106  māṃ-āṭraya-gōtra-jāḥ | s-ārdha-aika-vṛttim-ātr-aiti | Mahāramūrti-tanābha(dbha)|yāḥ | [62*] Sī-
107  nur-Vakkala-bhaṭṭasya yājūshō Gārgya-gōtra-jāḥ | yajvā Tirumal-āśākhyō vṛ- 
108  tī-dvayam-ih-āśāuṭ | [63*] Sūnuś-Tirumal-āśākhyasya yajvanō Gārgya-gōtra-jāḥ | 
109  yājūshās-Thīmarāp-ākkhyō-tra dhīmān s-ārdha-aika-vṛttikā | [64*] Gārgya-gōtra-bha-
110  vais-sūnum-Abbā-bhaṭṭasya yājūshāḥ | s-ārdha-aika-vṛttim-ātr-aiti Tīpē-bhaṭṭō 
111  dhīyō-sūmnātō | [65*] Śrī-Tāṃsya-bhaṭṭasya naḥdānā Gārgya-gōtra-jāḥ | yā-
112  jūshaḥ-Sūngay-āśākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśāuṭ | [66*] Māṭga(Maundgāya-gōtra-jāś-sū-
113  nur-Ananm-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichāḥ | Ananm-bhaṭṭ-āśāyasa[ya](yaḥ) sa(s-ā)rdha-vṛttim-dvayam-ih-āśāuṭ | [67*] A-
114  gāsṛyā-gōtra-jāś-sūnum-Śhī(Śhī)na-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichāḥ | Gūravapaṭ-āśāyā(yō) dhīmān vṛttim-
115  m-ekām-[h-ā]*uṇāṭ | [68*] Śrīvatase(ṭ-ā)nvaya-se(sam)bhūtō Gūravapaṭ-tan-ūdhhavah | Śrīnu(m)īpē-ā-

Fourth Plate, First Side

116  hvyā dhīmān-asa s-ārdha-āvh-vṛttikāḥ | [69*] Śrīnīvāsa-endhēs-s-ārdha-vṛ-
117  tī-dvayam-ih-āśāuṭ | Kau[thi]ḥpōlijya-gōtra-sambhūtās-Sarvā-[di*]khibita-na[m]danaḥ | [70*] Tī[m]-
118  m-āvadhamā s-āṣ[ṛ]dha-aika-vṛttim-ātr-aiti yājūshāḥ[ḥ*] | Śrīśa-Tirumal-āśākhyasya sūnuḥ 
119  Kandī(ḥpōlijya-gōtrakāḥ | [71*] Sarva-bhaṭṭa(ṭ-ā)nvaya-ṭ-āsikāḥ[ṃ*] vṛttimā(m-ā)jñātā yājūshāḥ | sūnuḥ 
120  m-Gōḍ(ṛ-Goḍ)vizhda-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvaya(yō-ā)dhāvahāḥ | [72*] 
121  Sūnā Śrīngar-bhaṭṭasyā yājūshās-Tī[ṃ]māy-āśāvahāḥ | A-
122  trīxa-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān s-ārdha-aika-vṛttikāḥ | [73*] Sūnā Śhīna(ga)ri-bha-
123  tīsāy(a)saḥ dhīmān-āṭra(trīya-gōtra-jāḥ | yājūshāḥ-ṭ-ā-śāuṭ vṛttim(tīt)m-ekā[ṃ*] Na-
124  rasa-āśayaḥ | [74*] Āgastya(aṭya)-gōtra-sambhūtō Narasāyasya naṃdanaḥ | Gūrīvīda-
125  bhaṭṭas-s-ārdha-aika-vṛttim-ātr(ṭ-ā-aiṭi yājūshāḥ | [75*] Vaiṣṇāṭa(shīha)-gōtra-jō dhī-
126  mān Śrī-
127  Virūḍhādha-bhaṭṭa-jāḥ | bahvṛi(ḥrvṛ)chō Lakkāp-āśākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśāuṭ | [76*] Naḥ-
128  danō Raṅkū-bhaṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvaya-yō|bhā(dbha)|vāḥ | bahvṛi(ḥrvṛ)chō|h(uh)(ha)=
129  Timmay-ābhi-
130  khyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-āśāuṭ | [77*] Viśvāmitr-ānvaya-yāsūrum-Māyī-bhaṭṭasya 
131  bahvṛichāḥ | śrī Raṅkūras-āśākhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-āśāuṭ | [78*] Śrī-Nāra-

1 There is a blank space for eleven or twelve aksharas after this. The word āśā in the beginning of the next line was first written and then erased. This word is again engraved after some space.
130 simha-bhatṭasya namadana-gastra-gotra-jaḥ | yājushō-hōbalay-äkh[y]ō dhī-
131 mān s-ārdh-äika-vr̥tti-kah[ | ] [79*] Agastra-gotra-[nāma*]-jātīḥ 1......nam-
132 naṃdanaḥ | yājushō Nārasaśy-äkhyō vr̥ttim-ëkām-ih-śānute[ | ] [80*] Vasīṣṭha(aśṭha)-
133 gōtra-saṃbhūta[h] * | śīr-Virūpākṣha-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Pūchi-bhaṭṭō-sra s-ārdh-äika-vr̥ttā(tti)
134 m-äṃpōṭi bahvī(ḥvṛ)ohah[ | ] [81*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭ-äkhyō Vasīṣṭha(aśṭha)-ānvaya-
saṃbhavaḥ[ | ] *
135 vr̥ttim(tti)m-ëkām-ih-äṃpōṭi bahvī(ḥvṛ)ohō vidushāṃ varaḥ[ | ] [82*] Śūnus-Śīnmas-
136 yassya yājushah Kāśyapa-ānvayaḥ | Lakṣahmānīśya-śabihkhyō vr̥ttim-dvā-
137 yam-ih-śānute[ | ] [83*] Kāśyapa-ānvaya-jas-śūnus-Śīnmas-bhaṭṭasya yājushah | s-ā-
138 rdh-äika-vr̥ttim-stra-saitī śīr(śī)nivās-asatāḥ varāḥ[ | ] [84*] Kāśyapa-ānvaya-jas-śūnus-
139 s-Śīnmas-bhaṭṭasya yājushah[ | s-ārdh-äika-vr̥ttim-stra-saiti Mucyāprāṇō mahā-
140 matīḥ[ | ] [85*] Śūrīs-Tīrumanalāy-äkhyō bahvā(ḥvṛ)ohō Nāga-ātmakaḥ | śīr-Jāmada-
141 guya-vaśaṭā-śbhrōkā-stra-ārdh-āvṛttikah[ | ] [86*] Gautam-ānvaya-saṃbhūtas-śū-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

142 nūr-Vāmanaya-jasvahah | dhīmān-Abhāl-ābhikhyō(ḥyōh) trīpād-vr̥ttī-
143 m-ih-śānute[ | ] [87*] Vasīṣṭha(aśṭha)-gōtra-jas-śūnus-Śīkā-bhaṭṭasya yājushah | Dā-
144 Vallaṁ-bhaṭṭ-ākhvō dhīmān vr̥ttim-dvāyam-ih-śānute[ | ] [88*] Śūrīs-Tīr-
145 mul-ābhikhyō(śī)Śīkā-bhaṭṭasya nāṃdanaḥ | s-ārdh-āika-vr̥ttim-stra-saiti sāmaqāḥ Kau-
146 ńvayaḥ[ | ] [89*] Nāṃdana-śaṅdita-bhaṭṭasya Kauṅḍīṇy-ānvaya-saṃbhavāḥ | sū-
147 ris-Tīrumanālāv-ābhikhyō yājushō-stra-saitā vr̥ttikah[ | ] [90*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭ-
148 tasya nāṃdana Gautam-ānvayaḥ | bhū-surī-ḥōbal-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ā-
149 rdha-dvā-vr̥ttikah[ | ] [91*] Śrī-Ramakṣa[mā]dra-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h] * Śīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ | Dā-
150 [dhī]mān(māṁ)-Tīrumanālāav-ābhikhyō yājushō-stra-saitā vr̥ttikah[ | ] [92*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bha-
151 tāsya nāṃdanaḥ Kauṅḍīṇy-ānvayaḥ | yājushah-Chāṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhvō vr̥ttim-ëkā-
152 m-ih-śānute[ | ] [93*] Nāga-bhaṭṭa-śūna dhīmān bahvīchah Kāśyapa-ānvayaḥ | vr̥-
153 tī-stra-dvāyam-ih-āṃpōṭi sūnu(ṛ)ja-Tīrumanālāv-ānvayaḥ[ | ] [94*] Śūrīs-Tīr[mā]vālāv-ākhyāyāvā-
154 sūnu Kāśyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | Śeśādri-bhaṭṭah[h] * s-ārdh-āika-vr̥ttim-stra-
155 baḥvīchah[ | ] [95*] Vādhāla-gōtra-jas-sūnus-Vallaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yājushah | Dhīmā-
156 n(māṁ)-Tīrumanālāv-ākhyō vr̥ttim-ëkām-ih-śānute[ | ] [96*] Nāraśaṅkha-sūdhī-sū-
157 nuṛ-yājushah Kāśyapa-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-dvā-vr̥ttim-stra-saiti dhīmān(māṁ)-
158 s-Tīrumanālāv-ānvayaḥ[ | ] [97*] Sūnu[h] śrī-Nārasimhasya yājushah Kāśyapa-ānvayaḥ | Dā-
159 s-ārdh-āika-vr̥ttim-stra-saiti Vīrañ(śaḥ)-bhaṭṭō mahāmatīḥ[ | ] [98*] Śrī-Nāraśa-
160 manālāv-ākhvō yājushah Kāśyapa-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nāraśaṁha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h] * s-ā-

1 The reading of the name after this is doubtful.
2 The intended reading seems to be "Yata-dākṣa."
Fifth Plate, First Side

167 malavy-ākhyo bahvrihō-tri-saika-vṛttikaḥ \(108^*\) Maudgalya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhī-
168 mān Köō[ka]ras-ātmajah | śrimad-Viśitaras-ābhikhyō bahvrihō-tra dvi-vṛ-
169 tikaḥ \(104^*\) Vasīhita(a)thṛa-gōtra-saṁbhūtaḥ Kāsāvā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | bahvrihāḥ
169 Kṛishṇa-
170 bhaṭṭ-ākhyō dhīmān s-aṛdh-aika-vṛttikaḥ \(105^*\) Vasīhita(a)thṛ-aṇvya-saṁbhūtah Kās-
171 1 vā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | Kāśipatyā-āhavyō dhīmān bahvrihō-rai(tr-s)aiIka-vṛtti-
172 kaḥ \(106^*\) Śūnu[ḥ] Śrīvaṁga-bhaṭṭasya yājuyō Harit-ānvyayaḥ | dhīmān(ā)ma-Ti-
173 rumal-ābhikhyō sūrīs-saṁbhā-aika-vṛttikaḥ \(107^*\) Bhāradvāj-ānvyaya-sūnur-As(ā)-
174 Ila(īla)ma-bhaṭṭasya bahvrihāḥ | Mukundas-bhaṭṭ-āhavyō(ṭṭ-āhvyō) dhīmān-saṁha-ṛitīm-ih-
175 aśūntō \(108^*\) Viśvāmitr-ānvyaya-sūnur-Horinnam-bhaṭṭasya bahvrihāḥ | Dhīmān(ā)-
176 rumalāvy-ākhyō vṛttīm-śām-ih-aśūntō \(109^*\) Pārghas-ānvyaya-jäh Kāṇvō Nā-
177 rasimōhō mahā-matiḥ | nandanō-hōbalayasya dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti-
178 kaḥ \(110^*\) Pārgha-ānvyaya-jäh Kāṇvō-hōbalayasya naṁdanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti-
179 mastr-aiti maṇḍiḥ Kēsav-āhavyaḥ \(111^*\) Bhāradvāj-ānvyaya Kāṇvō dhīmāna[n] Na-
180 rasay-ātmajah | Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttīm-śām-ih-aśūntō \(112^*\) Bū-
181 nūh Kēsav-bhaṭṭasya Rāma-jyantihik-āhavyaḥ | Kaunṭhīnaya-gōtra-jō-tr-ō-
182 rddham(ṛddha)-vṛttīm-śām-ōś[ō] yājuyah \(113^*\) Sūnur-Immaṭhīrasya Śrīvaṁga-ś(ṭ)ānvy-
183 aya-saṁbhavaḥ | dhīmān Kēsavavaj-ākhyō bahvrihō-tra tri-vṛttikaḥ \(114^*\) Sū-
184 nura-Immamārasya bahvrihō GaI(Gau)tam-ānvyayaḥ | dhīmān Basavaṛaj-
185 ākhyō vṛtīm-trayam-ih-aśūntō \(115^*\) Naṁdānō Jantihīrasya Śrīvaṁ-ānvyaya-
186 saṁbhavaḥ | bahvrihos-Timmay-ābhikhyō vṛttīm-śām-ih-aśūntō \(116^*\) Aḥōbala-
187 sudh-sūnur-yyājuyah Kāyaś-ānvyaya | maṇḍiḥ Bhaṅgaya-ābhikhyō vṛt-
188 tīm-āhaya-ih-aśūntō \(117^*\) Dhīmān(mān) Narassaya-ābhikhyāḥ[ḥ] śrī-Tirumalānā[tha]-
189 jah | vṛttīm-āhaya-ih-śāmōśi bahvrihāḥ Kāyaś-ānvyaya \(118^*\) Bahvrihāḥ Kaun-
190 ka-śrimad-Viśvāmitr-ānvyaya-saṁbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttīm-stra-aiti śrī-Nārā-
191 yaḥ-pratimayaḥ \(119^*\) Dhīmān Mātara-ābhikhyō Viśvāmitr-ānvyaya-śaṁbhavaḥ |
192 bahvrihō Narassaya-sūnur-s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikaḥ \(120^*\) Sūnur-Damaṇha-bhaṭṭa-
Fifth Plate, Second Side

sya Sathamaraśa-gōtra-jaḥ | tākhaś Damasa-bhaṭṭa-emān vṛttiśā Bōhā(ṅhā)-
yādīsautē [129°] Sūnun-Vardarājsya Śrīvataś-ānīvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājunaḥ-
tra(tr-ā)ūnītē vṛttim-ākāhī Tirumalā-ānīvayaḥ [129°] Tiruvādaṭṭamāṭh-ākhyā[hā] Śrīvata-
s-ānīvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sūnun-Vardarājsya yājunaḥ-śrī-āika-vṛttiśaḥ [129°] Saha-
āryaḥ-bhaṭṭ-ākhyā Bhāradvāja-ānīvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | Gummā-bhaṭṭa-ērt-ē-āika-
vṛttim-āpnomī yājunaḥ [124°] Appādaṃṭhḷu-saṁna[hā] Śrī-Kauṇḍinya-ānīvaya-saṁ-
bhavaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-īh-āpnomī sōmayāṭi ca bahvīrīcāḥ [129°] Timmavayaś-ēta-
ja[hā] ārtmān yājunaḥ Kauśik-ānīvayaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-īh-āpnomī [Timma-
yō dhūmatēm varāḥ [123°] Śrīvataś-gōtra-saṁbhūtēśa-Timmavayaś-ēta-saṁ-
bhavaḥ | ya(yā)juchā-śaṁcīta-bhaṭṭa(ī-ē) khyā dhīmān s-ārdha-āika-vṛttiśaḥ [127°] Yāju-
shaḥ Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-saṁnṛ Kaunḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ | śaṁcītē tra sa-pād-aika-
vṛttim ār-Purushottamāḥ [123°] Yājunaḥ Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-saṁnṛ Kaunḍinya-gō-
tra-jaḥ | sūnun-Tirumalā-ṇābhiḥkhyā vṛtti-īvayameś-īh-śaṁcītē [129°] Tātē-bhaṭṭa-ta-
ṇīja[hā] Śrīvataś-gōtra-saṁbhavaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-va(trsa) s-ārdha-āika-vṛttiśē-āpnom-
ti yājunaḥ [128°] Nriśiśhā-dīkṣhīto dhīmnān-yājunaḥ Haritā-ānīvayaḥ | pa-
dūtraka-vṛtti[hā] ārī-Timmavayaś-saṁbhandaḥ [131°] Lakhumārāyaṇa-ābhi-
āryaḥ yājunaḥ Kauśik-ānīvayaḥ | pād-dūma-āika-vṛtti[hā] ārī-Nārāyaṇa-ta-
āryaḥ sa-pād-bhaṭṭa-saṁnṛ Kaunḍinya-gō-
tra-jaḥ | sūnun-Tirumalā-ākhyā yājunaḥ-śrī-
tra sa-pād-aika-vṛtti[hā] ārī-Purushottā(maḥaḥ) [133°] Sūnun-Mādhava-bhaṭṭaśaṁ-
mān-Āṭreyā-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdha-āika-vṛttiśē-atś-aṛi yājvā Tirumal-
ārāvyāh [124°] Śrīvataś-Tirumalā-ṇābhiḥkhyā sūnun-Lakhumāṇa-saṁnaraḥ | yājuna-
tra Bhāradvāja-gōtras-s-ārdha-āika-vṛttiśaḥ [135°] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyā-
yājunaḥ Haritā-ānīvayaḥ | sūnun-Nriśiśhā-bhaṭṭasya dhīmān s-ā-
Śaṅḍilya-gōtras-Tirumalā-ānīvayaḥ | s-ārdha-āika-vṛttiśaḥ(ko) dhīmān Līm-

Sixth Plate, First Side

gaṭ-ādhvarīṇaṣa-sutah [138°] Sūnhā Śrīdharā-bhaṭṭasya yājunaḥ Gautam-ānīvayaḥ |
Malli-bhaṭṭa-ērtē vṛtti-īvayameś[tam] [138°] Pāda-samanva(nvijat)am [138°] Dīkṣhitaś-
śirhāsya-ābhi-

1 The intended reading seems to be pād-dūtraka-vṛtti.  
2 Read Tirumalā-ṇābhiḥ.
223 jusha-trśaśnutā vṛtī-dvayaḥ pāḍāna sahyutam(tam) || 141* Sūnu=Bhairava-bhaṭṭasya yāju-
224 saḥ Kāśyap-anvayaḥ || sūra=Tiśmal-ābhikhyo dhīman s-ārdh-aika-vṛtī-
225 kaḥ || 142* Dhūman(mākha)-Tiśmal-ābhikhyas-Tippā-bhāṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ || s-ārdh-aika-
226 vṛt-
227 tām=āṭra-aiti yājunah Harit-anvayaḥ || 143* Sūri-Nāraśaṁ[jh]-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h]* Sūra-
228 tusa(ṣu)-gōtra-jaḥ || yājunah-maṁsa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo dhīman s-ārdh-aika-vṛtikkāḥ || 144* Sūnu-
229 ra=Aubhala-bhaṭṭasya yājunah [Hajjī-śvayah] sa-pāḍam-āṭaṇutā vṛtī-dvayaṁ[ṛm] Tiś-
230 mal-śvayah || 145* Sūnu=Gūraṇah(vinhda)-bhaṭṭasya yajvā Gūvaṇah-nāmakah || Bhāradvāj-śv-
231 yaḥ vṛtī-dvayaṁ=āṭra-aiti yājunah || 146* Sūra(rā)='Sa-Tiśmal-ābhikhyas naṁdanaḥ[h*] Kṛishṇa-diks-
232 taḥ || Bhāradvāj-śvayd vṛtī-dvayaṁ=āṭra-aiti yājunah || 147* Lakṣmīnāth-śatmajō dhīmaṁ-
233 n-yājunah Kāṇa-gōtra-jaḥ || yajvā(Tiśmal-ābhikhyas vṛtī-dvayaṁ=ih-āṇutā || 148* Na-
234 rahary-aḥvayo yajvā yājunah Harit-anvayaḥ[h*] || Nāgaṇāth-ādhar-vindraya naṁdana-
235 nāṭra-ākha-vṛtikkāḥ || 149* Naras-ādharviṇaṁ-sūnu-[Bhājadvāj-śvayd-ōdbhavaḥ || s-
236 ārdha-
237 dvi-vṛtikāḥ yajvā yājunah[h*] || 150* Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaṁ-sūnu[h*] Sūra=
238 nārdana-yajvanaḥ || Sūravadhāni-nāma oha yājunah-trśa-agṛva-vṛtikkāḥ || 151* Sūr-Virūpā-
239 koḥ-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kāśyap-anvayaḥ || yājunah-trśa-āṇutā vṛttīm-ākhaṁ
240 pāḍāna sahyutam(tam) || 152* Sūr-Sūmanakha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h*] Kūḍi(Kauṁḍi)nyag-
241 gōtra-
242 jaḥ || yājunah Sūri-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttīṁ-ākhaṁ-ih-āṇutā || 153* Sūnu[h*] Pā-
243 chahana-bhaṭṭasya yājunah Harit-anvayaḥ || yājunah(yajvāḥ)-tra sa-pāḍ-aika-[vṛtī]-
244 s=Tiśmal-śvayah || 154* Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jo dhīmaṇ [Śivaṇ(i)jala-naṁdana-
245 naḥ || Śilah-bhaṭṭ-śvaydo-trśa-ākhaṁ vṛttīṁ-āpna[paṇ]ti yājunah || 155* Sūnu=Lakṣmē-
246 nāṁ
dhūmaṇ={[h]h} Vaśishṭa([ah]-ānvaya-sahbhavaḥ || dhūmaṇ-Ovna-bhaṭṭ-[khyo] bahvrioḥa-
247 tr-sa-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

248 ka-vṛtikkāḥ || 156* Sūnu-La[h]khaṇa-bhaṭṭasya yājunah Kāśyap-anvayaḥ || maṇi)aḥ
249 Chāṭṭi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttīṁ-ākhaṁ-ih-āṇutā || 157* Rādhār-śvayd-sūnu(yas-ṣṭaṁ) Budra-bhaṭṭasya ya-
250 jūnaḥ || a-dāi(ṛh-a)a ka-vṛttīṁ-trś-aiti dhīmaṇ-[Allīla-nāmakaḥ || 158* Lahumīpisi nha-
251 nāṁ|| śri-
247 Lakshminārāyanā(ḥu)ṃajāḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jō vṛttī-dvayam-etre-aiti bahvrihāḥ [[159*] Sūnū-
ra-Viśtala-bhaṭṭasya Śatā[n]*jālīyā-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | [ba*]vṛtichō-namak-bhaṭṭ-aṅkhō vṛttī-
dvayam-ih-āsuptō || 160*]
248 Śa(Sa)[n]ālīyā-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Viśtala-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | bahvrihō Nārasimhā-āṅkhō dhī-
mān
249 s-ārdh-sīka-vṛttīkāḥ [[161*] Sūnūr-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya Śā[m]*jālīyā-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | bahvrihāḥ Krishṇa-bha-
250 tō-āṅkhō vṛttī-dvayam-ih-āsuptō || 162*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-sūnūr-Nārasimhāsa bah-
vṛchāḥ[ḥ] [**] atrā
251 dvi-vṛttīkā(kā) Rāmā[ḥ]* ārīmat-Tirumal-āṅkhāyaḥ [[163*] Pūtimā[sa] ānvaya-āṭbhū-
(dbhū)to dhīmān Mu-
252 dagal-āṅkajāḥ | s-ārdh-sīka-vṛttīm-āpṇōti Viśṇu-bhaṭṭō-tra bahvrihāḥ [[164*] Viśṇu-
bhaṭṭa-mu-
253 tō vṛttīrghā[ḥ]* ārīmat-Tirumal-āṅkhāyaḥ | s-ārdh-sīka-vṛttīr-Āṭṛṣya-gōtrō Jaimini-sūtra-
kaḥ [[165*] Sūrō-Tirumal-āṅkhāya sūnā-Tirumal-āṅkhāyaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvayō-tr-āṅkām vṛttīm-āpṇōti yā-
254 jūabhā Kāsvā-bhaṭṭī vṛttīm-ākām-ih-āṅkutō (tō). [[167*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-sūnūr(nū) Rāmā-
255 bhaṭṭasya yājūshāḥ | manēbī Basavā-bhaṭṭō vṛttīm-ākām-ih-āṅkutō [[168*] Śrī-Jāmā-
dā[gya]-Vatsiāḥ[ḥ]* Ārvāntu,......... [[*] Basavā-dikhältō-tr-āṅkām vṛttīm-āpṇōti bahvrihāḥ [[169*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayō-āṭbhū(dbhū)to Liṅgārī-bhaṭṭasya naṃdanaḥ ] yā-
juahā Pędī-bha-
256 tō-āṅkhō vṛttīm-ākām-ih-āṅkutō [[170*]...........gōtra-samutbhū(dbhū)tō Rāmā-dikhaita-
namdanaḥ | s-ārdh-sīka-vṛttīm-āpṇōti Tippō-bhaṭṭō-tra yājūshāḥ || 171*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-
yō-naṅkutāyānā yājūshō-āṅkhā | s-ārdh-sīka-vṛttīm-etre-aiti sūnūr-Aubhala-yāya-
naḥ [[172*] Vasitā[sa](āṭhī)-gōtra-sambhūtā[ḥ]* Ārī-Varṇapayya-naṃdanaḥ | yājūshō Vṛṣay-
ābbi-
257 khyō vṛttīm-ākām-ih-āṅkutō || 173*] Sūnūr-Māṛḍhā(ṛ)va-bhaṭṭasya yājūshō(ḥah) Kāśyap-ānvaya-[ḥ] [**]
258 Naraḥary-sadhvari dhīmān vṛttī-dvayam-ih-āṅkutō [[174*] Sūnūr-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yā-
ju-
259 shah Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Annām-bhaṭṭ-āṅkhāyō dhīmānu(mān) vṛttī-dvayam-ih-āṅkutē [[175*] Keṃdīn(dī)-
260 nyā-gōtra-sambhūtās-Tomāṁ-bhaṭṭasya naṃdanaḥ | Vannām-bhaṭṭ-āṅkhāyō-tr-āṅkār-
vṛttīm-āpṇō-
261 ti yājūshāḥ [[176*] Dhīmānu(mān) Lakṣaṁnādās-āṅkhāya[ḥ]* Ārī-Purandaradāsa-jaḥ | Vasiṃhā(āṭhī)-gō-
262 tō-āṅkhō vṛttīm-atre-atre(atre)-ti yājūshāḥ [[177*] Vasī[sa](āṭhī)-ānvaya-sambhūṭa[ḥ]* Ārī-Purandaradāsa-jaḥ ]
271 dvijō Hobanadās-ākhyō yājushō-tra dvī-vṛttiāka | (|| 178*) Sūnuḥ Kēshahasa(Kēsa)va- 

272 yājushashkhā(abaḥ) Kājāyap-ānvayāḥ | sūris-Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-āsma-

273 Bhāradvāj-ānvayāḥ Kānvō dhīmān-Abbāra-ānma(tma)jaḥ | atr-aikām-aśnute vṛttiim 

274 ma-Ti(māna-Ti)mmārasaya(s-ā)hvayaḥ | (|| 180*) Sūnuḥ Kēsava-bhaṭṭasa sūris-Tirumal-

—Seventh Plate, First Side—

275 Bhāradvāj-ānvayāḥ Kānvō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiikāḥ (|| 181*) Ahōbala-sudhi-

276 sūnur-Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōṭbha(dhha)vaḥ | Kānvah śrī-Narasinḥ-ākhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-

277 Viśvāmitr-ānvayaḥ sūnur-Yatirājasaya bhavṛīkaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-ātr-siti dhīmān

278 Vallabhaṇyāḥ (|| 183*) Śrī-Narasinḥa-dāsaya nachdanaḥ Kāya(sya)p-ānvayaḥ | Kānva-Chikkanāsinha-

279 h-ākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśnute (|| 184*) Sūnur-Nṛhari-dōvaya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōṭbha-

280 nivās-hvayaḥ dhīmān Kānvah sa(s-ā)rdh-aika-vṛttiikāḥ (|| 165*) Bhāradvāj-ānvayāḥ Kānvā-

281 yaya nædanaḥ | atr-ārdh-vṛttiikō Hiryya-Lē(La)khamārāyap-āhvayaḥ (|| 186*) Kās-

282 jāḥ Kānvō Māchbhirājasya nædanaḥ | vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āṣnōti Timmaṇāḥ dhīmatāḥ 

283 Vāraṇṣā-dēyā(vah)ayah(sya) Kānvah Kāyapā-gōtra-jaḥ | dhīmān(putro) Lekkara-

284 m-ih-āśnute (|| 188*) Sūnur-Basavārājasya Kānvō Gautama-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-

285 n-Basavay-āhvayaḥ (|| 199*) Sūnu Chohi(s-Chi)ṭṭārājasya Kānvah Kāyapā-gōtra-jaḥ | 

286 h-āṣnōti Kōṁḍayō gūpināḥ varaḥ (|| 190*) Nāṇḍanaḥ(nde) Chōḍarājasya yājushāh 

287 maṇḍhi Chaundayā-ābhikhyō vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-āśnute (|| 191*) Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ Kānvah 

288 ppaya-nāṇḍanaḥ | Chaundayō-tr-āṣnute vṛttiim-ēkām Vēda-vidān varaḥ (|| 192*) 

289 pēṭa-Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōṭbha(dhha)vaḥ | bhavṛīko Nāgarājaḥ(ḥ) śrī-Timmyā(yā)-tr-

290 kāḥ (|| 193*) Sūnuḥ Chohi(s-Chi)ṭṭārājasya Vasīstha(haḥ)ānvaya-sahbhavaḥ | bhavṛīko 

291 vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-āsmane (|| 194*) [Bhā]radvāj-ānvayaḥ Kānvō Vīrasyaya-āṭma-sahbhavaḥ | 

atr-ās.
323 ka-vṛtti[kā](kaḥ) sthānā(ṇa)patri[?]—Vīṇya-nāmakāḥ [[ 195* ]] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāyana-Tiṣṭā.
323 rājasya naṁdānaḥ | vṛttīṁ—śākāṁ—ib—āpunāti Tammayō dhāmastān varāḥ [[ 196* ]] Kāma-
324 gāyana-saṅbāl-ādi-Viśvāmitra-ānvaya-ṭabhā(ṭbha)vaḥ | bahvṛiḥoḥ Śvāmīrāja-śrī-Nāga-
325 yō—śrī-aika-vṛttikaḥ [[ 197* ]] Śūra(ṛṣa)—Tiṣṭal-ākhyasya sūnaḥ Kauṭūḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ | Anamā-bha-
326 tāḥ(tāḥ)evāya(ṛṣ)ō-tr—aikaṁ vṛttīṁ—āpnoti yājusah [[ 198* ]] Kauṭūḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ—sūnur—Ananām-bhāṭṣa—
327 sya yājusah | manabhi Chaumḍi-bhāṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttīṁ—śākāṁ—ib—āsuntō [[ 199* ]] Āṭrāya-ō—
328 tra-saṅbhūtās-sūn[a]—Lakṣaṇa-yajvanaḥ | yejvā Janārdana-ābhikhyāsāmāg-ō—tr—dvi-
329 vṛtti—
329 kaḥ [[ 200* ]] Āṭrāya-ōgōra-saṁbhūto Viśvanātha-ādhvariṇḍura-jaḥ | Nāgō-bhāṭṭ-āḥvayoō—tr—
330 aikaṁ vṛttīṁ—ā—
330 prōti sāmogah [[ 201* ]] Vasīṣṭha(tha)—gōtra-saṁbhūtōs-Śūrī-dikshita-naṁdānaḥ | Kauṁbāla-
331 bhaṭṭ-āḥvayoō vṛt-
332 tri-dvayaṁ—sra—sahiti sāmogah [[ 202* ]] Sūnut—Aubbala-bhaṭṭasya Vasiiṭṭ[a]—(ṣṭhā—ānvaya-
333 sāṁbhūvaḥ | sa—pāda—
334 vṛtti—yuga(ṛṣ)ō(yugun)—tra sāmogō Bhāskar-āḥvari [[ 203* ]] Sūnut—Nṛśāri—bhaṭṭasya sāmāgobhū(ṛgo—hūḥ)–bha—
335 lāḥvari | Viśvāmitra-ānvayoō—tr—sahiti vṛtti—dvi—pāḍa—sahyōūō [[ 204* ]] Vasīṣṭha(ṛṣha)—
336 gōtra-saṁbhū—
337 to dhimā(m)n[a]—Cheyyara-ātmajāḥ | yājusō Ramgaya(ṛ)—bhikhyō vṛttīṁ—śākām—ib—
338 sāuntō [[ 205* ]] Śū—

**Seventh Plate, Second Side**

326 nur-Ākṣaṇa-bhāṭṭasya sūrīs—Tiṣṭal-ābhī—jayaḥ | bahvṛiḥoḥ—tr—Bharadvāja(cca)—gō—
326 tra[?] s-ārdhā-saṅbhūtikaḥ [[ 206* ]] Sūnna—Tiṣṭal-ākhyasya naṁdānaḥ Kāyana-ānvayaḥ 
327 | āṭrī—Nārā—
327 yaṣaḥ-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō baḥ[v]*—riḥoḥ—tr—sāṅka-saṅbhūtīkāḥ [[ 207* ]] Bhāradvāja-ānvayaḥ(ya)—Chikka-
328 lāḥpiṇiṁmarāya—
328 p-ḥa(ḥva)yaḥ | Kāṇḍa(ṇaḥ) | āṭrī—Yatirāyaṣya naṁdāna(m)n[ō]—tr—sāṅka-saṅbhūtīkāḥ [[ 208* ]] Naṁdānaḥ Kauṁḍi-bhāṭṭa—
329 sya Bhāradvāja-ānvaya-ṭabhā(ṛ)—sabhā| paḍa—vṛttīṁ—ib—āpunāti Kāṇḍa(Kāyva)—
329 Timmapa-nāma—
310 kaḥ [[ 209* ]] Bhāradvāja-ānvayaḥ(ya)—[s[ō]nur—Ananām-bhāṭṭasya yājusah | Rāmaḥ-bhāṭṭ—
311 aṁdaḥ—vṛtti[n]—ib—āsuntō [[ 210* ]] Ananām-bhāṭṭō Bharadvāja-gōtra-jiō—yājusah(saḥ)— 
312 sūdhīḥ | paḍ—ōṭṭa—
312 r-sāṅka-vṛttī[?] | sṛ—Saharedapa(nā)m—sūdhī—suta(sūdhī—jaḥ) [[ 211* ]] Bhāradvāja-ānvaya—
312 ṭabhū(ṛbhū)to Mālayann-āṭma—
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

313 sambhavah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṅkā dhīmān āchchān-ityastra yājusah | [212] Nandana Gommaṭa

314 jasya yājusah[3] | Kauśikā(ka-ā)nvayaḥ | pād-āṭtara-(r-aika-vṛttiṅ) | ārdha-Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭ-āhva-

315 Tattā-bhaṭṭa-ntō dhīmān Śrīvata-ānvaya-sambhavah[4] | yājusḥ-stra sa-pād-aika-

316 vṛttiṅkā Nandana-vamakah | [214] Kauśīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ(ya) sūnuḥ Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭasya yā-

317 yusahaḥ | pād-āṭṭara-aika-vṛttiṅ[4] | ārdha-Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭ-āhva-

318 nāma-bhaṭṭasya Kauśīṇya-ānvaya-sambhavah | sūnuḥ[nu] Tīrumal-ābhikhyo yāju-

319 śo-stra-ārdha-vṛttiṅkāḥ | [215] Kauśīṇya-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Lakhamāna-bha-

320 tā-jaḥ | ardha-vṛttiṁ-avāpnoti Kāṇeṣy-ākhyo yājusah | [217] Śrī-Nā-

321 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanasā Kāḍyap-ānvayaḥ | ārdha-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo

322 yājusā-stra-ārdha-vṛttiṅkāḥ | [218] Kauśīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ sūnuḥ Ananmah-bhaṭṭasya yā-

323 yusahaḥ | dhīmān[māṁ]-Tīrumal-ābhikhyo vṛttiṁ-divyam-īh-āśnutē | [219] Ananmah-


325 vṛttiṁ-avāpnoti yājusah | [220] Harita-ānvaya-jaḥ(ya) sūnuḥ Ananmah-bhaṭṭasya yā-

326 yusahaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṁ-str-aiṁ Ṛśitarah-ānvayaḥ | [221] Sūnuḥ Kē-

327 sava-bhaṭṭasya yājusā Gārgya-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṁ-str-aiṁ

328 Vāla-bhaṭṭāḥ mahā-matih | [222] Śāndhyā-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Garu-

329 āya-ntōmajaḥ | dhīmān[māṁ] Vīruṇer-ābhikhyo yājusḥ-stra tri-vṛttiṁ-

330 kaḥ | [223] Sūnu[nu] Nyasīṁha-bhaṭṭasya yājusah Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | aśnutē-stra sa-

331 pād-aika-vṛttiṁ Māḷama-dhi(khi)taḥ | [224] Yajvā Tīrumal-ābhikhyas-sāma-

332 gō Julu-naṁdanaḥ | yājusḥ-stra-āśnutē vṛttiṁ-Śkāḥ Harida(ya)-ānvaya-

333 yah | [225] Vadhūla-gōtra-jaḥ sūnuḥ Allah-bhaṭṭasya yājaṁah | bhū-surō-pa-

334 labhaṭṭ-ākhyoḥ pāda-vṛttiṁ-śh-āśnutē | [226] Nandana-nanta-bhaṭṭasya Śrī-

Eighth Plate, First Side

335 vata-ānvaya-sambhavah | dhīmān Lakṣmīdhār-ābhikhyo bahya[ṛ]johō-

336 tra dvi-vṛttiṅkāḥ | [227] Śrīva[vṛ]sata-ānvaya-sambhūtō nanta-bhaṭṭasya naṁda-

337 bahya[ṛ]joh Nārasiṁha-ākhyo vṛttiṁ-śkām-śh-āśnutē | [228] Śrī-Vīruṇapāka-

338 bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | yājusḥ-naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttiṁ-diva-

339 yam-śh-āśnutē | [229] Śrī-Vīruṇapāka-bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ Kauśik-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-

340 yusah Vallabhasya-ākhyāḥ(khya)va-stri-pād-vṛttiṁ-śh-āśnutē | [230] Śrī-Rāmaṣhadra-

341 tāsya sūnuḥ Harida(ya)-ānvayaḥ | Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo yājusḥ-o-

342 tra dvi-vṛttiṅkāḥ | [231] Dhīmān Bēḍadakota-Śrī-Rāmaṣhavara iti dvijaḥ


344 sya yā-
jushah Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | tri-pād-vṛttim-ib-āśpa(n)ā(pu)ti Timmapō dhamatām varah [|| 233*]

Na[r]u* danō Hari-bhaṭṭasya Pūtimāh-ānvay-ōdbhavah | bhrvichah Śrīnivās-ākhyo

vṛttim-ōkām-ib-āśnuto [|| 234*] Śrī-Nārasi[r] [n] ha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo Viśvāmitr-ānvayaḥ sutah [h]|

sūrē-Tirumal-ākhayasya yājusā-stra dvi-vṛttiakah [|| 235*] Viśvāmitr-ānvayas-śa-
nur-Nārasiṁhyaṣya yājusah | śrī-Nārasiṇa-bhaṭṭo-stra dhīmānu(mān) s-ārdh-aika-

vṛttikah [|| 236*] Sūnur-Gov[r] t[a]-bhaṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavah | bhr[v]* prichho-hū-

bha-bhikhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ib-āśnuto [|| 237*] Śrī-Viśvanāha-bhaṭṭasya naṁda-
nah Kāṣṭya(āya)p-ānvayaḥ | yājusāh Madhvanāth-ākhyo vṛtti-dvayam-ib-āśnu-
tē [|| 238*] Bah[v]* prichho Nārasi[r] [n] ha-ākhyō Nārasiṇa-sudhi-sutah | s-ārdh-aika-vri-
ttim-ṣ-tr-ātri Pūtimāh-ānvay-ōdbhavah [|| 239*] Vasishṭa(shīha)-gōtra-jās-sūnur-Nāra-
si[r] [n] hasya bah[v]* prichho | mānusha Viśṇu-bhaṭṭa-ākhyo vṛttiṃ-ēkām-ib-ā-
śnuto [|| 240*] Tamm-bhaṭṭaḥ Bhadravāja-gōtra-jō [yā][j]ēsas-sudhiḥ | sūrēs-Tiru-
mal-ākhayasya sūnur-stra dvi-vṛttiakah [|| 241*] Śrīva[t] [a]-gōtra sa[n] [n]* bhūtō Nā-
gayō Gaṅgase[y] [a] majaḥ | bhr[p] [v] prichhoḥ-tr-āśnuto vṛttiṃ-ēkāṃ Veda-vidarh vrah [|| 242*]

Kāṣṭya-ānvayaḥ jaha[j]a-sūnur-Antar-bhaṭṭasya yājusah | Antar-bhaṭṭ-āhva-

gū dhīmānu ar[da]-vṛttiṃ-ib-āśnuto [|| 243*] Āṭrīya-gōtra-saṁbhū-

tō Lakshmīnārāyaṇ[ya]* ī-śtmaṇah | Lakshmīnāth-āhvayō-tr-āikāṃ vṛttiṃ-ā-

prūtiḥ yājusah [|| 244*] Manah [a] Kuppay-ābhikhyō yājusāh Gautum-ā-

āvayaḥ | s-tr-āikāṃ-āśnuto vṛttiḥ[n]* Kaniya(na)māṇikka-bhaṭṭa-jāh [|| 245*] Sū-
nūn̐(nu)s-Tirumalāśasya Kaumādy-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājusah [a]s-[a]s-Ti-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

mamayō(y)-ābhikhyō(khyō) dhīmān-tr-ārdha-vṛttiakah [|| 246*] Yājusāh Varadaya-
sya sūnū Sūrva[yas va]dha-gōtra-jah | Pīṣay-ādi-pad-ōpāta-Perumā-

l-ārdha-vṛttiakah [|| 247*] Yājusāh Viśnukāṭādvīḥaḥ Perumā-bhaṭṭa-nāndanaḥ | pā-

d-ōṭaka-ākā-vṛtti[h]* Śrīva[t]a-gōtra-saṁudbhavaḥ [|| 248*] Sūnūn̐(nu)s-Tirumal-ākhya-
sya sūrī(r)is-Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | yāju[sh]tṛa sa-pād-ākā-vṛtti[h]* śrī-Kauś-

k-ānvayaḥ [|| 249*] Yājusāh Hastigiry-śkhyō Viśkṣatattapa-nāndanaḥ | sūn-
tē-tr sa-pād-ākā-vṛttiūn Harida[ta]-ānvayaḥ[ hysterical] [|| 250*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhūtō-nāttaka-

nārāyaṇ-āhvayaḥ | yāj[hu] jahī-tr-stra-sa-kā-vṛtti[h]* śrī-Saty-ōpādbhīyāya-nāndanaḥ [|| 251*]

Sa-

ty-ōpādbhīyāya-se[u]si[n] na[h]* śrī-Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbbhavaḥ | dhīmān Guru[va]* ha(n-a)-

bhikhyō

yājusah-tr-ākā-vṛttiakah [|| 252*] Sūnūn̐(nu)s-Tirumal-ākhayasya -yajvanah Kā-

āyap-ānvayaḥ | Tippā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō-tr-āikāṃ vṛttiṃ-āpnoti yājusah [|| 233*] Ba-
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

375 hṛtichō Baśvāśa-bhaṭṭā(ta)-sūnā[k*] Śrīvatasa-gōṭra-jāhā [*] s-ārđh-aika-vṛttim-sa-
376 tr-saîti Chītalāyō dhīmaṭanā varāh [III 254*] Dhīman(mān)a-Timmaraś-ābhikhyō ba-
377 hṛtichō(chah) Kāśyap-ānvayab | vṛttim-Ti(ti)mmaraśo-tr-sīkām-aśnūṭā dharaṇī-suraḥ || [255*]
378 Naṁdanaḥ Sūrapayasya bahri(hvri)chah[k*] Kāśya(sya)p-ānvayarb | manīshī Haridē-
379 v-ākhyō vṛttim-śēkām-ih-aśnūṭē [III 256*] Sūnū[h*] Śikar-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvat-
380 s-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | vṛttim-śēkām-ih-āṭhṛṇa(n)ā yājūśā(sha) Īmbāl-śālvarī || [257*]
381 Kaurḍīnaya-gōṭra-sambhātō Ma(ja)ṭi navōjalu-namḍanah(sutaḥ) | Jalu-naṁdanaḥ Ak-
382 mmanavōjuralatrai(lur-ai)kām vṛttim-āḍṇōti yājūśah [III 258*] Viśvāmitr-ānvara-
383 yaḥ sūnūḥ Pūṭṭi-bhaṭṭasya bahri(hvri)chah | Ār-Nārsimha-bhaṭṭō(ṭi)khyō vṛtti-
384 m-śēkām-ih-aśnūtē [III 259*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-ja[h*] sūnūḥ(nu)s-Tippā-bhaṭṭasya yājūśaḥ |
385 ardhā-vṛttim-ih-āḍṇōti dhīma[n]a-la-Tīruṇal-śāvayaḥ [III 260*] Yājūṣah Ḍasaṇ-
386 bhaṭṭa-namṛdanaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-ih-āḍṇōti Lā[kha]yākhyō
387 mahī-suraḥ [III 261*] Naṁdanaḥ(s) Dvānapayasyu(sya) bahri(hvri)cho Gaṅtām-ānvayab | vṛtti-
388 m-śēkām-ih-āḍṇōti manīshī Śīgayā(y-o)dhīvalah [III 262*] Maudgalya-gōtra-sambhūtās-
389 [Ta]-
390 tayākha[ra]-ya)-namḍanah | bahri(hvri)chas-Tāḥmāy-ābhikhyō vṛttim-śēkām-ih-ā-
391 sūntah(ta) [III 263*] Naṁdanaḥ(s) Baśvāpyasya dhīmaṇ-Āṭrēya-gōṭra-jāh | bahri(hvri)chah-
392 Chi-
393 mnaya-ābhikhyā(khyō) vṛttim-śēkām-ih-aśnūṭē [III 264*] Śrī-Nārsimha-bhaṭṭasya

Ninth Plate, First Side

392 Naṁdano Harīt-ānvayabh | Timma-[ţ]ōśīhikō vṛtti-dvayam-at-sa-
393 yājūshah [III 265*] Sūnūr-Vāmana-bhaṭṭajaya(sya) yājūsho Gaṅtām-ānvayabh | Ahōbal-ā-
394 bhidhāmcetra dhīman(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛttigah(kaḥ) [III 266*] Sūnūr-Vāmana-bhaṭṭasya yāj-
395 hu Gauṭam-ānvayabh | Ār-Nārsimha-bhaṭṭō-tra śurīḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛttigah(kaḥ) [III 267*]
396 Ba-
397 hṛtichō Jāmadaṇi-Śrīvas(ta)-gōtra-saumudbhavah [*] naṁdano Dabaryā(Devarā)-
398 jaya Śiṁ-
399 mayō-tr-śērda-vṛttika[h] [III 268*] Bah(a)hṛtichō Jāmadaṇi-Śrīvatsa-gōtra-saumu-
400 dabhavah [*] na-
401 Naṁdano Dēvarājaya Vaiy(Vai)zvō-tr-aika-vṛttikah [III 269*] Sūnūr Kothdamarāja-
402 sya Kāyābh Kauṁdīnaya-gōtra-jāḥ [*] atr-saika-vṛttikah Pēryajēṇkaraṇa
403 mahamatiḥ [III 270*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jāh sūnūr-Līṅgō-bhaṭṭasya bahri(hvri)chāḥ | vṛtti-
404 m-śēkām-ih-āḍṇōti Timmaraś dhīmaṭ[ū] varāḥ [III 271*] Na[ā*]danō Ngarūḍājaya(sya) Śī[ā*]dīy-

1 The letters Jalu-naṁdanaḥ are redundant.
402 navas-sahabhavaḥ | ardha-vrittīm-ih-āpnoti Lakhamipaty-āhvayaḥ sudhiḥ || [272*]
Sūnus-Tiru-

403 mal-ābhikhyō Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-ādbhavaḥ | dhiman-Uṭṭayap-ābhikhyō yāvahō- 
tra-aika-

404 ṛṣṭikāh || [273*] Kaunṭhinysa-gotētra-jah sūnus-Ta[th]mā-bhaṭṭasya yāvahāḥ | 
dhiman(mām)=Tiru-

405 mal-ābhikhyō vṛttīṃ-ekāṃ-ih-ānutē || [274*] Sūnū Śrinātha-bhaṭṭasya yāvahāḥ [*]

406 Kaunḍik-ānvayaḥ | manah āvai(Vaijīja)p-ābhikhyō vṛttīṃ-ekāṃ-ih-ānutē([ta] || [275*]

407 Yāvahō-tra Bhāradvājā(ja)-gōtrō-haunbhala-paṁḍitaḥ | a-ārdh-aika-ṛṣṭikō dhiman(mān)

408 jātō Lakhamana-paṁḍita(ja) | || [276*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍava(ṇa)=Timayasy= 
ātmā-sambhavaḥ |

409 atra-aika(ka)m-ānute vṛttīṃ[^n*] Chāṇnay-ākhyō maha-(sura) || [277*] Na[th]*danaḥ Kasa-

410 yas-sahabhavaḥ | bahri(hvri)chās-Chanay-ābhikhyō vṛttīṃ-ekā[m-i=]*ih-ānutē || [278*]
Kauṣik-ānvaya-sa[th]*yoh(bhījē)

Sūnu-

412 6-Chāmana-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-ādbhavaḥ | yāvahō Gauri-bhaṭṭōottie-ākhyō 
vrīṭṭī-ādbhava-

413 m-ih-ānute . || [280*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnur-Hari-bhaṭṭasya yāvahāḥ | manah Śrīnī-

414 vās-ākhyō vṛttīṃ-ekāṃ-ih-ā(śun)ntē || [281*] Sūnus-Tirumalāryasya yavina(ṇa)=
hoḍal-ādbhava-

415 rī | Āṭṛēy(ya)-gōtra-jō vṛttī-krayam=atra-saiti yāvahāḥ || [282*] Naṁdanō Hari-
bhaṭṭasya

416 Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(y-ā)dbhavaḥ[*] | dhimān(mān)=Timmapa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yāvahō=tra-
aika-ṛṣṭī-

417 kaḥ || [283*] Bhāradvāj(ja)=ānvaya-ādbhās-Chikkavāmana-bhaṭṭa-jah | yāvohō Lakha-

418 aḥ śrī-Śrātisṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō(khyō)Śrī-Chikkā-

Ninth Plate, Second Side

419 manas-bhaṭṭa-jah | yāvahō-tra Bhāradvāja-gōtraḥ s-ārdh-aika-ṛṣṭikāḥ[*] || [285*] Bhārad-

420 vāḥ Kāṇvag-T[th]*mayasy-ātma-saṃbhavaḥ | vrīttīṃ-ekāṃ-ih-āpnotī Virayō vidu-

421 sh[a][th]* varē[k*] || [286*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(ṇa) sūnur-Abba-bhaṭṭasya yāvahāḥ |

422 khyō dhimānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-ṛṣṭikāḥ || [287*] Kaṣyap-ānvaya-jō Hiryyanaras-

yyastasa(yna=)mudbhavaḥ |
423 yājūṣha (st)Ti[n]*map-ābhikhyō dhīmān a-ārdh-aika-vṛttikaḥ [|| 238*] Yājūṣhā No(Nā)-rasi[n]*hā-ākhyō Rā-
424 maca[h]*dra-ṭuṣ(a)dhī-hantaḥ | Vasiṣṭha(sieśṭha)-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān(mān) a-ārdh-aika-vṛttikaḥ [|| 298*] Na[m]*dānāḥ Kri-
425 śuṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-śdbhavaḥ | Tamnā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayaḥ-tr-āśi[ḥ*] vṛttīm-āṇvotī yāju-
426 shāḥ [|| 290*] Vasiṣṭha(shṭha)-gōtra-sañbhu(bhūtaḥ*h) ār-Pura[r]*dra(da)radāsa-jaḥ | dhīmān Madhava[pas]dān-ā-
427 khyō yājuha-ṭra dvi-vṛttikaḥ [|| 291*] Nathdānā Dévarājasya Cha(ṣa)hamarashaṇa-gōtra-jaḥ |
428 Bōdhāyanā-śnutē(ḍvi)jā-ṛ-ārda-vṛttīm-āṇvotī Dévaṇaḥ [|| 292*] Kauḍīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ-Chikka-ṭri-
430 Tirumalay-āṭmajaḥ | dhīmān(mān) Tirumalay-ābhikhyō(ṛyā-ākhyō) yājūṣhā-ṛ-ārda-vṛttika[h*] [|| 293*] 
430 Vasiṣṭha(aḥṭha)-gōtra-sañbhu(bhūtaḥ) dhīmā[n]*maras-āṭmajaḥ | vṛtti-dvaṃyaṃ-
431 śuṇa-āhvayaḥ [|| 294*] Śrī-Visvanātha-bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ Kauḍīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ | bahri-
432 vṛttīm-śkām-ih-āśnuteḥ(t) [|| 295*] Śrī-Visvāpaka-bhaṭṭasya nathdānā Harī-ānvayaḥ | yājūṣha(Tīmara-
433 p-ābhikhyō vṛttīm-śkām-ih-āśnute [|| 295*] Śanur-Gōvinda-bhaṭṭasya śrī-Janārdana-
434 dvaś-ānvayaḥ vṛtti-dvaṃyaṃ=tr-āśi yājūṣhaḥ [|| 297*] Śanur-Gōvinda-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvā-
435 vṛtti-dvaṃyaṃ-ih-āṇvotī yājūṣhaḥ-Chāṇi-dīkṣita[h*] [|| 297*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnu[h*] śrī-Janārdana-
436 jvāḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttīmutr-āśi yājūṣha-Tīrūmala-ś[va]yaḥ [|| 294*] Śrī-Rāmakrishṇa-
437 trīya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājūṣha-ṛ-āśi s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti(Tīrūmala)[sl]aḥ[|| 300*] Śanur-
438 bahrvīchaḥ Kāṇap-ānvayaḥ | maṃśhī Dēvay-ābhikhyō vṛttīm-śkām-ih-āśnute [|| 301*] śrī-Jāmada-
439 gni-Vatsyā-gōtrā Hōṃmapaś-āhvayaḥ(tmajaḥ) | Lakshmi-patīy-āhvayaḥ dhīmān bahri(hvra)-
440 kāḥ [|| 302*] Śanur=Lakṣahmaṇa-bhaṭṭasyasūṃ[m]*[Tirumala]-āhvayaḥ | yājūṣhaḥ śrī-
441 s-ārdh-dvi-vṛttikāḥ [|| 303*] Śanur=Lakṣahmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-sdbhavaḥ | yājūṣha-
442 naṃba-ha[ḥt]-śkhō vṛtti-dvaṃyaṃ=ih-āśnute [|| 304*] Śrī-Rāmaḥandhra-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō 
443 Bhāradvāj-ānvay-śdbhavaḥ | yājūṣḥo=ṛ-āśnute vṛtti-dvaṃyaṃ Lakṣahmaṇa-bha-
444 tṣa-jāḥ [|| 305*] Nathdānā Gōpālāḥṣaṣasā sūra-ṛ-Haridaṭa-sānvayaḥ | bahri(hvri)chō
446 Chiḍḍi-bhaṭṭasya nāhdanaḥ | Rāmn-bhaṭṭ-ākhyaḥ-tr-āśhta-va(vṛttitikā) Gauta-
447 m-ānvayaḥ [ || 307*] Paṛāś(a)ām-ānvaya-ādbhuta[ḥ*] āś- Raṁayāsata(aya-ta)n-udbhavah |
448 yājusḥ-stra chatu(r*)-vṛttitr-āti Bāharas-ākhyaḥ [ || 308*]

Tenth Plate, First Side

449 Śrī-Virūpākṣha-bhaṭṭasya sūnar-Harida(ta)-ānvayaḥ [ || yājusḥ Dēvan-ābhī(khyo*)
450 dhimānda(mān) s-ārdha-āika-vṛttikāḥ [ || 309*] Sūnuḥ Śrīgari-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvata-ānva-
451 ya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājusḥ=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-āśyā(khyo) vṛttitām-ekām-ih-āśnute [ || 310*] Sūrē-
452 a-Tirumal-ākhyaṣṣya sūnun(nuḥ) Śāiśvat-ānvayaḥ [ [*] yājusah Petti-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo
453 vṛttitām-ekām-ih-āśnute [ || 311*] Sūnar-Ākṣa-ā-bhaṭṭasya Kaumūṇī-ānvaya-saṁbhava-
454 vah | dhimāṇa- Ta(s-T)irumal-ābhikhyā(khyo) yājusḥ-stra dvi-vṛttikāḥ [ || 312*] Kaumāik-
455 ānvaya-[jaḥ*]
456 Kāpū Bairīṣāya naṁdananah | astr-āika-vṛttikāḥ Peryyanāgāy-ākhyo ma-
457 hi-su[rā]ḥ [ || 313*] Naṁdāṇā Gōpināṭhasya Kāṇvah Kaumūṇī(na)-gōtra-jaḥ | astr-aik-
458 kām-a
459 āśnute vṛttitām dhimāṇa-Śrīnayā-āṃnakāḥ [ || 314*] Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ-ākhyasāya(ya) ya-
460 jvanā(nā) yājusah sudhiḥ(taḥ) | Naṁyaṇaḥ-trā Kaumūṇī-āṅgṛaḥ s-ārdha-āika-vr-
461 tikaaya [ || 315*] Nāgaṇ-ādhvra(ma)ṇah sūnur-Devarāṇ-ānvaya-ādbhavaḥ | s-ārdha-āika-vṛ-
462 titastrāvaiti yājusḥ Basav-āvhari [ || 316*] Sūrēś-Tirumal-āśya(khyoe)ya sūnur-Āṭra-
463 (trā)-
464 ya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājusḥ Balabhadr-ākhyā(khyo) dhimān-ārdha-vṛttikāḥ [ || 317*] Yajñāja-
465 nāraṇaḥ dhimāṇa-Śrīmāṇa-dīkṣita-naṁdananah | yājusḥoḥ tri sa-pād-āika-vr-
466 tita[ṛ]-Harida(ta)-ānvayaḥ [ || 318*] Naṁdāṇā Gōpināṭhasya Bhāradvāj-ānvaya(yo-ā-
467 dhaḥa[ḥ ]|
468 yājusḥḥ-stra sa-pād-āika-vṛttir-Vāṃkaṇa-āṃnakāḥ [ || 319*] Sūnuḥ śrīgari-bha-
469 tasya yājusah Kāṣṭap-ānvayaḥ | sa-pāḍa-vṛtti-yugmō-tra Davaḷ-āṅkārī-
466 nāṃkāḥ [ || 320*] Sūnuḥ Tirumal-ākhyaṣṣya sūrē Kaumūṇī-āṅgṛa(trā)-jaḥ | sāmaga-
467 ś-Chauṇḍi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttitām-ekām-ih-āśnute [ || 321*] Naṁdāṇā Dēchi-bhaṭṭasya yāju-
468 shō Gūra-ānvayaḥ | Sīdhibhaj-āṅvayaḥ s-ārdha-vṛtti-trayaṁ-ih-āśnute [ || 322*] Yā-
469 jusah Pra(Prā)pa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo dhimānda(mān) Vābdhā-gōtra-jaḥ [*] sūnur-Basavap-ā-
470 khyasya yajvanā(nā)-tr-āika-vṛttikāḥ [ || 323*] Paṇḍiṭō Lakṣmaṇ-ābhikṣo Naṁdā-
471 pa[m]*di-
472 nāhdanaḥ | yājusah(oh) tr-āśnute vṛtti-dvayaṁ Harida(ta)-ānvayaḥ [ || 324*] Naṁdāṇā
473 Naṁdāṇā Naṁda-bhaṭṭasya Korh(Kaum)āṅgṛa-ānvayasya-saṁbhavaḥ | s-ārdha-āika-vṛttikō Naṁdāgī-
474 ri-bhaṭṭō-stra yājusah [ || 325*] Naṁdāṇā Naṁda-bhaṭṭasya Jaun(Kaum)āṅgṛa-ānvaya-
475 saṁbhavaḥ |
474. yājushah(shō)-tr-oitśi s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ḥ]* Dāḍārī-nāmakaḥ \[\| 326*\] Naḥdanā(na) Bhānu-
475 bhaṭṭasyā yājushah Kaṃāk-ānvayaḥ | maniḥi Raghunāth-ākhyā(khyā)* vṛtti-dva-
476 yam-ih-āśnute \[\| 327*\] Śunur-Mudgala-bhaṭṭasya Pūtimā(ah)-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | ba(hvri)-
477 chā(chō) Nārasimhā-ākhyā dhiṃḍand(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ḥ]a \[\| 328*\] Śu Śu(Śu)nur-Gopāla-
478 bha-
479 tṭasya Śrīvata-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | yājushō Nārasimhā-ākhyā vṛtti-dva-

Tenth Plate, Second Side

479 yam-ih-āśnute \[\| 329*\] Śunur-Goṇāla-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvataas(ta-ā)nvaya-sambhavaḥ | yā-
480 juhō-hōbal-ābhikhyō dhiṃḍan-at[ā]-ārdha-vṛtti[ḥ]a \[\| 330*\] Naḥdanō Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭa-
481 sya bahvrīchāḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | ār-Nārasiṃha-bhaṭṭ-ō-trā dhiṃḍa(mān) s-ārdh-ai-
482 ka-vṛtti[ḥ]a \[\| 331*\] Śunur-Ayyali-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | Liṅgāvat-
483 bha-
484 āhavayō-tr-ākāṁ vṛtti-im-āpnōti yājushāḥ \[\| 332*\] Śaṃḍēlya-gōtra-sa(ḥ)*bhūt(ō)taḥ Śi-
485 nayaya-ātma-sambhavaḥ | ārā-Rāmkṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyā(khyā) yājushō-tr-ākva-vṛtti[ḥ]a
\[\| 333*\]

488 Śrīvata-s-gōtra-jāh sūnas-Timma-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | maniḥi Basavā-bha-
489 tō vṛtti-im-āk-ih-āśnute \[\| 334*\] Naḥdanāḥ Ḵṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭasya dhiṃḍan(i)(a-T)rumal-
490 havyaḥ | yājushō-tr-āśnute vṛtti-im-ākāṁ Kaṃḍiṇya-gōtra-jāh \[\| 335*\] Naḥdanāḥ Śu-
491 ri-bhaṭṭasya Viṣṇumitra-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ \[\|*\] bahvrīchō Dēva-ābhikhyō dhiṃḍ-
492 nda(n) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ḥ]a \[\| 336*\] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jāḥ sūnur-Liṅgā-bhaṭṭasya yā-
493 jushaḥ |
494 [Kāṃs-bhaṭṭ-āhavō dhiṃḍand(mān) vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśnute \[\| 337*\] Bhāradvāj-
495 anvayah
496 sūnur-Bhānu-dēvaya bahvrīchāḥ \[\|*\] Lāvaqāryō-tra pādā-vṛtti-trayam-ih-ā-
497 ānutē \[\| 338*\] Bahvrīchō Bhānu-dēvāryā-sūnur-Dātārī-nāmakāḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ō-
498 dhūṭō dhiṃḍand(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ḥ]a \[\| 339*\] Bhānu-dēv[ṛ]*yā-sūn[h]* ārī-
499-Bhāradvāj-ō-
494 nvay-ōdbhavaḥ \[\|*\] sa-pāda-vṛtti-[yu]*gna[h]* ārī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭ-ō-tra bahvrīchāḥ \[\| 340*\] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya[h]*
495 sūnur-Lāhaṇayāchāryaḥ bahvrīchāḥ \[\|*\] vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āpnōti Chīk-kṣāhāryā ma-
496 hāmatīḥ \[\| 341*\] Kāśyap-ānvaya-ja[h]* śrauti(ī) Rāmchaṇḍra-sudhī-sutaḥ | Tippā-bhā-
497 tṭ-āhavō-tr-ākāṁ vṛtti-im-āpnōti yājushāḥ \[\| 342*\] Naḥdanā(na)-naṁtayārasya yāju-
498 shō Gārgya-sūnayaḥ \[\|*\] maniḥi Rāmayāḥāryō vṛtti-ma(m-ō)kām-ih-āśnute \[\| 343*\]
499 Naḥdanāḥ(na)-Ṭtayārasya Cha(Saṭaḥ)hamamasha-gōtra-jaḥ | Kumārtatayāḥāryāḥ

* Better read Lāhaṇāyā for the sake of metre.
yājushōstra dvi-vritti kāḥ [345*] Ātra(trē)ya-gōṭra-jō Dēvarāja-bhāgavat-ātmajāḥ |
yājushāḥ Kṛishṇadāsa-ākhyaḥ vṛtti-dvayaṁ-iḥ-āśnute [345*] Naṁdanas Kṛishṇadāsa(ya) |
dhirān-Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jāḥ [*] s-ārīh-aiśa-vṛttiṁ-ātra-ānī yājushāḥ(sha)-Timmapāśa-|
hvaya[ḥ] [346*] Dāmōdara(ya) sānu[h] Śrīvatisa-gōṭra(trē)-tra bahvīcakāḥ |
s-ārīh-aiśa-vṛtti- |
m-āpnoti dhirān Gurusirā(rō)majāḥ [347*] Sūreḥ(rē)a-Tipu(tru)ma-ākhayaṁ sū-
nur-Harīda(ta)-sānyayaḥ | Āri-Gaṅghādharā-bhāṭṭ-ākhyaḥ yājushōstra-aiśa-vṛtti[kāḥ] [348*] |
Yājushō Giri-bhāṭṭ-ākhyaḥ Vārdaṁ-ānvayaṁ-sambhavaḥ [*] Vā(Bā)dārāyaṇa-bha-
ṭṭaya sūnur-stra dvi-vṛtti[kāḥ] [349*] Yājushō Bāghunāṭh-ākhyaḥ Bādara-
ṇa-bhāṭṭa-jāḥ | Vārdaṁ-gōṭra-sambhūṭa(tō) vṛtti-dvayaṁ-iḥ-āśnute [350*] |

Eleventh Plate

Tad-idam-avanī-vanipaga(ka)-vimatu(nuta)-dhārā-āsaya Kṛishṇarāṣayaḥ | śa-
sanam-uru-kavi-vābhaṁa-nivaha-nidānaṁya bhūri-dānaṁya [351*] Kṛi-
shādēva-mahārāya-sāsanaḥ Sahāpati[kāḥ] | abhānāḥ(ṇuṁ)-mṛdu-samārtaka(ḥa-trāḥ) *

tad-idam tāṁ[tā]mra-sāsanaḥ(ṇam) [352*] Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāya-sāsanaḥ(ṇam) = Mallaṅ-ā- 
tmajaḥ | tvraśṭā Śrī-Vīrāṅ-āchāryo vyālikha(ṣṭa) tāṁ[tā]mra-sāsanaḥ(ṇam) [353*] Dā-
na-pālanāyṛ-or-madhyo dānāč = chhṛ[ṛ]jeyō-nupālanaṁ(ṇam) | dānāt-svargam-s-
vāppotī pālanaṁ-sohītaṁ(ṇam) padaṁ(dan) [354*] Svadatā[ṛa-dṛa]dvi-guṇam punyam 
para-da- 

tt-anu-pālanaṁ(ṇi) | para-dattāt-pahārāṁ svadattaṁ nishphalam bhava(vṛt) [355*] |
Sva-datta(stā)ḥ para-dattāḥ vā yō harēta vasumṛdharāṁ(ṛaṁ) | sahaṭṭir-vanha-sahasra-(arā)ṇi |
viṁtā(ṛa)śhāyāṁ jāyatā kṛimī[ḥ] * [356*] Ek-āiva bhagini lōkë svargāhām-śva |
bhū-bhujaṁ(jāṁ) | na bhūjāṁ(jāya) na kar-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasumṛdharā [357*] Sā-
mānyō-yāṁ dharma-sūtra-ṇipānāṁ kāle kāle pālanaṁ bhavadbhikṣā [358*] |
sarvāṁ-śteṁ-bhāvīnaḥ pā[ṛ]́hitvāmṛdāṁ-bhūyō bhūyō yāchātā Rāmchandaṁrāḥ [358*] |
Śrī-Vīrūpākṣaṇa* [*]

1 This expression, as usual, is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters
No. 22—KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1147

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, JARALPUR

The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is engraved on a stone slab built into the wall of the sanctum of a temple dedicated to the god Nilakanatha at Kalanjara. It is noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1935-36, pp. 93-94. It appears that Siva in the form of Nilakantha was widely worshipped in the Chandella dominions as temples dedicated to this deity are found both at Kalanjara and Ajaygarh.

The inscription covers an area 2'1" long and 1'6" wide. It has in all 20 lines of writing and a short marginal note 8 of four lines on the left side at the lower end of the main epigraph. As the stone slab is damaged on both the sides, a few letters in the beginning and at the end of some of the lines have been lost, yet the text of the main inscription can be almost fully restored. The marginal note is so badly damaged that very little can be read except the name of Vasudéva in line 1.

The characters are of the 11th century A.D. The orthographical peculiarities are the doubling of the consonant following the superscript r and the use of the dental s for both the palatal ā and the lingual ā. The prīthvī, agra and ārēhaka mātrīs are used to indicate the medial ā, ai, ē and au.

The Language is Sanskrit. It is in verse upto the 16th line and in prose from lines 18 to 20. There are some mistakes in the writing and they have been corrected either in the text or in footnotes.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a maṇḍapa for the temple of Nilakantha by Śrīmūrti, the guru of Kirtivarman. The donation of land measuring two ploughs was made at the time of the ārāährāṣa ceremony, i.e. the opening ceremony of the maṇḍapa. Who donated the land is not clear. It may be Śivadāsa Rāma who built the maṇḍapa; but since the text is not complete and the marginal note consisting of that portion of the main text which had been by mistake left out by the scribe is very badly defaced, it is not possible to know the donor. As the name of Vasudéva occurs in the marginal note, it is not also unlikely that he was the donor of the land.

The inscription opens with a salutation to Śiva. Verse 1 sings the praise of Śiva as the pillar of the world. In the second verse is praised Śrīmūrti, the guru (preceptor) of king Kirtivarman, as one who had attained the glory of knowledge by the favour of the pair of the lotus-like feet of Trinetra (Śiva). He is further described in the next two verses. It is stated that he built a beautiful maṇḍapa for the temple of the god Nilakantha at Kalanjara. The royal preceptor directed the chief of the royal ārikaraṇas, the Śaivas, the Pāṭupatās and their āchārya Vāraka and others that

---

1 For the description of the Nilakantha shrine and notices of inscriptions at Kālabjara, see Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, parts i and ii, pp. 32 ff.
2 [See below, p. 166, note 1—Ed.]
3 [See below, p. 164, note 1—Ed.]
4 [See below, p. 166, note 2—Ed.]
they should comply with the request of Vásudēva and allow him to enjoy the merit of his good deed, as by this compliance they will also earn a part of the merit.¹

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Kirtivarman, who might be the Chandella Kirtivarman, brother of Devavarman and son of Vijayasena. It is dated Saimuat (V.S.) 1147, Māghasudi I, Rāvati-nakhatra, which, if the year is taken as current, corresponds to Thursday, January 10, 1090 A.D.

The present inscription gives for Kirtivarman a date seven years earlier than the date, V.S. 1154, so far known for him from the Deogarh inscription. I have already suggested in this journal² that Kirtivarman ascended the throne sometime between 1061 and 1072 A.D. Recently Dr. Sircar has published an inscription³ of the same king dated in V.S. 1132, which is fifteen years earlier than the date recorded in the present inscription. Kirtivarman ruled for a few years after 1086 A.D., his last known date from the Deogarh inscription. The earliest known date of his grandson Jayavarman falls in 1117 A.D.⁴ Between the two ruled Sallakṣaṇavarman,⁵ son of Kirtivarman, but no record of his time has been discovered. This suggests that Sallakṣaṇavarman had a short reign. He may have succeeded Kirtivarman about 1105 A.D. The inscription for the first time makes mention of the name of the guru of Kirtivarman and of his patronage to the Saivas and the Pāṇḍūpatas, two schools of Saivism.

The praśasti was composed by the Kāyastha Thakkura Dēvapāla,⁶ son of Payā, and the maṇḍapa was built by the sūradhāra Rāma, who is mentioned in another Kālaṇija inscription dated 1131 A.D., when his son Rūpasāha Lāhāda made an image of Nīlakaṇṭha.⁷

The scribe, who appears to have omitted a portion of the text which he later on incised in the margin, has drawn the attention of the reader to it by adding a note at the end of the main record saying 'the wise will read the small inscription also'. The marginal note seems to state that the two ploughs of land were donated by Vásudēva.⁸

¹ If my reading of this portion of the text as gāḍākāladvaya-dāvēna is correct, it seems that Vásudēva requested śrīmārti for permission to donate two pots of water and gain the merit of this pious deed. The practice of setting up over the nāgara, for the duration of the summer, of two pots of water from which water falls on the nāgara by drop by drop is not only common, but is regarded as a highly pious deed.

² The preceptor of king Kirtivarman is mentioned in verse 2 as śrī-mārti which does not appear to be his personal name but looks like an honorific expression like śrī-mukha, śrī-kostha, śrī-charama, etc. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 204 f.). His real name is given in his own speech, quoted in verses 5 ff., as Vásudēva. The phrase śrīmaḥ Ṛṣi-śākya-śākya-parāśupaya-sūtraḥ in verse 6 means 'the Saivas headed by the Pāṇḍūpatas śākya-sūtras' in which the śrīmaḥ were 'temple superintendents' like the Pāṇḍūs of today (cf. above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171, 172 ff.). The reading intended for what has been read gāḍēva seems to be paṇḍēva, 'handful'.

The expression rāja-śākuras-dhīpamā in the same stanza means 'superintendents of the king's record department'. Vásudēva thus requests the royal officers and the local Saivas to protect the maṇḍapa constructed by him. In verse 5, he prays for the sake that much merit for his pious deed as would accrue to a person dedicating two water-jars for providing for continuous ablution of a Śrīkalīga (cf. ibid., p. 235).—Ed.)

³ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 89.


⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 139.

⁶ Ibid., p. 198, v. 9 and p. 227, v. 4. His coins with the name Sallakṣaṇavarman have been found, [See below, p. 165, note 4; p. 166, note 2.—Ed.]


⁸ [See below, p. 155, note 1.—Ed.]
KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1147

Scale: One-third
KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. 8. 1147

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 3 and 4 Arya; verse 2 Vasantatilakas; verses 5-9 Anushubh.

1 अ% नामः सिद्धि(श्र)वाय । गुणा यत्र पत्तका हैमवती सालू(प्र)जीका यत्र ।

2 यत्र स्वति: प्रस(व)स्तम्भुस्तम्भं नामां जगत: ||[1 ॥]* स्वति निवेदयते

3 पदा[च]ु(क)ग्रस्तार्ग्राम्यक्रो(को)स्माहिष्मा महती(लो)कर्मिजः । श्रीसु(क)त्री-

4 रितालयाल्लामयत्व(त्व)सारसार्गायस्मिष्ठद् परं विवेकग्रहित: । थः । [2*]

5 कालजये पृष्ठिया: श्रीयेनिहे मुकुटस्मिरिये तेन । मण्डपम(कारि)

6 [हर]रं देवकृमनीकन्तकम् । थः । [3*] उद्याकेचन कृतना रिपुव्वर्ग(स्म)

7 [विज्ञव] संबरता । श्रीकृतिकर्मचन्द्रवंतेगु(स्म) रणा तेनीमात्रे सु(क)षुलु्त ।

8 [थः ।] [४*] [पदा]कृपतदानेन नीरकंतकम् यत्तलम् । तनं सुभुमयता(त्व) श्री-

9 [मान] वासुदेव: सताभु(स्म) तः । थः [५*] तदेवदनुमुस्तता(त्व) राजश्रोकरण[1]-

10 [विष(पर)ः] । से(से)वा: पासु(क)पत्ता(ता) शार्वार्करकमुखारथे ये । थः । [६*]

11 पा(आ)वेणा वा-

12 [सूदुकलस्य] पालनीया महाभाषिकः । श्रेष्ठ(श्रेष्ठ)पालनार्थे मायेनः युथे (म)सम्पंस(शा)-

13 भावार्तम: । थः [७*] पृथ्वी(पृथ्वी) मोहितकुलूण्या(ण्या) यद्वा(वा) फलम्रस्यः ।

14 तत्कार्त्-

15 [धि] मार्गेण सिद्धि(श्र)जेजिति स्मृतम् । थः [८*] जलममोनिहौ यावदानः-

16 ति(वित्त)र(स)विवासस्तिकविद्वस्तेनिमा कविना । रचितं

17 ......... ॥ संवत् ११५६ मासमासे सु(क)ज्ञपये सुनाम(स्म)

1 [For this letter indicating the completion of a stanza, see above, Vol. XXX., p. 218, note 2.—Ed.]

2 [Read न्दः—Ed.]

3 [The name of the poet, responsible for the composition of the prosast, appears to have been engraved in this stanza in Arya. The concluding part of the record may not have been composed by him.—Ed.]
17 रेशातीलकांके ॥ कामसत्तक (कक्) रत्नीपीया नदीदेवपालेन ॥

18 गुलाराक (र) रामेन (र) मंवर (व) बटापिंते सति (ति) द्र (व) ज्ञान ॥

19 रोहणे प्रतिसाधनमासादि तूम्ही हलाम ॥

20 सधू एव व सुधियां पत्नीमें ॥ श्री ॥

---

The text is incomplete here, the verb being missing and also probably the name of the donor of the land. It seems that the portion of the text which was left out was inscribed as the marginal note. [What the author takes to be a marginal note may have formed part of a different record. The inscription seems to be complete in itself. See note 2 below.—Ed.]

2 This note apparently did not form part of the main text and was added later on. [The line, which no doubt forms a part of the original record, reads 'कर्तवेषा दृश्या छ दृष्ट्यां पलिसर्यायां इत्यादि'. The intended reading of the corrupt passage in lines 19-20 seems to be 'सन्तुत्रिकारानै गुरुमेनाक्षरं दृष्ट्यां छ अग्रा-प्रसाद दंमित्रिकम्भिक लोकरणे दृश्यां पलिसर्यायां इत्यादि', although the context appears to require a word like सत्त्यां instead of लोकरणे. Lines 17-20 mean to say that, on the completion of the construction by the mason रामे, देवपाल दिया granted, on the occasion of its installation ceremony, two kula measures of land for its maintenance. The expression अग्रा-प्रसाद may mean the same thing as तला-निग्रन्त्र of the Karnaśa records.—Ed.]
No. 23.—BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH

(6 Plates)

THE LATE DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI

In March 1938 a number of inscriptions in Brāhmi characters were discovered by me at Bandhogarh in the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh. The epigraphs were found inscribed on the walls of artificial caves found in the neighbourhood of the hill fort of Bandhogarh.

Bandhogarh (23° 40′ N, 81° 3′ E.), the old capital of the Bāghelās, is situated in the south-east of the Rewah State in the Rāmsagar Tahsil. It is about 22 miles from Umarī, the nearest Railway Station. Over fifty caves were discovered in this area, most of which are artificial. They are distributed over the low hills within a radius of 3 miles of Gopālpur, a small village at the foot of the fort. The village no longer exists and the only people that lived in the neighbourhood were found to be a few constables in charge of the fort. The forests of Bandhogarh are infested with wild animals and many of the caves are difficult of access. But for the interest taken and the facilities given by the Rewah Darbar it would have been impossible for me to reach many of these caves. Bandhogarh was reputed to be an ancient site; but very little was known about its early history. It was the early seat of the Bāghelās and the rulers of Rewah are known as Bāndhevas or the lord of Bandhogarh (lit. 'lord of friends'). According to a tradition followed by the Rewah house no permission for visiting the fort area was ordinarily given to one who was not a subject of the State. Appreciating the difficulty that might arise in my offering personally to visit the place, I suggested, nearly two years before my visit, if somebody belonging to the State could be sent on a preliminary search. Accordingly, Head Constable Kesari Singh, who had spent 27 years of his service at Bandhogarh, was deputed by the Rewah Darbar to inspect the site and see what epigraphic materials were available. Kesari Singh spent over three months in this work and reported to have found a large number of caves. He also prepared eye-copies of any writing he could find in these, which were sent to me for examination.

At the very first glance at the eye-copies I was impressed with the antiquity and importance of the site. But as it was impossible to make much out of them, I requested the Darbar to grant me permission to visit the place. When my request was placed before His Highness Sir Gulab Singh, the late Maharaja of Rewah, who was well known for his advanced views and was always anxious to have the materials for the ancient history of Rewah properly studied, he readily granted the necessary permission as a special case. I was thus able to visit the place in March 1938. During my stay there I inspected all the caves that were reported to have contained some sort of writing and also most of those containing no inscriptions, particularly the bigger ones. These caves, or more appropriately rock-cut dwellings, are of different sizes. Many of them consist of one hall and one or two cells; but there are a few containing seven, eight or even nine cells. None of these, except two, now contains any carved images, while a third has some designs carved on pillars. Otherwise they are simple structures excavated in the rocks. As these are soft sandstone rocks, some of the caves and many of the inscriptions have suffered badly. It appears that the method of writing

1 [ It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press.—Ed. ]

2 A detailed notice of these inscriptions was to be published by me in the Am. Rep. A.S.I., 1938; but its printing was withheld as a war measure. They have been noticed by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 146, note 3; by Murshi, Vol. XXVI, p. 268; and by Motichandra, JNSI, Vol. II, p. 10, and ASORI, Vol. XXVII (1940), pp. 15 ff. [See also N. Hist. Ind. Peop., Vol. VI, pp. 41 ff.; Hist. Culti. Ind. Peop., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. Macon over a and e has not been used in this article.—Ed.]

(167)
employed in these caves was first to engrave the record on the wall and then paint the letters with a kind of red pigment with a view to bringing out the letters clearly. The paint is still intact in a few of the inscriptions. The necessity of painting the letters is emphasized by the fact that the walls of the caves had not been always properly smoothed before the engraving was done. The surface is so rough in some of the caves that it is difficult to read the inscriptions from the rock itself. Probably the inscriptions were first written on the rocks with a similar paint also before the engraving was done. This accounts for Cunningham's finding the Ginja hill inscription1 of Bhimasena in red paint which for some reason unknown to us was never engraved. In these caves I found also a few short records written in red or black paint which are now so badly obliterated that they defied all attempts at decipherment. Besides the inscriptions of historical importance which alone are considered here, some of the caves contain short records inscribed in them. Many of these are apparently pilgrim's records though the sense conveyed by them is not always clear. In two of the caves I found a few letters in shell characters beautifully carved.

The palaeography of these records shows some peculiar features. Though written within a short space of 60 years, the inscriptions offer several types of writing. The earliest record belonging to the year 51 of the time of Bhimasena shows early features; but in the others the letters show both archaic and more advanced forms. Inscription No. XI of the time of Bhaṭṭadeva and dated in the year 90 is the typical example of the second category. The writing usually shows northern character and in certain cases northern forms are also discernible. The vertical stroke of a and r is straight but also shows an occasional hook at the bottom, e.g. in Nos. I and IX. Initial u is found in Ujhasa (No. X). The vowel e is shown by a triangle with the base slanting upwards; but the base is straight in No. XI. The vertical bar of k is usually straight and the horizontal bar bent; but the latter is straight in No. XI. The letter ḫa has a large triangle at the base with a short hook above; but sometimes the base takes the form of a loop, e.g. in Rakhitikā and pakha in No. IV. The letter g usually has a rounded top; but it is angular in No. I. The vertical line of j is bent in the middle; but, in Nos. I and XI, the vertical and horizontal bars are all straight. Dā has narrow points and rounded back; but the back is sometimes angular, e.g. in dkaṃ (No. XI). p and b show a notch to the left; but the left horizontal limb is straight in Nos. I and XI. m has a triangular base, though in rare cases it is inclined to show a rounded form as in Chhamtikasa and negamasa in No. VI, line 2. Y has usually a hook or a loop on the left. The right limb of Y is usually bent to the left at the top; but it is straight in No. I, e.g., in Balomi (line 4). A second form of this letter is also found in No. VIII, corresponding to that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta. H has also two forms, the usual one with a hook to the right and also, though rarely, another like the letter found in the inscription of Usavadatta, e.g. in Mahāśikha in No. VIII. Of the numerals, symbols for 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 50, 80 and 90 are found. The advanced form of the numeral 2 is noticed in No. IX, line 4, as against the earlier forms in Nos. VII and XVII. These few details will show that the script, as found in these records, partly shows features of the Kusāna records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Khattrapas of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D.

With the exception of Nos. XIV, XVIII and XIX which refer to Śivamahsa and Vaiāraṇya and are written in Sanskrit, the language of the remaining inscriptions is Prakrit. Sanskritization is, however, noticed in a few instances in the Prakrit records; cf. sārthika (No. III, line 4), siddha (Nos. IV-Ⅵ, IX, XVII), Chakra (No. IV), and layana (No. XI). The main orthographical features noticed in the inscriptions in Prakrit are as follows: single consonants are used for double as usual in such inscriptions although doubling is noticed in bhaṭṭāraka (Nos. VIII, IX), Bhaṭṭadeva

1 Cunningham, ASI, Vol. XXI, p. 119 and Plate No. XXX.
(Nos. XI, XIII), putreña and paunterena (No. VII), vardhātu (No. IX) and wrongly in khānāti (No. VII). N has been used for a throughout, except in "charanā, punya (No. VII), and a for n in Bhīmasena (No. I). Anuśvāra has been omitted in many places. S has been used for both s and š except in rare instances, e.g. iti (No. VII). The following forms of ordinals are noteworthy: pañcham, padham (Skt. pratham, Nos. II, etc.), be, dva, śāsya (Nos. VII, VIII), dona, donaś, domināśa (Skt. devyō, Nos. II-VI), ekapā (Skt. ekapāchākāst, No. I), chāsīla (Skt. shākṣīla, Nos. II-VI). Other interesting Prakrit words are: sahiyam or sahiyam (Nos. II, etc.) for Skt. sahitam, evatema (Skt. evāpūrṇa, Nos. VIII, IX), ṣvāmasāla (Skt. ṣvāyāmasāla, No. XVII), vadhātu (Nos. II, etc.), vadhātu (Nos. III, etc.) for Skt. vardhātu, lāṣa (with plural lātām) in the sense of Pkt. leṣa, Skt. layana, 'a cave', jihāṣi, Skt. jāṭi (No. VIII), 'a small shrub', chagavāra (Pāli chaṅgavāra), 'a vessel' (Nos. II-VI), and kathikāraka-kamāra, 'a carpenter' (No. I). Feminine form for masculine seems to have been used in Rakṣikāśa side by side with the correct form Rakṣikāśa (No. V) and in Chelā (Nos. II, etc.). Proper names in many instances end in ka, e.g. Phagumakka, Datika (Nos. II-IV, VI), Jivamaka (No. VII), etc.

The main group of the inscriptions speaks of three generations of kings. These kings are Mahārāja Vāsīthiputra siri-Bhīmasena (year 51), his son Mahārāja Kochhīputra Pōṭhāsiri (years 86 to 88) and his son (?) Mahārāja Kosiṭaputa Bhatṭadeva (year 90). Of these rulers, so far only the name of Mahārāja Bhīmasena was known from the painted inscription of the year 52 on the Gaṇja hill in the Rowah State, situated at a distance of more than 100 miles towards the north-east of Bāndhogarh, as well as from a seal discovered during the excavations at Bihāra. The metonymic Vāsīthiputra is found in the Bāndhogarh inscription (No. I) and the Bihāra seal but not in the Gaṇja inscription. The present inscription offers the earliest date for this ruler and also valuable information about his son and grandson. It will also appear from our discussion below that the year 86 in the reign of Pōṭhāsiri was marked by a great activity, as this is the year during which many of the cave-dwellings were excavated. Nos. VIII-IX of the year 88 record the donation of Magha or Māgha who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of king Pōṭhāsiri and was the son of the Minister Chakora. Another cave (cf. No. X) likewise owed its existence to the munificence of a minister of the same king. With these preliminary remarks I shall now turn my attention to the inscriptions individually.

The earliest dated inscription (No. I) is found on the back wall of a rock-cut cave situated between the Gānesh Pahār and Bāmagiri at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Gopālpur by the side of a stream. The inscription, which is in 5 lines, is dated the 8th day of the 5th fortnight of Varṣa of the year 51 in the reign of Mahārāja Vāsīthiputra Bhīmasena and records the construction of a cave-dwelling by a guild of merchants including a goldsmith and an artisan(?)

In the Gānesh Pahār area, a group of five inscriptions engraved in five different caves contains more or less one and the same text (Nos. II-VI). All these records are dated the 8th day of the first fortnight of Hemanta of the year 86 in the reign of Mahārāja Kochhīputra (Kautaputra) Pōṭhāsiri (Pramasīhāsiri) and record the construction of caves, the donation of a garden (drāma) and a vessel (chagavāra) by Rakṣīkā (Rākṣīkā), whose grandfather was a merchant of Kauśāmbī, and by Chelā, son of a merchant, together with their sons. It is interesting to note that one of these is called the 'traders' cave' (śārthikā) and another a madāpapa (madāvāpa) cave and yet another a chhatra cave which may mean an umbrella (chhatra) cave or a cave for the novice (chhatra).

1 [In many of the inscriptions (cf. Nos. VI-VII), n often has a form that closely resembles t. It is not impossible that the intended reading of what has been read as lāṣa or laṣa is lāna or lāna from layana or layana. It is interesting to note that layana occurs in the same sense in No. XI.—Ed.]

2 [The reading of the name seems to be Chelā.—Ed.]
Another inscription (No. VII) found on the back wall of a cave situated in the same area is
dated the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight of Hemanta of the year 88 and belongs to the
reign of the same ruler Poṭhasiri. It records the excavation of a cave and a well by the merchant
Gahavudhi whose grandfather was a merchant of Mathura. He seems to have also given an endow-
ment (niśta, Skt. niśī). Nearby are still visible the remains of a well (now partly filled up) which
was dug into the solid rock.

Of the twelve Brāhma inscriptions that I copied on the eastern and western sides of Gopālpur,
the earliest (No. X) is dated the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of Grīhma of the year 88
and belongs to the time of Poṭhasiri. It records the erection of a dwelling (ketana) and the excava-
tion of a cave by the Minister (amacha) Bhabāja.

Two caves about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and situated about 20 yards apart from each
other bear an inscription each (Nos. VIII-IX). One is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of
Grīhma of the year 88 and the other the 7th day of the 6th fortnight of Hemanta of the same year.
Both belong to the reign of Poṭhasiri and record the donation of two wells (vāpi), caves and
a garden consisting of shrubs by the minister Magha or Māgha, who was the Minister of Foreign
Affairs of Mahāraja Poṭhasiri and the son of the minister Chakora.

The inscription (No. XVII) next in chronological order is dated the 5th day of the second fornt-
night of the rainy season of the year 87 in the reign of the same ruler and records the excavation
of a well (vāpi), cave-dwellings and also a gymnasion or hall for taking physical exercise (vṛghama-
sālā) by Punnas (Punyas) whose father was a merchant of Pavata (Parvata). Parvata as a place
name occurs in the pillar inscription1 of Pratihāra Kakakula of the Vikrama year 918. The com-
mentary on the Sutta Nipāsa also mentions a Pabba-saṭṭha (Parvata-saṭṭha) in the centre of
Videha-saṭṭha.2 But the place mentioned as Pavata in the inscriptions is possibly identical with
Pūñja-to noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang. Parvata is also mentioned by Pāṇini
(IV, 2, 143). As it is included in the Takshakīlādī-gaṇa, some scholars have located this tract in
the Patja. Whatever may be the case, the present record contains the earliest epi-
graphical reference to the place.

The next inscription (No. XI) is dated the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta of the year
90 and belongs to the reign of Mahāraja Bhaṭṭadeva. From the date 90 given in this record,
which closely follows the period of Poṭhasiri, as well as from the two other fragmentary inscrip-
tions noticed below, it can be surmised that he was the son and successor of Poṭhasiri. This inscription
records the construction of a cave by a merchant. In a cave about a mile and a half to the west
of Gopālpur, not far from the cave just referred to, are found two fragmentary inscriptions (Nos.
XIII, A-B), one of which, containing traces of four lines, records the construction of caves for dwelling
(ketana). There was a date in the second line, of which only the word paḥke is now faintly
visible, the rest of the line having completely disappeared. Of the name of the ruler only Mahāraja-
Poṭhasiri-pusas [Ko] is legible in the first line. Of the second inscription found on the back wall
of this cave, only the portion containing Mahāraja Kori-kuputasırolloṣṭhadeva is preserved.
Though each of these inscriptions is fragmentary by itself, taken together they throw light on the
genealogy of these rulers, because we can, as suggested above, surmise that this Mahāraja Kori-
kuputa Bhaṭṭadeva was the son of Mahāraja Poṭhasiri.3

The other rulers whose names are found at Bandhoga are apparently did not belong to the line
of Bhumasesa directly. There might have been some relationship between the two lines of rulers;

---

1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 32 and note.
3 [See p. 193, n. 2, below.—Ed.]
but what it was cannot be ascertained. About a mile to the west of Gopālpur, I came across a large cave containing a big hall and seven cells. On the back wall of this hall, on both sides of the door leading to the cells, was engraved an inscription (No. XIV), of which only a few letters now remain. Though fragmentary, this record is interesting as on the left side is legible Mahārāja-Sivamahāsya and on the right side vara ima lādāgrāhā. Unfortunately nothing more of the inscription is now preserved; but, from the little space left after Sivamahāsya on the right side, it would not be far wrong to assume that these caves were donated by the above named ruler himself. If there was any date, it is now completely effaced. We know of another inscription of this ruler from Kosam. Unfortunately the date is not preserved in this record also. That he belonged to the same line as Bhadramagha of Kauśāmbi, for whom we have now dates ranging from 81 to 88, there can be no doubt. But there is yet no direct evidence of their mutual relationship. We cannot even ascertain as to who was the earlier of the two. From the fact, however, that a seal of Śivamaga was found along with that of Bhūmaśeṇa in course of the excavations at Bhīṣa, it may be assumed that Śivamaga was the earlier.2

Of great interest is also the fragmentary inscription (No. XVIII) found on the left wall of the verandah of a cave pertaining to this area. The verandah is now partly fallen and the inscription is badly damaged. Fortunately I found the same record also engraved on a rock (No. XIX), now lying near a nullah not far from Gopālpur. Evidently this rock once belonged to a cave, now difficult to identify, and must have fallen down the hill due to the ravages of weather. Though both these epigraphs are fragmentary, their texts can be completely restored by comparing the writing of the one with that of the other. Each of them records the construction of a cave by king (Rāja) Vaiśravaṇa who was the son of Mahāśeṇāputra Bhadrabala. Some years ago, an inscription3 of a homonymous ruler was discovered near Kosam. It is dated the first day of the 7th fortnight of Gṛihama of the year 107 and records the erection of an umbrella in the Pūrvasiddhāyatana at Bādarpurāma for the worship of Lord Pūrvaśeṣa, i.e. the Buddha, by the merchant Māgha who was a lay disciple (śrāvaka) and whose grandfather was a merchant of Śuktimati. This inscription, however, does not mention anything about the father of Vaiśravaṇa while the two inscriptions from Bāndhogara clearly mention him as the son of Mahāśeṇāputra Bhadrabala. It may be noted, however, that the Kosam inscription styles him Mahārāja while the two records from Bāndhogara refer to him as Rāja. Now, if the ruler mentioned in all the three records is identical, we have to assume that Vaiśravaṇa belonged to a collateral branch who, for some reason not known to us at present, succeeded a Māgha ruler, his predecessor being perhaps Bhadramagha. He may also be a different ruler belonging only to the Bāndhogara line. As I have pointed out elsewhere,4 Mahāśeṇāputra found in these inscriptions may have been a title of nobility and may not be taken in the literal sense of the chief commander of the army. It is just possible that Vaiśravaṇa who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title Rājan which he replaced at a later date by that of Mahārāja.5

In two contiguous caves situated about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur were found three inscriptions (Nos. XV and XVI), one of them containing one epigraph and the other two inscriptions. These records are fragmentary by themselves; but, as they contain more or less the same text, the sense can be easily made out. They record the donation of caves, a well (tūpīkā) and a garden by Phagu (Phagu), son of the merchant Pama (Pushya) who was an inhabitant of Pavata

---

1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139, No. II.
2 ASI, AR, 1911-12, p. 51. For further discussion on the chronology of these rulers, see below, pp. 173 ff.
3 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.
4 See below, p. 176.
6 [See below, p. 176 and note 3.—Ed.]
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

(Farvata). We have noticed before that an inscription belonging to year 87 of the reign of Pothesari records a donation by one Pusa. Considering the fact that he also hailed from Farvata, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that he is identical with Pusya, the father of Phalgu, of the inscriptions under consideration. We know that, in the year 88, Pothesari was still ruling, while in the year 90 we find his son Bhaṭṭadeva already installed as king. So the ruler in Phalgu's time should have been either Bhaṭṭadeva or his successor. Now in the first of the two caves mentioned above there is a fragmentary inscription (No. XV). Its writing exhibits larger characters and it starts from the south wall and is continued on the wall to the left containing the inscription of Phalgu. The beginning of this record seems to have been lost; but we can still read [Vṛṣajñiḥ]putaśa siri-Chitrasena. From the way this name is recorded it appears to be that of a ruler and probably the date was continued in the next line which, along with the expression Mahārāja as at the beginning of the first line, is now missing. Since this cave was, according to the inscription found in it, excavated by Phalgu, it can bear only the name of the contemporary ruler. If our surmise is correct, then we may be almost certain that this Chitrasena (Chitrasena) was the successor of Bhaṭṭadeva in the line of king Bhumaseya.

In the caves to the south-east of Gopālapura, I found three short records (No. XX, A-C). The walls bearing the records are not properly dressed, and the surface is too rough to ensure satisfactory decipherment of the records. All of them, however, bear one and the same text and seem to record that they were dwellings (kātana) dedicated by persons named Bhoja and Bhojasari. There is a date at the beginning of two of these records which seems to read Saun 80 Gī-pa 1 dīra 5, i.e. the 5th day of the first fortnight of Grīṣṭham in the year 80. In the third record, the numeral after the day seems to be 6 instead of 5, other particulars of the date being the same. If my reading of the date is correct, the epigraphs would belong to the time of Pothesari or his father Bhumaseya.

Now the problem that faces us is to find out whether these caves were religious or secular donations and if religious what was the religion of the donors and those who occupied them. That they were all religious donations, there can be no doubt. Expressions like ākāmā (Skt. dharmārtha), 'for dharma', puṇya cārīh, 'for merit increase', dhana cārīha, 'for dharma increase', would clearly point to that. But the inscriptions are silent about what this religion was, and there is not even the slightest indication about that in any one of them. To make the position more difficult no images of any kind could be discovered in any of the caves or their surroundings and for a decision we are left to depend entirely on indirect evidence. Of the three principal religions of the time, viz. Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇism, the first, I think, can safely be ruled out. If the caves were Buddhistic donations one would expect to find some evidence in the records themselves and at least one or two of the caves should have been of the Chaitya type. That they may be Jainas also seems doubtful. None of the donors is called a śrāvaka or upāsaka, nor is there any mention of a teacher or Arhat as one would expect even in early Jainas inscriptions. In one of the caves in the Gānesh Pahālār are still visible two bas-reliefs. In one of these are found figures of several animals crowded together and on the adjoining wall is a short inscription which reads mṛgavasālo, i.e. mṛgāśa-sāla or the hill used for a hunting ground. Apparently this was the label meant for the animal scene carved on the adjacent wall and it is hard to imagine a Jainas religious establishment depicting such a scene. The other bas-relief in this cave shows a figure riding on an animal. The umbrella held over the head shows that the rider was meant to represent a king. On an adjacent pillar is found the name Jarāsaṅgha. If this also is meant to be a label, one would expect a scene from the Mahābhārata depicted here. There are also a few figures on the outside wall of the same cave; but they are now defaced beyond recognition. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from these figures in relief is that these caves were

[See below, p. 194, note 4.—Ed.]
Brahmanical. I would even hazard a suggestion that the establishment was of Śaiva origin. Though there is no direct proof, this view receives support from the fact that in one of the caves belonging to the group lying from east to west, I found a small inscription (cf. No. XII) which clearly reads Śrībhāṣṭaka(kā) and on the jambs of the first entrance to the left of the same cave are two clear cut letters reading Śiva. This cave contains seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters and also a few letters from nine inches to two feet in length in black paint. The characters belong to about the 4th century; but they are so badly effaced that no sense can be made of the record. It is true that the two short epigraphs referred to above are in slightly later characters and may be pilgrims' records bearing personal names. But the evidence of the painted inscriptions proves the existence of this cave at an earlier period and the fact remains that no Jaina or Buddhist would have such names or engrave such records in any of their religious establishments. I was first inclined to believe that at least the group of three caves found to the south-east of Gopālipur were of Jaina origin; but now I think that I was not justified in doing so. In one of them, on the right side of the first doorway, I found a partly effaced standing naked figure which I thought might be that of a Tinthaśkara or Jaina saint; but it may very well be that of a Śaiva saint. If my assumption is correct, then these would be the earliest rock cut caves dedicated to Śiva worship. Before the discovery of these caves, the earliest and perhaps the only caves dedicated to Śiva were those at Udayagiri in Madhya Bharat, belonging to the time of Chandragupta II.1

We have seen above that only three of the caves were directly donated by the two princes Śivamahā and Vaisāranasa, three were gifts of two of the ministers of Pothasirā, viz. Māgha and Bhābāsa, and the rest came mostly from the merchant class. It, however, seems strange that there were no donations direct from Bhūmasena or any of his successors. There can be no doubt that these rulers were also the followors of Saivism. The seals of both Bhūmasenas and Śivamahās discovered at Bhāṣā show the representation of a bull on their obverse.2 But it may be that the whole property which formed the establishment came originally from this line of rulers, probably from Bhūmasena himself, and there might have been other grants from them, of which we have no knowledge at present. The caves which were donated by ruling princes, royal officials and persons who hailed from places like Kauśāmbi, Mathurā and Parvata, appear to have been used by the resident monks or ascetics for various purposes.

The records are dated from the year 51 to the year 90 of an unspecified era and various theories have been put forward as to the era to which they have to be referred. That the same era has been used in the inscriptions of the Maṅga rulers of Kauśāmbi, there is no doubt. Of the latter, the following names of kings and years of their rule are known: Maṅgākṛṣṇa Gautamiputra Śivamahā (date lost),3 Maṅgāśrī Bhādramahā (years 81, 83, 86 and 87),4 Maṅgāśrī Vaiśārāna (year 107)4 and Maṅgāśrī Bhāmavarmā (years 130 and 139).5 D.R. Sahni, while editing the inscription of Bhādramahā, referred the years to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. and so did Sen Konow. Apart from other grave objections, the palaeography of these records would go against this theory as their script is of a period much earlier than that found in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. It was assumed by some that the Maghas came into power only after the

---

1 Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 35.
2 See below, pp. 176-77.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 120, No. II, and No. XIV below. For his seal from Bhāṣā, see ASI, A.R., 1911-12, p. 51.
4 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 45 and Pl.; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 245 ff., and Jha Commemoration Volume, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 188, No. III (D. R. Sahni reads the date as 89). A recently discovered inscription from Kauśāmbi has the date Maṅgāśrī Bhādramahā (see above) datable to 89 3 or 89 4 athyā purvya.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 168 ff. and Pl., and Nos. XVIII and XIX below.

Kushānas lost their hold on the Kauśāmbi region. So, in their opinion, an era had to be found which was later than the Kushāna era of 78 A.D. but earlier than the Guptā era. And the only era that would fit in would be the Kalachuri era of 245 A.D. Moreover, the areas in which these inscriptions have been found were either associated with the Kalachuris or were contiguous to the Kalachuri territories. D.R. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal and A. Ghose were in favour of the Kalachuri era on palaeographic grounds. I found three lithic records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri in the fort at Bāndhagārh. They are small inscriptions referring to the setting up of rock-cut images of fish, tortoise and boar, obviously representing the three incarnations of Viṣṇu, by one Gollāka aśvas Gauḍa who was the son of Bhānu and a minister of Śrī-Yuvārājadeva. This ruler has undoubtedly to be identified with Yuvārāja I on palaeographic grounds and the inscriptions would therefore be the earliest records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. But this family of rulers came into existence only about the last quarter of the ninth century with Kokkalla as the first ruler and very little is known of them before that date. It is doubtful if the Kalachuri-Chedi era could have been in vogue in Baghākhanda and the adjacent area in the age of the Maγhas. But we have shown above that the script of the Bāndhagārh inscriptions is allied to that found in the inscriptions of the Kauśāmbi and the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan. Though at first sight the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Maγhas of Kauśāmbi appears more developed than that of the Bāndhagārh records, there is no doubt that the era used in both the Maγha and the Bāndhagārh records is the same. The reason why the script of the Bāndhagārh records, even in those which are almost contemporary with the Maγha records, looks earlier is twofold. At Bāndhagārh, all the records are inscribed in caves and in the cave inscriptions particularly many of the archaic forms persist. Moreover, Bāndhagārh being out of the way, the script might not have been so developed as in Kauśāmbi which was an important place and had better contacts with important cities like Mathurā and others.

There are other unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the era as the Guptā or the Kalachuri era. If we accept the era as the Guptā era in spite of the difficulties of palaeography, we have to assume that they were vassals of the Guptā rulers. Similarly, if we refer the dates to the Kalachuri era, the last three Maγha rulers at least would be contemporaries of the Guptā emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Kauśāmbi at the period was included in the Guptā empire and therefore these rulers of Kauśāmbi must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptā monarchs. But there is no indication of this in any of the Maγha records. Moreover, coins have been found of six Maγha rulers, viz. Śivamahā, Bhadragnā, Vaiśāravāna and Bhūmvaraman, who are known from inscriptions, and also of Vijayamahā and Śatamahā whose inscriptions have not been discovered so far.3 This fact would indicate their independent status and therefore they cannot be taken as the vassals of either the Guptā or the Kalachuri rulers. This being the case, the only other era left to us is the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and let us examine the possibility of applying this era to the Maγha records. This of course hinges on the initial date of the Kauśāna era. If we accept that this era started in 78 A.D., as seems to be the opinion of the majority of scholars now, some of the years of the Maγha rulers will fall within the reign of the Kauśāna rulers Hvuiskaka and Vāsudeva whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbi. One would therefore think normally that the rule of these two Kauśāna rulers also extended over Kauśāmbi and that the Maγhas were therefore subordinate to the Kauśānas. But there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that this was the case. During the excavations at Bhiṭā, seals of Śivamahā

---

1 J.N.S.I., Vol. II (1940), pp. 95 ff. and Plate.
2 Ibd., Vol. IV, pp. 10-11.
3 Prish thāirtya, whose coins and seal have been discovered, had obviously nothing to do with Pothakṣir of Bāndhagārh. See Mirzābī, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 399 and n.2. [Prishikṣārīya seems to be the misreading of what is really Proudhākṣiṭṛiyas.—Ed.]
and Bhimasesa were discovered along with other antiquities above the Maurya level and therefore Marshall placed them in the Kushāṇa period.\footnote{\textit{ABT}, AR, 1911-12, p. 61. The legends on these seals read \textit{Mahāraja Gautami Putrāja Šāmakasya} and \footnote{[The correct reading of this name seems to be \textit{Prasadhjaiti}.—Ed.]} \textit{[Rajja] Vivas\ddot{a} [Vaiśākhī] Putrasya Īśi-Bhimasetasya}. Jayaswal rightly identifies Bhimasesa with the ruler mentioned in the Gāja inscription; but A. Ghosh rejects the theory on the ground of their different titles, viz. \textit{Rajja} and \textit{Mahāraja}. See \textit{Ind. Okt.}, 1936, p. 179.} The stratigraphic evidence supplied by the excavations at Kauśāmbi carried out by the Allahabad University gives us some interesting and more definite information. According to a brief report sent to me by Mr. G. B. Sharma on the position of the Kushāṇa antiquities, he found nine sub-periods of baked brick habitation at Kauśāmbi, commencing from 1(a) and 1(b) to VIII which is the last sub-period. He did not find any trace of Kushāṇa antiquity, coins or seals, up to sub-period IV. Sub-period V is the first stratum in which Mitra and Kushāṇa coins and Kushāṇa seals occur. Part of this period therefore seems to have been under the rule of the Mitras whose latest coins are those of Rajanimitra and Jyeṣṭhamitra. Towards the later half of sub-period V, the Kushāṇas seem to have invaded Kauśāmbi, a seal of Kaṇishka bearing the legend \textit{Mahāraja Rājārāja Devaputra Kaṇishkasya prayoge} offering the earliest evidence. The coins of Kaṇishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been recovered from sub-period VI which has yielded also the coins of Nava and the Maghas. Sub-period VII has yielded coins of the Maghas only and to sub-period VIII belongs Puṣvāśi.\footnote{[On this point, cf. \textit{JNSI}, Vol. VII, pp. 78 ff.—Ed.]} The latest coins discovered after that period are those of Ganendra or Gaṇapatinīga when the entire site seems to have been deserted. We know from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Śāmudragupta that Gaṇapatinīga, the Śāma ruler of Pāṇḍavatī (near Narwar in the former Gwalior State), was one of the kings defeated by Śāmudragupta. Assuming therefore that Gaṇapatinīga ruled between 295-330 A.D. it is difficult to compress all these presumably independent kings, viz. Puṣvāśi, the Magha rulers, Neva and the Kushāṇa kings from Kaṇishka onwards, within this period except on the assumption that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D. This gives another conclusive evidence against the use of the Kailachuri era in the Maghas records as there would be a big gap of about 100 years between the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva, assuming that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D., and Bhadrāmagha whose earliest inscription is dated in the year 81. Even accepting that there might be one or two more rulers before Bhadrāmagha the gap would remain quite large. This gap would be even larger if the commencement of the Kushāṇa era is placed at an earlier date. The excavations at Kauśāmbi do not provide for this gap. The discovery of Kaṇishka's seal would definitely show that Kauśāmbi came under Kushāṇa rule in the time of this king. But the discovery of the coins of Vāsudeva creates some difficulty as it might be argued that Kauśāmbi was under the Kushāṇa rule during the reign of Bhadrāmagha. But we must not overlook one very significant fact that no inscription of Vāsudeva has so far been discovered outside the Mathurā region. On the face of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Kushāṇas had lost their hold over Kauśāmbi when the Maghas came into power. The discovery of Vāsudeva's coin at Kauśāmbi does not necessarily mean that this area was under his rule. The reason of this find may be that, though their rule was extinct, coins of the Kushāṇas were still used in the Kauśāmbi area for the purpose of trade side by side with the coins issued by the local Magha rulers. Such instances are not rare in the history of numismatics of ancient India.\footnote{Even foreign coins like the Roman \textit{auri} were not only accepted but were popular currency in India for a long time not merely for its gold value but also for the facility of trade with the Roman world. If this view is accepted and the dates of the Magha inscriptions are referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D., there would neither be any overlapping nor any unreasonable gap between the Kushāṇa and the Magha rule over Kauśāmbi. The palaeography of the Magha inscriptions does not offer any insurmountable difficulty. Though at first sight the script of the Magha records looks later, Mirasi has already}
shown that all the forms found in them may be traced in the Kshāpa inscriptions also. I have also shown above why archaic forms appear in the Bāndhogar inscriptions. In the circumstances there is no other alternative but to accept the theory that both the Magha and the Bāndhogar inscriptions are dated in the Saka era of 78 A.D.

A few words may be said about the style of dating in these inscriptions. Whereas in the Kshāpa records, the date is given in the year, the season and the day of the month, the Maghas and the Bāndhogar rulers use the system found in all other early inscriptions, namely, the year, the season and not the day of the month but the day of the fortnight.

Mirashi takes Bhīmasena of the Ginja record as belonging to the Magha dynasty. But the Bāndhogar inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kauṭāmbī but was the father of Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogar line. Inscription No. I which gives the titles and surname of Bhīmasena along with the date leaves no doubt as to his identification. Mirashi also identifies Vaiśravaṇa and Bhadrabāla of the Bāndhogar records respectively with Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) and Bhadramagha of the Kauṭāmbī line of rulers. But in the Bāndhogar inscriptions Bhadrabāla is called only a Mahāsenāpati and Vaiśravaṇa a Rājan as against the title of Kauṭāmbī for both the Magha rulers. The title of Mahāsenāpati in the early centuries before and after the Christian era did not necessarily designate a military rank but was often simply a title of nobility. The same may be the case with Bhadrabāla who might not have been an army commander of the Bāndhogar or the Magha rulers. Similarly Rājan Vaiśravaṇa of the Bāndhogar records seems to be different from the Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) of Kauṭāmbī. The only puzzling feature is that the language of this record seems to be Sanskrit and not Prakrit like the other records from Bāndhogar. It appears to me that the Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla may have been the originator of the Bāndhogar line whose successor Vaiśravaṇa took the title of Rājan when the family gained more extensive power. He was succeeded by Bhīmasena who started with the same title, as his seal from Bhīṣaka shows, but some time before 129 A.D. assumed the title of Mahārāja which was continued by all the rulers of the family so far known. According to this suggestion, the order of succession would be:

1. Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla.
2. Rājan Vaiśravaṇa.
3. Rājan (then Mahārāja) Bhīmasena (years 51, 52).
4. Mahārāja Poṭhasiri (years 86, 87, 88).
5. Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva (year 90).

The relationship of Vaiśhāhiputa Chitasena (Skt. Chitarasena, No. XV) with this family, if any, is not certain.

A few words may be said about the religion of these rulers. The coins and seals of the Maghas show a bull on the obverse. In the Bhīṣaka seal of Śivamagha there is an additional present below.

---

2 [Cf. Sc. Ins., 1942, p. 385.—Ed.]
3 The only instance I know of where the Kshāpa system of dating has been used outside the Kshāpa records is the Bodh Gaya inscription dated in the year 60 of an unspecified era. See Lidsers' List, No. 940.
6 The suggestion regarding two Vaiśravaṇas, one a Rājā and the other a Mahārāja, seems to be unjustifiable. The Bāndhogar area appears to have formed a part of the dominions of the Kauṭāmbī rulers. Cf. Hist. Culti. Ind. Pasp., Vol. II, p. 176.—Ed.
the neck of the bull. It is therefore likely that they were followers of Śaivism. But in the same seal there is also the figure of a woman with her right arm outstretched. That she represents a goddess there is little doubt, though her identity cannot be established. No coins of the Bändhogarlı rulers are known; but in the Bhiśa seal of Bhlmasena the same figures are found, although they are transposed. In two of our inscriptions (Nos. VIII-IX) Mahārāja Pārshuṣāra is described as Bhajṭraka-Ḥamavilāla (Hama in No. IX)-parīgaḥita, i.e. protected by the lord Ḥamavilāla. Bhajṭraka of course may be 'a king', 'a sage' or 'a god'. But on the analogy of similar expressions found in other inscriptions it has probably to be taken in the sense of a god. I cannot, however, identify this Ḥamavilāla or Ḥamāvilāla with any deity, Śaiva or otherwise. The Chedi country had been a Śaiva stronghold all through the Kalachuri rule. We know very little of the history of Śaivism in this area at an earlier period. There is no indication in these records why the Śaiva establishments at Bändhogarlı were abandoned. Probably after the Maghas and the Bändhogarlı rulers there was no royal patronage and the religious establishments which received their attention and patronage gradually fell into bad days and were finally abandoned, until several centuries later a new line of Śaiva teachers was brought in and made to settle in the country under the patronage of the Kalachuri rulers.

Only five place names occur in the inscriptions from Bändhogarlı. The location of Kaṭāmbhī (No. II, line 1, etc.) and Māthurā (No. VII, line 2) is well known while that of Pavata or Prayata (Nos. XV and XVII) has already been discussed above. I cannot identify Vejabharadha (No. I, line 3) and Sapatanaśirā (No. VII, line 2).

I edit the inscriptions from the stamprges prepared by me in 1938.

I. Inscription of Bhimasena, Year 51 (Plate I)
[In a cave between the Ganesa Pahār and the Rāmagiri hills.]

TEXT

1. Sidhah [I] Mahārāja Vaśiśṭhpyata sahi-Bhimaśenasa savacchhere
2. ekānane 50 vaśa-pakhe paḥarame 5 divwae aṭhamsa, ete pūrvvavat
3. lāṭa-ghara' khanita goṭiḥiki(ke)hi V[e]jabharadha-negamo Phaguṣamaka negamo Mada
4. suvanakaro Balamito negamo Sivasa[kjo k[e]ṭ]hikā[ka]-kamāra Sak[o]
5. negama Choti vanijjako Siṇḍhharo vanijja[ko] [Tīro] *

---

1. AE, ASI, 1911-12, p. 51.
2. Cf., e.g., Bhajṭraka-Mahākāla-parīgaḥita as the epithet of Chāṇṭilā in the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions (above, Vol. XX, pp. 10 ff.). [The word kāla in the name of the deity means 'a cat'. He may have been a local cat-god like the tiger-god Daksānī-gāve of the Sunabans.—Ed.]
4. The word kāla, with the variants kāṭa and kāṭ-gāra, has obviously been used in the sense of Skt. layana, Pkt. leya, 'a cave-shelter' though I cannot trace the word elsewhere. [cf. p. 169, note 1.—Ed.]
5. Vejabharadha is obviously a place name which I cannot identify. The word negama may mean either a resident of a city or city or a merchant and has been distinguished from vanijja (Skt. vanijja), 'a small trader'.
6. The punctuation mark is indicated by a slightly slanting stroke.
TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 51, 8th day of the 5th fortnight of the rainy season (in the reign) of Mahārāja Vāsishthiputra (Vāsishthiputra) śrī-Bhimasaṇa. On this day is excavated a cave-dwelling by the committee (gaṇṭhī) consisting of Phagusama, the merchant (paṇa) of Veja-bharadba, the merchant Madra (Mādra), the goldsmith Balamita (Balamitra), the merchant Sivasaka (Sivaśakra), the carpenter and blacksmith (kāśṭhakāra-kāmāra) Saka (Sakra), the merchant Cheti, the trader (vēṣṭi) Sivadhara (Sivadhara) and the trader Tira.

II. Inscription (No. 1) of Poṭhasirī, Year 56

[On the back wall of Cave No. 1 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 [Sidhaṁ] [†] Mahā[rāja]a Kochhiputasa Pa[o]ṭhaśirīsa savachhare chhāṣṭte 80 6
   Hemantā-pakha patham[e] 1 divasa pachamā 5 etāyaḥ puruvāyaṁ nośa(ga)-
   masa Kosamha(me) yasa Cheka[kāra]a natikasa Phaguhathika[ka]a

2 putasa Rakhitikā[ce] negamaśa Chhamikasa [nati]kasa negamaśa Datikasa putasa Chelāe
   etānam domnam janānam sāhiyaṃ putaka(ke)hi ārāmo lātāni chagavare[ta] [cha] [[*]]

3 dhama vaçhata [†] iya[hi] chhata[lātā] [[*]]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 56, on the 5th day of the first fortnight of Hemanta (in the reign)
of Mahārāja Kochhiputa (Kautsputra) Poṭhasirī. On this day (the joint gift) of Rakhitika
(Rakṣita), the grandson of Chakaka (Chakra), a merchant (negama) from Kosambi (Kanēmbi)
and the son of Phaguhathika (Phalguhastin), and of Cheka, the grandson of the merchant
Chhemika (Kahmin) and the son of the merchant Datika (Datti)—of these two persons with
their sons—are a garden, cave-dwellings and a vessel. May plenty increase. This is the Chhalu cave.

III. Inscription (No. 2) of Poṭhasirī, Year 56

[In Cave No. 2 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Sidhaṁ [[*]] Mahā[rāja]a Kochhiputasa Pa[o]ṭhaśirīsa savachhare chhāṣṭte 80 6
   Hemantā-pakha pathama(me) 1 divasa pachamā 5 etāyaḥ puruvāyaṁ

2 Kosamhiyasa negamaśa Chakakasa natikasa Phaguhathika-putasa Rakhitikā[ce] negamaśa
   Chhamikasa natikasa negamaśa

† Read Rakhitikāsas (also in Nos. III, IV and VI) as in No. V and Chalas. [cf. p. 169, note 2.—Ed.]
* Same as Pāli chahpeda meaning a hollow vessel, a bowl or a cask.
* See above, p. 169.
IV. Inscription (No. 3) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate I)

[In Cave No. 3 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddham [[[] Mahārājasa Kochhi putasa Pothas[risa]. savachhare ohhāste 86 6 Hema[r][s][a]-pakhē patham[e] 1 divase pa[cha]-

2 ne 5 et(tr̥)yam puruvāyaṃ Kosahboyas[sa] [negamasas]a Chakrakasa natikasa Phaguhathikasa putasa Rakhitikās negamasas [Chhamikasa natikasa*]


4 ima īṣya] ohha[ta]a [[*]]

V. Fragmentary Inscription (No. 4) of Pothasiri

[In Cave No. 4 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddham [[*]] Mahārājasa Ko[Chhī]putasa [Pōth]a[risa]…………. [Pa*]-

2 ohma 5 etāyaṃ puruvāyaṃ Kosah[be]yassa…………. [kasa pu]-

3 tasa Rakhitikās negamasas Chhami[kasa]………….[Chē]-

4 īṣo etānām dona janānamsi sahīya putakehi … lātā…………. iyaḥ

5 … tā ma[āhāva]-[lātā]a [[[*]]]

VI. Inscription (No. 5) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 5 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

1 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke. The last sentence may be translated as 'This is the merchant's (ārthikā) cave'. The rest of the text is similar to that of No. II.

2 The last four letters are not clear. The first letter may be di and the second so or po. Obviously this portion contained the name of the cave. The text of this inscription is similar to that of Nos. II-III. (The reading of the last line seems to be ima dipayaṃ.—Ed.)

3 This inscription apparently contained the same text as Nos. II-IV and VI. The last line gives the name of the cave as maṇḍānakas, which probably stands for Skt. maṇḍapaka, meaning 'a hall'.
TEXT

1 Siddham 1 || Mahārājasa Kochhiputasa Poṭhasirisa saṁvachchhare chhāsita 80 8
   Kosahbeyasa nega[ma]sa Cha[kak]saṣa natikasa Phagula-

2 thikasa putasa Rakhitika[e] negamasa Chhaimka[s]a natikasa negamasa Datikasa putasa

3 cha [[*]] dhamo vadhatu [[*]] iyāṁ chha[ta-latā] [[[*]]]

VII. *Inscription (No. 6) of Poṭhasiri, Year 88 (Plate II)*

[On the right of the back wall of Cave No. 9 in the Gauḍa Pahār.]

TEXT*

1 Siddham [[*]] Mahārājasa Kochhiputasa Poṭhasirisa saṁvachchhaṁ aṭhās[ī]te 80 8
   Hermanita-pakhe bitiye 2 divasa pachanme 5 etāya[ṃ] puruvya[śaṃ]

2 v[ā]nujakasa Mātharakasa Jivanakasa pautṛ[r]ena [Su]hitasa put[r]ena Sapatanaikika-
   vatthavena vānijakena Gahavat[iḥ]aṁ imā dhama[cha]rṇā[ṃ] [lā]tā

3 kūpi cha khānītā [[*]] priyatā[ṃ]* bhagavā [[*]] dhamo punya cha iha cha me punya[ṃ]
   vardhatu [[*]] sathasariro [cha] śiṇinā-mānasa nivi ditā[[*]] dhamo [likha]tti [[*]] yo miye

4 mama vā putehi ana[pehi] śatehi kūpi ghatika ra[ju] cha datam sodheya cha tasa ya kupe
   phala[ṇ] tato adhaṁ an[u]maṇiṇi yena khānītā [[[*]]]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 88, 5th day of the second fortnight of Hermanita (in the reign) of Mahārājasa Kochhiputa Poṭhasiri. On this day these cave-sheeters and a well, which constitute a pious act, are excavated by the merchant (aṇājaka) Gahavatī who is a resident of Sapatanaikika and the grandson of Jivanaka, a merchant of Mathurā, and the son of Subhā. May the lord be pleased. May piousy and merit and my (own) merit in this world increase. This endowment I have given (while) in perfect health and undivided (ananyo) mind. This act of merit is put in writing. Whatever has been given by me or by my progeny, numerous and excellent (iṣṭa), the well, the water vessel (ghaṭikā) and ropes and also the dwelling (srudhīya), (of these) whatever may be the merit (accruing from), the well, half of it goes to

---

1 Final m is indicated by writing it below the line in smaller size. The double danda after Siddham is followed by a symbol which may possibly be regarded as the covering stroke of the final m.

2 This m which was omitted at first due to oversight is supplied above the line in a smaller shape.

3 The letters are last due to the stone having peeled off.

4 This looks like ə on the impressions.

5 The portion within the square brackets is broken and lost.

6 In some cases i and i are written alike. The same is the case with No. VI (cf. jambōṣa in line 2).—Ed.

7 [The context requires əsurīvaḥ and əsāmena. —Ed.]
VIII. Inscription (No. 7) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 3 of a group of caves lying from east to west about a mile to the west of Gopalpur.]

TEXT

1 Siddham ["] Bhattacharya-Hamviliela-pariga[hita]sa maharaja-Bhimaseṇa-putasa maharajasa
Kochhi[pu]tasa Pothasiriṣa

2 sa[r]vahare chhāśite 80 6 Gima-pakhe satame 7 divasa 10 etyaṃ puruvāyaḥ
maharaja-Pothasiriṣa

3 sahḍhivagah-vāvatena amanca-Chakara-putena amanca-Mahēṇa dhama-nimita vā[pl]ya-
khāntāya [dvo] 2

4 lātā-garā be jha[si]maya arāmo cha ["] pu[nyah var]dhatu ["]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86, 16th day of the 7th fortnight of Grahama (in the reign of Mahārāja Kochhiputa Pothasiriṣa, son of Mahārāja Bhimāsena and protected by the god Harnāvilāla. On this day, are caused to be excavated for religious merit by the minister (amāja) Magha who is the son of the minister Chakora and is employed (to hold) the office of the Foreign Affairs (lit. in charge of Peace and War), 2 walls, 2 cave-shelters and a garden containing shrubs. May merit prosper.

IX. Inscription (No. 8) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of the hall of Cave No. 4, about 60 steps to the east of Cave No. 3 (cf. No. VII)].

TEXT

1 Siddham ["] Bhattacharya-Hamviliela-pariga[hita]sa maharaja-Bhimaseṇa-putasa maharajasa
Kochhiputaṣa

2 Pothasiriṣa sāhrvahare chhāśite 80 8 Hemartha-pakhe satame 7 divasa dasame
10 etāṃ puna-
vās maharaja-Pothasiriṣa sahḍhivagaha-vāvatena [a]... putena amardha[sa] Mahēṇa dha-
māthā

4 khaṇita 2 vahi 2 ārāmā lātā-garā cha ["] puṇyaṃ varddhatu[ ] ["]

---

1 In Cave No. 1, which is near the road, there are a few letters visible on the wall. In Cave No. 2 in this area, there is writing on the wall in two places and several short records which are no longer legible, except one which reads bhūtachara, probably the same as bhūtachara, an epithet of Siva.
2 A few letters are visible on two pillars; but they are quite illegible. There is a reservoir, now completely filled up, in front of the cave which is evidently one of the two mentioned in the inscription. This cave consists of only one big hall and there are no cells attached.
3 These letters have been destroyed due to the subsequent cutting of an alcove which has also damaged the last akṣara of line 4. Read amacha-Chakora as in No. VIII.
4 This figure is joined with the preceding letter.
5 The text is almost similar to that of No. VIII.
X. Inscription (No. 9) of Pothasiri, Year 88 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of a big hall in Cave No. 7, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur and south of Cave No. 6.]

TEXT

1 Siddhān [\*] Mahārāja Kochhiputasa Pothasirisa sarvachare 80 6 Gī-pa 6(?) diva 10\*

2 atiya puruvaya negamasa Ujhasa putena amacha-Bhabhena ketana-latāghara kārāsi(pl) t[\*] dhamo vadhatu [\*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 88 on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of Summer. On this day has been caused to be constructed by the minister Bhabāha, son of the merchant (negama) Ujha, a cave-shelter for dwelling. May piety prosper.

XI. Inscription of Bhaṭṭadeva, Year 90 (Plate III)

[Commencing on the back wall and continued to the right wall of the hall in Cave No. 5.]*

TEXT

Back wall:

Śiddhān [\*] Mahārāja Bhaṭṭa[ṣṭa]devasa sarvachhare navate 90 Hemamita-pakha padharmā 1 divasa padharmā 1 etā puruvāya negamasa Ajñātakasa? natikena Vesākha\*

putena ne[ga]jnera Dhanamitakena

Right wall:

[la]yo(ya)na kārita [\*\*] dhamo vadhatu [\*\*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 90 on the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta (of the sign) of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva. On this day has been constructed by the merchant (negama) Dhanamitaka (Dhanamitra), the grandson of the merchant (negama) Ajñātaka and the son of Vesākha (Vaiśākha), a cave-shelter. May piety prosper.

---

\* The medial / sign is not deeply engraved.
\* Unlike the other inscriptions of this ruler, the details of the date are given only in figures and not both in words and numerical figures. For the season and the fortnight, only abbreviations have been used.
\* The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke.
\* There is a cell on the left. There was another cave at a distance of above 20 yards from this cave, the roof of which has fallen and there is now no indication if it originally contained any inscription.
\* The rendering seems to be Bhakṣa here and not Bheda. See d in divasa, which is quite different.
\* The swarāda is shown in red paint and was not engraved through oversight.
\* The sign of medial ā in ātā is engraved on top of the conjunct letter. There is a chisel-mark on its making it look like ātā on the impressions.
\* It appears that ātā was engraved first and then corrected into atā with the result that the syllable looks like atā.
\* There is also a chisel-mark on ātā making it look like a. The rock in this cave is very rough and there are numerous chisel-marks which give the impression of vowel sign on the impressions.
XII. Inscriptions in Cave No. 6

There is no Brāhmi inscription in this cave which consists of only one hall. There are, however, seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters engraved at the right end of the back wall. There are also letters written in black paint varying from 9 inches to two feet in size, which are now practically effaced. A late inscription is engraved along the wall, partly cutting the letters written in black paint. In one place, however, the word Sivabhaktā(tta) can be clearly read and in another the word putasa. There are a few other small epigraphs, now illegible, which seem to have been only pilgrims' records. On the jamb of the first entrance to the left, the letters Siva are clear. There is no record of any historical importance, nor any image. The small records are, however, valuable in that they clearly indicate the Śaivite association of the place. The hall may have been only a resting place for the pilgrims visiting the caves in the vicinity.

XIII. Inscriptions of Bhavādeva (Plate III)

[In cave No. 6, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur. There are two inscriptions, here marked A and B, both badly mutilated. A is on the back wall and B on the left wall.]

TEXT

A


2 .................................. [pā]jhe........

3 [stā]ya puruvāya Vasumitaka-natt[i]kasa ........

4 .................................. ketana-dharamas[a] 1[ā][ā]-ghara khānīta [punyast]........

B

1 Mahārājasa Kosikiputasa siri-Bha[ṭṭa]devasa ........

TRANSLATION

A

Success: On ........................................... fortnight (of the reign) of ..................
son of Poṭhasiri. On this day, by ............ ... the grandson of Vasumita .............., has
been excavated a cave-shelter for dwelling as a measure of piety. May merit increase.

B

The illustrious Mahārājasa Bhavādeva, the son of Kosika........

---

1 The roof of the cave is fallen.
2 Of the first line of A, only the beginning is preserved. The second line has practically disappeared due to the wearing of the stone. The third and fourth lines are also badly worn off. Obviously both the inscriptions belonged to the time of Bhavādeva, son of Poṭhasiri. [It is difficult to be definite on this point.—Rd.]
3 The last three syllables must have been added as in some other inscriptions.
XIV. Inscriptions in Cave No. 9 (Plate IV)

This cave lies about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and consists of seven cells and a hall. On the north wall of the hall, on two sides of a doorway are the remains of an inscription. On the left side only Mahārāja-Śivamāna[r]ya] is clear. On the right side 6 to 8 letters at the beginning are missing altogether while 6 more letters following this portion are not clear. Thereafter comes the concluding portion of the record which reads: nēvaśo lā[m]a[ti]-grīha[ḥ]. It is a pity that the inscribed portion after the name of the ruler is lost as it would have not only given a date for the ruler but might have thrown some light on his relationship with the rulers of Bhīmasena's line. It also seems from the record that there were originally 8 cells which along with the hall made a total of 9 as indicated in the inscription.

XV. Inscription of Chitamena (Plate IV)

[In Cave No. 10, about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur. There are remains of an inscription on the left wall starting from the wall in the south.]

TEXT

South wall:
1 [Vasi]ṣṭhiputama

Left wall:

TRANSLATION

(During the time of) Vasiṣṭhiputa (Vasiṣṭhiputrama), the illustrious Chitamena, these caves-dwellings are excavated by the trader Phaguna (Phalgu), the son of Pusaka (Pushya) and a resident of Pavata (Farvata).

XVI. Inscriptions in Cave No. 11 (Plate IV)

[There are two inscriptions marked here as A and B, both badly damaged, in the cells to the left and right respectively.]

TEXT

A

1 ........ [Pusaka-putena Phaguna [lā[t]-ghara khaṇāpita [?]] pūna vadhatu [?]]
2 vapi[k]-ār[ā]m[o] [cha] [??]

1 There are a few letters of large size below the inscription on the left wall and also on the back and right wall; but they are not clear and no sense can be made out of them.
2 Supplied on the basis of No. XVI.
3 The second line of the inscription engraved in continuation on the south and left walls is completely worn out.
4 It is difficult to take Chitamena as a king unless it is supposed that the date before the name or an expression like rajya after it is omitted.—Ed.
5 Cf. No. XV.
6 The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.
1. ☐[Posaka]putena Phaguna [k]ā-ghara k'inaśpita [\textsuperscript{1}] pras vaiśānu [\textsuperscript{4}]

**TRANSLATION**

A

These cave-dwellings have been caused to be excavated by Phaguna, the son of Pusaka (who donated) also a small tank and a garden. May merit increase.

**XVII. Inscription (No. 10) of Pothasiri, Year 87 (Plate IV)**

[On the back wall of Cave No. 12 which is partly ruined.]

**TEXT**

1 [Ś]jiddham [\textsuperscript{2}] Mahās[\textsubscript{A}]jasa Kōchhiputasa Pothasirīsa sarhva 86 7 Vāsa-pa 2 diva 5
2 etāc purvāc Pavata-vathavasa negamasa Āyāsaka-putasa
3 Pusasa vāpi lātā-gharo vāyama-sākā cha [\textsuperscript{2}] dhama vaṣṭhatu [\textsuperscript{2}]

**TRANSLATION**

Success! In the year 87, 5th day of the second fortnight of Varṣa (in the reign) of Kočhiputa (Kautṣiputra) Pothasiri. On this day, a tank, cave-dwellings and a gymnasion are (the gifts) of the merchant Pusa (Pushya), the son of Āyāsaka (Āyasa) and a resident of Parvata.

**XVIII. Inscription (No. 1) of Vaiśravaṇa (Plate V)**

[On the left wall of the verandah, which is partly fallen; in Cave No. 13.]

**TEXT**

1 Ma[\textsuperscript{h}a] [\textsuperscript{e}n[\textsuperscript{p}a] [\textsuperscript{e}r]=Bhadrabālasa putraṇa rāj[a]
2 [Vaiśravaṇena idam] [\textsuperscript{a]tā-griha[\textsuperscript{r}h] khaṇita[\textsuperscript{r}h]]

**TRANSLATION**

This cave-dwelling has been caused to be excavated by the king Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Mahāśeṇapati Bhadrabāla.

---

\textsuperscript{1} The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.

\textsuperscript{2} This is followed in the original by a horizontal stroke.

\textsuperscript{3} The punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke. In the third cell of another cave situated on the right of the present cave is a small record which seems to read: Ma[\textsuperscript{h}a][\textsuperscript{g}avr[\textsuperscript{r}h].

\textsuperscript{4} Pusa, the son of Āyāsaka of the present record, is obviously identical with Pusaka, the father of Phalna of Nos. XV-XVI.

\textsuperscript{5} The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.

\textsuperscript{6} The punctuation mark is indicated by one horizontal stroke.
XIX. Inscription (No. 9) of Vaitravaya (Plate V)

[On a detached rock which once formed part of a cave but is now lying near a nullah.]

TEXT

1 *Mahāsesāpater-Bhadrabālasya putra[pa]*

2 Vaitravayaśena ida[m] latā[gp]i bham kānutam [*]*

XX. Inscriptions of Year 80 (Plate V)

{In three caves to the south-east of Gopālpur. The three inscriptions are in one line each bearing an almost identical text.}

TEXT

A. (In Cave No. 1, on the back wall of the inner hall.)

Sava 80 Gī-ya 1 diva 5 keta[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojasā Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

B. (In Cave No. 2, on the back wall of a cell to the right of Cave No. 1.)

Sava 80 Gīma 1 [d]ya 5 keta[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojasā Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

C. (In Cave No. 3.)

......... keta[m] Vachha-putana Bhojasā Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

TRANSLATION

In the year 80, 5th day of the first fortnight of summer. (This is the) dwelling (which is the gift) of Vachha's son Bhoja and Bhojapili. [According to C, 'of Vachha's sons, Bhola and Bhojapili'.]

* The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.
* The text is almost identical with that of No. XVIII.
No. 24—TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

A few years ago two sets of copper-plate grants were dug up from the fields belonging to Mr. B. Rajagopala Rao, President of the Panchayat Board of Galavalli, a village in the Bobbili Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. The priest of the Kāmēvarasvāmi temple at Galavalli secured them and sent them to Mr. N. Ramesan, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Parvatipuram. Mr. Ramesan presented the inscriptions to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, and published both the epigraphs in the said Society’s journal, Vol. XX, pp. 151-70, 171-76. As neither the treatment of the earlier inscription nor its published facsimile appeared to me satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates. In January 1936 I visited the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and had an opportunity of examining both the inscriptions through the courtesy of Mr. R. Subba Rao, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao was also kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the two records.

1. Plates of Ghatga Year 393

The inscription is written on three plates which measure each 7½” by 2½”. They were strung on a ring which passed through a hole (about ¾” from the left end of the plates and about ½” in diameter) and the ends of which were soldered beneath a circular seal bearing the usual Eastern Ganga emblems of the bull to right, sun, moon, akkula and chāmara. The weight of the plates, without the ring and seal, is 115 tolas. An interesting fact about the record is that the main document is written on the second (inner) side of the first plate, continued on both sides of the second plate and completed on the first (inner) side of the third plate, while there is an interesting endorsement of a later date which had been begun on the second (outer) side of the third plate but was given up and incised afterwards on the first (outer) side of the first plate. In this respect, the epigraph under study closely resembles the Terasingha copper-plate inscription of Tushṭikāra, edited above. Only four aksharas of the endorsement had been engraved on the outer side of the third plate before it was given up. The full text of the endorsement as found on the outer side of the first plate covers no less than six lines. The original document, incised on the remaining four faces of the plates, contains 28 lines of writing in the following order: IIA—7 lines, IIB—8 lines, IIA—7 lines, IIA—6 lines.

The characters employed in the main document belong to the class known as the later Kaliṅga script and closely resemble those of records like the Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates of Anantavarman who has been assigned to a date about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The endorsement is written partly in the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet and partly in Telugu-Kannada characters. It begins with O instead of the symbol for Siddham usually found in early records. It is well known that the chief characteristic of the later Kaliṅga script is the representation of the same letters in several different forms prevalent in both the Northern and Southern Alphabets. The inscription under study represents almost all the consonants in more than one form. Cf. k in "Kaliṅga (line 2); kh in sikhārī (line 2); saka (line 3); Khaṇḍa (line 23); g in Kaliṅgamārāya (line 2); guḍa (line 10); Gāṅga-ū (line 12); ch in "achal-a" (line 2); char-śchara (line 3); "achal (line 1); j in "vijaya (lines 1-2); jaya (line 6); Manuśkāra (line 14); vijaya vājya

1 See Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff.
The language of the record is Sanskrit. The main document is written in prose except for the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end. The endorsement is, however, entirely written in verse. There are really two stanzas in this section; but one of them has been quoted twice. It appears that the engraver of the endorsement began to incise the stanzas in the East Indian alphabet with which he was not quite at ease. After completing the first stanza, he gave up that script and engraved both the stanzas in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. That is how the first verse of the endorsement was incised twice. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the time and area in question. Final \( n \) has occasionally been changed wrongly to \( um \) (cf. line 24) which also takes the place of final \( m \) at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. The charter is dated in the Gaṅga year 393 (889-90 A.D.).

The main document begins with the Śiddham symbol and the usual prakāśi of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas in lines 1-11, referring to the issue of the charter from the adhirāja (royal residence) at Kaliṅga-nagara resembling Amarapura (the city of the gods) and to the devotion of the issuer of the grant to the god, Bhogaṭa Gākarpavāmin (Śiva), installed on the peak of Mount Mahendra. As usual, the issuer of the charter is described (lines 11-12) as a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents, and as an ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. He is further introduced in lines 12-14 as the son of Mahārājaḍhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhadṛāra śrimad-Dēvendravarmadēva. Curiously enough, the passage in line 14, containing the name of the issuer of the grant and the district in which the gift land was situated, reads: 

\[
\text{mahārāja-Manujēndra(ṇḍra) vṛgala-viśhayā.}
\]

It has to be noticed that while the father is endowed with full imperial titles, the son is represented as a Mahārāja and with ṭṛī instead of śrimat. Some letters moreover appear to be lost in the passage and its intended reading may have been Manujēndra(ṛma)madēvaḥ kuśaliḥ] Lāṅka-viśhayā. Whether the intention of the scribe was to include here a passage containing the usual address of the issuer of a grant to the officers and subordinates is impossible to determine. But it appears that Mahārāja Manujēndra or Manujēndravarman issued the charter during the rule of his father, Mahārājaḍhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhadṛāra Dēvendravarman. He may have therefore been a sub-king under his father during the latter's old age. A similar instance is offered by the passage introducing the issuer of a grant as mahārājaḍhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhadṛāra-ṭṛī-Anurādha-rāja(ṛma)kuśaliḥ kuśaliḥ occurring in an Eastern Gaṅga charter of the year 313 (509-11 A.D.). Although a confusion is sometimes noticed in the


grants of this family in respect of the use of the titles Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja with the name of the issuer and that of his father; the above suggestion regarding the relation of Manujendrā with his father seems to be supported by other considerations. In the first place, the date of the record under study, viz., the Garga year 395, suggests the identification of king Dēvendravarman of our record with the king of the same name who issued the Chidivalasa plates in the Garga year 397 (893-95 A.D.), since it is not possible to argue that the latter was a son and grandson respectively of Manujendra and Dēvendravarman of the epigraph under study. Secondly, as will be shown below, the endorsement to the main document would suggest that it was a king named Dēvendravarman who was responsible for the grants recorded in both of them. It is therefore possible to think that Manujendra made the grant under orders of his father, although some words to this effect are lost in the document.

The object of the record (lines 14 ff.) was the grant of three villages, viz., Nuṅkapāṭakagrama and Bāḍavāḍagrama, both situated in the Gaiṣḍa-vishaya, and Chintachadi-grama in Hāmya-vishaya. The grant was made in favour of Kaṇṭṭhaka-Gunḍēśvarā, probably a deity called Gunḍēśvarā worshipped at a locality called Kaṇṭṭhaka or Kōṇḍhaka. The gift was received on behalf of the deity by Sāmapeda-bhagavanta who was the son of Brahmatma-bhagavanta of Vallakōnda (or, Challakōnda) and probably the priest in charge of the temple of Gunḍēśvarā. The boundaries of the gift villages were indicated by a causeway (ṣuṭi) and certain śrīkātās which are stated to have been wellknown to the people of the district (line 18). Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 19-26. The date of the charter, viz., year 395 of the increasingly victorious sovereignty of the Gāṅgēya dynasty, is quoted in words in lines 20-27. The document is stated to have been written by Chāḷapa who was the son of Kāyastra Khāṇḍyarna called a Raḥāṣya. The expression raḥāṣya indicates the official designation of a Privy Councillor also called Raḥāsi niyukta, Raḥāsaka or Raḥāṣyādhirāja in inscriptions.

As indicated above, the endorsement engraved on the first side of the first plate consists of two stanzas. The first of these, which has been repeated, says that the illustrious Dēvendravarman, lord of Kāliṅga, received blessings from the god Śiva and that he granted two localities called Yēgū or Ygu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giṇṭhi and situated in Kōṇḍauṇḍa, in favour of Yōgāṭaman. The second stanza shows that the village of Giṇṭhi was really granted in favour of Gunḍēśvarā, no doubt the same as the deity called Gunḍēśvarā in the original document, and it further states that the grant was made by king Dēvendravarman ‘afterwards in his presence’ (paṭṭīt taṃya saṃipataḥ). The implication is that king Dēvendravarman ratified the grant in the presence of the deity Gunḍēśvarā at a later date. Yōgāṭaman seems to have been a successor of Sāmapeda-bhagavanta in the office of the priest of the Gunḍēśvarā or Gunḍēśvarā temple. The formation of his name reminds us that of the name of Brahmatma-bhagavanta, father of Sāmapeda-bhagavanta. There is no doubt that the endorsement was engraved at a later date. But whether it was a forgery or a genuine addition to the original record, approved by royal authority, is difficult to determine. Since, however, the palaeography of the endorsement seems to suggest a later date than that of the original grant, the first alternative looks more probable.

The gift villages mentioned in the original document and the endorsement are difficult to identify. We are not sure if the name of the Gaiṣḍa-vishaya is preserved in that of modern Galavalli where the plates were discovered.

\(^3\) The word śrīkātā appears to mean the junction of three villages. (Journ. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note).
\(^4\) Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17 note; Vol. XXX, p 275. Khāṇḍyarna is also known from the Chīnacola (Srīkakulam) plates (Garga year 331) of Satyavarman, which mention Tāra-grāma in Galaiś (Gaiśḍa)-vishaya.
First Plate, First Side

1. धवंत्रवर्मा शिवालवधा(बधा)-सा(सा)र्मा श्र्मण(न)-कलिंजःग-श्वित्र-वर्भया-
कु[स]*

2. योगतमें कोपजापण-अद्धक्ष(त-स)-योज(ग)-भाव-

3. न्तानि हिम गोपी(स)-क्षण(स)-काल(का) द्वेंद्रामानी सी(सी) सलाबधा-सर्वमा श्री-

4. मान-कलिंजःग-श्वित्र-वर्भया(का]* योगतमें कोपजापण-अद्धक्ष(त-स)

5. अल्ट(त-स) गुरु(गुरु)-महाक्षण न्तानि हिम गोपी(स)-क्षण(स)-काल(का)

6. मानानि गुणद्वार(वा)-वक(वा)-वी(वा) द्वेंद्रामानी-राजेंद्र(का)* पाप(पा)

First Plate, Second Side

1. शिवस्य-अमरपुर-अनुरागसारावता(र्तु)-सुखार-रामालयाद-वीण-

2. यवस्य-कलिंजःग(दशा) महादर-अचल-अमला-स्वरमुक्षः(का)

3. वास्तः-नरा-चारा-गुरु(का*) सक्ता-भवना-निन्दा-

4. नाजः-काले-काले-वायु-वचगवतो गोकर्णा(र्तु) स्वात(का)

5. नामानि-करणा-गुणमाला-विनाश-प्रपणु(का*) निग्यत(ता)-काली-

Second Plate, First Side

8. चुक्त्र-मानेण(स)-प्रभाव-मांजार-पुष्पा-राज(ज्ञ)ा-वर्दा(र्ता)-सुमानेण(स)-कुमु-

9. दाकुद-कुंड(कुंड)-वाद्ता(र्ता)-द्वास्तप-कण्डा-वना-दयाद-दयाद-

10. सुकाल्कियो(स)-सूत्र(स)-कण्दर्या-सत्या-त्या-त्या-गुणा-सुमानेण(स)

11. द-शालान-प्राप्त(प्राप्त)-प्राप्त-प्राप्त-प्राप्त-प्राप्त-प्रापत(प्रापत)-

12. नुर्भेठा गान्या-अमला-कुला-तिलका(का)* महर्षिज्ञाकर्क्षण-पा-

13. रमेश्वर-प्रसारका(स) सर्व(स)-द्वेंद्रामानी-द्वेंद्रामानी-

14. देवा-सुन-महर्षी-काले-मनुजाधिका(का)* गान्या-बहस्यायी-

Second Plate, Second Side

16. दुग्रामाःर्च(का) कामुका-गुण्डेर्वर्धया दान्ता(दान्ता)-स्रिमत्त(स्रिमत्त)-मद-वल्लांकॊषा-

Brahmā-भी}

---

1. From the original plate and impressions.
2. There is a floral design here to separate the foregoing part in the East Indian alphabet from the following portion in the Telugu-Kanada script. The metre of the first stanza is Indravijaya. The second verse is a repetition of the first. The metre of the third stanza is Anashalkāhā.
3. Read sarvajñānā.
4. Expressed by symbol.
5. The intended reading may be Manujādvardinatrīkāh kūhā.
6. The first akshara of the name may also be read as cha.
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI—PLATE I

1.—Plates of Ganga Year 393

Scale: Four-fifths
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

17 gavanta[h] tasya sūnu[h] Sāmavāda-bhagavanta[h] tēna labdhāni(nām) grāma-traya-
18 ni(nām) sīna sūtu-trikūpāni lōka-vishaya'-gamyāni ["*] atra
19 Vṛṣasi-gitiṅī(gitiṅī dīkōh) bhavanti ["*] Bahubhir-vaśundhā dattā rāja-
20 bhīs-Sagar-ādībhiḥ ["*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h]*-tasya
21 tasya tadā phalān(lam */) Sva-data(āsanta) para-data(āsanta) vē yē harēta vasūndhāram-
(rām |) sa vi-
22 aśī(āśī)yaṁ krmir-khūtvā pitri(ṛṭi)bhiṣ-saha pachyātī ["*] Mad-dataṁ sa[d*]-dvijā-
 tinām

Third Plate, First Side

23 pātu(ti) vē(ya) iha daivikān(kam |) mātri(ch-ohhi)ra(m(tō)-makṛta-nyastā[n]*) tasya
 rājaṁ pada-
24 dvayān(yaṁ |) Sarvān(āsanta) bhiśvināḥ pārthivān-drāṇ(ād) bhūyaḥ bhūyaḥ yēchati
 Kā-
25 mabhādṛ[a][h]ī * sāmāny-yaṁ ḍhāma-setur-mipāgam kālē kālē pā-
26 lanyō bhavadvīb[h]ī["*] Gāgṛṇ(Agṛṇa)-vānās-pravardhānā-sa āja-
27 ya-rāja-samvānha(samvānha)ra-śata-traya(yā) ṛṭi(ṛṭi)-navātī-śhikānha(hē)
 likhitām
28 Kāyaśṭha-rahasa-Khanḍyamaṇya sūnu-Chīḷapa(pēṇa) itī ||

Third Plate, Second Side

1 [ū] Devāndra

2.—Grant of Rājarāja I Devendravarmān, Saka 998

The inscription is written on four plates, each measuring 9 ½ inches by 4 inches. They were
strung together on a ring, the ends of which were soldered beneath the king's seal bearing the bull
emblem and other symbols. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side while the other
three plates have inscription on both the sides. There are altogether fifty-two lines of writing,
their distribution on the various faces of the plates being as follows: IB—9 lines, IIA—9 lines,
IIB—8 lines, IIIA—8 lines, IIB—8 lines, IV—9 lines, IV—2 lines. The four plates together,
without the ring and seal, weigh 166 tolas.

The characters belong to the Gauḍāya class and closely resemble those of some of the
copper-plate grants of the early members of the Imperial Gaṅga family as well as of the later
members of the Sōma-vahśe of Kōṣala and Utkala and of the Bhāuma-Kara dynasty of Tōsali.

1 Better read rāikāya-lōka.
2 The endorsement, later engraved on the outer (first) side of the first plate, appears to have been originally
began here and abruptly abandoned. The reason for this may be the unsatisfactory formation of the akṣaras.
3 See, e.g., the Nadagam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff., and Plates) and Madras Museum (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 66 ff.,
and Plates) plates of Vajrabhata III, father of Rājarāja I who issued the charter under study. Cf. C. P. Ne. 3 of
September-9 published in JAHRS, Vol. VIII, pp. 171 ff., and Plates. See also Rājarāja's own grant (O. P. No. 4 of
1919-19 published in JAHRS, Vol. VIII, pp. 171 ff., and Plates. See also Rājarāja's own grant (C. P. No. 4 of
Chōḍagāga such as the Kōrī plates of Saka 1003 (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 40 ff., and Plates).
4 See, e.g., the Kiserhalla plates of Mahābhāravagupta IV Udyotakāśā (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 185 ff.,
and Plates).
5 See, e.g., the Sāntigrāma grant of Daṇḍiṣamahādevī (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 78 ff., and Plates).
The sign for ś has been used to indicate the letter b. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph is composed in both prose and verse. As regards orthography also, the inscription closely resembles other records of the area and age in question. Final m has been wrongly changed to anusvāra at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In the place of rūdh, rūdh has been wrongly written in more than one case (cf. lines 6, 20). There are also some other cases of wrong spelling such as śrīgha for śrīka, subha for subha and sambhika for sambhika (cf. lines 7, 20, 41-43). Consonants are not only reduplicated in conjunction with superscript r but in one case also in that of subscript y (cf. "matyagāḥ in line 30-31). The date of the charter is given in the chronogram vaṃ-samā-nīdi of the Śaka era, i.e. Śaka 993, while the details of the date quoted are the Visuvva-saṅkṛānti in the month of Chaitra, i.e. the day of the vernal equinox. The date of the charter thus appears to be March 23, 1077 A.D.

We know that the later members of the Eastern Gaṅga family began their charters with the prākṣasti: āsātya-Āmarapura-ānukāraṇa, etc., in prose as in the charter of the Gaṅga year 993, edited above. The early members of the imperial branch of the family adopted the same prākṣasti for the introduction of their grants.1 But Vajrānaha III (1038-70 A.D.) introduced a new prākṣasti beginning with īrtiālaṃ-ādhi-bhuvam-vīrya-vina, etc., in prose and verse. This eulogy contains no less than twelve stanzas, five in the description of the reigning monarch (Vajrānaha III), one each in that of his father and the latter's two younger brothers, two in that of his grandfather and one in that of his great-grandfather. The entire prākṣasti was copied in the charters of his son and successor Rājarāja I Dēvavāravatman (1070-78 A.D.) who issued the grant under study. This king, however, added four new stanzas to the introduction, one referring to the end of his father's rule and three in his own eulogy. The great Anantavarman Chōśānga (1078-1147 A.D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, used the same introduction, as found in his father's charters, in his earlier grants with the omission of most of the stanzas, although in his later records containing a modified but elaborate account of the early members of the family2 he re-introduced a few of the verses.

The inscription begins with the Śūdham symbol and the word suasti followed by a prose passage (lines 1-10) referring to the son of Guṇamahārānava(Guṇārāṇa)-mahārāja (cīra 879-96 A.D.) who belonged to the family of the Gaṅga lords of Trikaliṅga. These Gaṅgas are described as belonging to the Ātrīya gōta and as having obtained, through the grace of lord Gōkarpavārim (Śiva), the unique conch-shell and drum, the 'five great sounds', the white umbrella, the golden fly-whisk and the bull emblem or creśt. It has to be noticed that the possession of the five mahā-sadaks, explained with reference to North Indian rulers as the enjoyment of five official designations beginning with the word mahat and in regard to South Indian kings as the privilege of enjoying the sounds of five musical instruments,3 is usually associated with feudatories. Some early medieval South Indian dynasties, however, associated the privilege with imperial dignity and the claim of the Imperial Gaṅgas reminds us of a similar one on behalf of their western neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngī.4

The son of Guṇamahārānava was Vajrānaha I (cīra 895-940 A. D.) who is next described in a stanza (verse 1) saying that he united under his rule the earth (i.e. the Gaṅga kingdom), which had been previously divided into five parts ruled separately by different kings, and reigned for fourty-four years. Then comes a section in prose (lines 13-15) speaking of the three sons of Vajrānaha.

---

4 Cf. 91I, Vol. I, p. 54 (text lines 23-34). The introductory part of earlier Eastern Chālukya grants begins with the prākṣasti: īrtiālaṃ-ādhi-bhuvam-saṅkiya, etc. (ibid. p. 33, text line 1), which reminds us of īrtiālaṃ-ādhi-bhuvam-vīrya, etc., of the charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas like the one under publication.
I, viz., Guṇḍama I (circa 940-43 A.D.), Kāmarāva I (circa 943-78 A.D.) and Vinayāditya (circa 978-81 A.D.), who ruled for three, thirty-five and three years respectively. Then follow two stanzas (verses 2-3) describing Aniyanakkabhiṣa (Anāgabhiṣa) I (circa 981-1016 A.D.), son of Kāmarāva I, as having ruled for thirty-five years. The following three stanzas (verses 4-6) speak respectively of three sons of Aniyanakkabhiṣa I, viz., Kāmarāva II (circa 1016 A.D.), Guṇḍama II (circa 1016-1019 A.D.) and Madhukāmarāva (circa 1019-38 A.D.), who respectively reigned for six months, three years and nineteen years. The next seven stanzas (verses 7-13) describe Vajrasthāna III (1038-70 A.D.) who was the son of Kāmarāva II from the Vaiḍūya princess Vinayā-mahādevī, and ruled for thirty-three years after having been installed on the throne in Saka 960 (śvāya-sīvan-āhā), month Vṛṣṭabha (solar Jyēṣṭha), suṇi 3, Sunday, Rūshi-pañcakṣhara, Dhunurāgana. As already indicated above, this description, with the exception of verse 13 referring to the end of the king’s rule covering a period of thirty-three years, is quoted from the charters of Vajrasthāna III himself. The details of the date of his coronation are irregular for the month of Vṛṣṭabha in Saka 960; but, for the month of Mēṣha (instead of Vṛṣṭabha), they correspond to Sunday April 9, 1038 A.D. The remaining three stanzas of the introductory part (verses 14-16) describes the reigning monarch Rājāraja I Devendravarman who was the son of Vajrasthāna III from the queen Anāgasmahādevī. Verse 16 speaks of him as an ornament of the kings of Kaliṅga and gives his date of coronation as Saka 992 (nāyana-Abhajargabha-nāhī), Jyēṣṭha suṇi 8, Thursday, Uttarābhigunī-pañcakṣhara, Sīvan-āhā. The details correspond to Thursday, May 20, 1070 A.D. We have elsewhere seen how the above description of the early Imperial Gaṅgas is more reliable than the modified genealogy quoted in the later charters of Anantavarman Chōda-gaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), son and successor of Rājāraja I, as well as in the grants of Chōda-gaṅga’s descendants.

The charter under study was issued from Kamālānakaravā by Paramabhaṭṭaśri Mahaśrējā-dhirāra Trikalkiśākhiṣapatī Devendravarman Rājāraja-deva who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvīra (Śiva). Its object was to grant the village of Kōḍätā (originally written Koḍilī) in the Varāhavartanti wifiṣaṇa, for the merit of the king and his parents, in favour of three hundred Brahmans belonging to the Ātṛya gōtra, the three prāvrata including Śyāvāva (i.e. Atri, Archanānasī and Śyāvāsā) and the Chhandōga chavāṇa. The occasion of the grant, as already indicated above, was the Vāhubha-sākhārati in Saka 998. The names of the donees have not been quoted in the record. The absence of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses and of any reference to the royal officials who were responsible for the preparation of the document may lead one to suspect that the charter is incomplete. But this characteristic is not peculiar to the present grant of Rājāraja I. We know that another record of the king, issued on the same date and occasion, also ends abruptly in the same way. The village granted by this charter was Bṛhat-Kōḍilagāma in Varāhavartanti, to which was added another locality called Bhānāvīṣa. The gift land is stated in this case to have been made a gṛāma-grāsa which was divided into six parts, four of them being granted to Vāsudēva-varma of Vatasa-gōtra, who was a resident of Kalipura, and the remaining two parts to Narāyaṇa-varman of the Kāyapa gōtra. It is interesting to note that neither of these two records refers to the creation of a revenue-free holding from the gift land. The donees therefore appear to have been liable to pay rent or cess for their holdings. This is probably why the expression gṛāma-grāsa instead of the well-known agrahāṛa has been used to indicate the nature of the holding under Vāsudēva-varman and Narāyaṇa-varman. Such a possibility also explains the absence of the usual details noticed in

---

1 Kāmarāva I and Vinayāditya were killed by Jñānacandra Bhūma before Saka 994-982 A.D. (JAHERS, Vol. X, pp. 32 ff.).
2 See Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1090.
5 Cf. JERK, 1932, pp. 4 ff.
this connection in charters recording grants of rent-free holdings. There is little doubt that 
Brisht-Kōḍilagrāma of the said record was situated near about Kōḍilagrāma of the charter 
under publication.

The viṣāyak (district) of Varāhavarttani is known from several other records. The village 
of Kōḍila has been identified with modern Kodisa about two miles from Galavalli where the plates 
were found.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1, 3, 11, 13, 16 Śaṅkālaśkritā; verses 2, 6, 12, 14 Anuśhūda; verse 4 Varāśa-
ṣthavola; verses 5, 9 Mālini; verses 7, 8 Gūt; verses 10, 15 Vyasaṭatibha.]

First Plate

1 Siddhanā svasti [ ] śrimatām-akṣhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-daya-dāna-dākṣiṇya-
    | 4 sa-
2 tyā-saucha-sauryya-dhairy-yūdi-guna-ratna-pavitra-kāyām-ātrōya-gōtṛāyām vima-
3 la-vihaḥ-āchāra-punya-satīra-prakāhālita-Kali-kāla-kalmasha-mash[1]pāḥ mahā-
4 Mahāndr-āchala-āhara-pratiśhīthitaṣya sa-char-āchāra-gurūḥ sakalā-bhuvana-
5 rmmin-aika-sūtrakārasya ivaśūkka-ubhāda-maṇḍer-bhāha(t-bhāha)gavatō Gokarṇasvā-
    | 7 mināḥ
6 prasādāt-samāśādit-aika-āṅka-bhūri-paṇoṣa-mahāsadvat(bda)-dhavala-chhohatra-hōma-
    | 6 chāma-
7 ra-vara-vrishabhā-lāṅghana-samujya(jiva)śa-samasta-sāmrājya-mahīsaṃ-anāka-samara-
    | 7 samgraṣa-samu-
8 palavḍha(bda)-vijaya-lakshmi-smālīgot-j[4]ṭuṅga-bhujadanda-maṇḍitaṁ Trīkālīdaga-
    | 5 mahābhujā-
9 m Guṇānāṁ-anvayam-alāṅkaravindḥūr-Vvishyār-viva vikram-ākrānta-dharā-hara-maṇḍalasa
    | 3 ā Guṇama-

Second Plate, First Side

10 hāṃṣava-mahārājasya putraḥ ||ō[ ] Pürvvam bhūpatibhir-vvibhajya vasudhā yā paṇaḥabhīṣa
    | 10 pa-
11 ōbhadā bhukta bhūri-parākramō bhujya-va(ba)[lāt-tām-oka eva svayaṁ(yam | ) ākāritya
    | 11 vijyata śat[1*]ja-
12 vahān ā́-Vajrahaṭa-śahasthaḥ-chatvārisātasaṁ-ṣṭā-udāra-charitaḥ sarvāṁ sarakṣitaḥ samāh
    | 11 || [1*]
13 tasya taṣyā Guṇḍama-rājā(jō) varha-trayam-apālayad-madim(him) || tadd-anuṣa Kā-
14 māṃsānavadēva paṇcha-trinātasaṁ-adva(bda)kan | tasya-ānuṣā Vinayādityas-va-
15 maśātisraḥ || Tatāḥ Kāmārṇavāja-jātō jagati-Kalpabhūruhāḥ ||( ) yū-rājād-rājī-

1 See, e.g., JAHR, Vol. I, p. 45, 119, etc.
2 From the original places and their impositions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
5 The punctuation mark indicates the separation of the following part in verse from the foregoing section 
in prose.
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALI—PLATE II

2.—Plates of Rajaraja I Devendravarmn, Saka 998

Scale: Three-fourths
Two Grants from Galavalli

16 ta-chchhāyā Vajrāhasta-vanī-patīḥ || [2*] Praśchāyāda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luḍāda(bδha)-madhupā-vaśādur-gandān-[ga]-
17 jānna(na-s)rūttbhāyās-sanmātī-tehvasam-śatūlo yas-stāginām-agraṣṭisah(nā)-| (sa)
ārīmān-Anīyaṅkabhīma-
18 nripatīr-Gaṅgā-nāveṇe-tehvasakaḥ pañcā-śūnā-ham-avda(bda)kān-saṃbhunakprithvīṁ(k=prithvīṁ) stutah pā-

Second Plate, Second Side

19 rūttbhāva || [3*] Tad-aṅga-sūnuḥ Śuratāja-su(sū)nunā samasa-samastāṁ sa(sa)mit-ārī-māṇḍalāḥ
[[*] sround pā-]
20 ti Kāmārṇava-bhūpatisvabhava(r̥-bbhu)vaṁ samriddhimān-arvāḥ-samām samujva(jjva-
laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tād-anunāmā Chi-
21 ttajamām-ōpāmānō guṇa-nidhir-saṃavadyō Gunām-ākhyō mah-śah(taḥ) | ] sakalakṣaṇādīm-
ārakhat-trī-
22 ni varahāpi dhātri-valayām-a-laṅgu-toj̄o-nirjīt-ārāti-chakraḥ || [5*] Tattvāvāmā-
23 turas-tasya Madhukāmārṇavā nripatāḥ avaśi avadāvada(bda)n(n=ō)kān-na-vi-
24 mātun(tim) || [6*] Atha Vajrāhasta-nripatīr-aṅga-sataḥ-ahyā-guṇa-jan-āgra-[ga*]gyah
[[*] Kāmārṇavāś-vā-kav-l-
25 ndra-pragiyamān-avadātā-sudhā-kirtteḥ || [7*] Śrīya iva Vaidumvā(mbh-āu)vaya-paṇ̄-
payīnādi-samabhavābha(dbhajvā-
26 yās-cha [*] yaḥ samajayi Vinaya-mahādevyāḥ śri-Vajrāhasta iti tanayaḥ || [8*] Viya-
drītusni-:

Third Plate, First Side

27 dhi-sa[*]āhṛtyāḥ yāti Sā(Sāk)-avda(bda)-saṅghē Dinakṛiti Vṛṣabha-ṛṣṭā
Rōhini-hē su-lagnā [[*] Dha-
28 nushī cha sita-sa(pa)keśe Śurya-vā śṛtī śṛtīśaḥ(yā)-yūjī sakala-dhāritrīḥ rakshitrīḥ
yō-bhishiktaḥ
29 || [9*] Nyāyeyōna yatra samam-ācharitum tri-varga-gṛggaṁ mārggassya rakshatu mahīm-
maṅga-pratāpī [[*]
30 nirvāśhayācha nirgrāhāḥ-cha nirāpadaḥ-cha śaśvat-praṭāḥ bhavi bhavantī viśhūtīma-
31 tyaḥ || [10*] Vyāptē Gaṅga-kuṭṭamasya yaśasā dik-chakravāle-śaśi-praḍyot-ā-
32 malinaḥ yasya bhuvanah(ā)-prahāda-saṃpādīnaññ[brisā-sindurār-ati-saṅdra-pañca-pañca-
33 ṭh kumbha-sthali-paṭṭakāhav-ālimparam put.transpose punaḥ punaḥ-cha harītasthōḥrānā nārayaṇ || [11*]
Anu-
34 rāgāṇa guṇinō yasya vakāḥ-śūnā-śūnā(bja)yōḥ | āśrī(śi)na śrī-Sarasvatīyāv-anu-

Third Plate, Second Side

35 kūḷa virājataḥ || [12*] Āgaṇchhāna-uru-vikramena sahasā śastra-ñabhiḥśtāṁ-dī-

1 There are two double spaces here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing part quoted from the grants of Vajrāhasta III from the following portion composed by the court poet of Rājasthāna I.
vṛ ṣa-viṣayaḥ satva-vr̥tti-mahīmā bṝhā-nirastē-śāniḥ | tēn-ākāri niśh-
ma-kāmya-tanumā rājya(āh) mahi-mandala trīśād-vataram-abhra-su(ān)bhara-yaśasā 
varṣa-trayaḥ- 
saḥādikah(kam) || [13a] Tatē-nāgā-mahādeviḥ Vajraḥasta-mahāpatēḥ | Gauryām- 
īva Ha- 
raṣyāḥbhūti-Kārttikeya iv-atma ājīvam || [14a] Lakshmi-vadhū-vadana-pakṣa-mākara- 
nda-sanjñāha-chātra-parichumva(mba)na-chatcharikāḥ || || yē māmē(ñi)nām oha gupānām 
 oha durātma- 
 ām oṣa(sā)ntiḥ oha mōdām-atulām cha bhayaṃ cha dattē || [15a] Śak-Avde(hā) nayan- 
Āva(ja)garbhha(rābhha) -nīnih-gō Jē(ṣyē)ṣthē- 
sahām-sīṅhha(abha)ke lagnē cha-Ōttaraphalguni(mī)-Guru-dīnē pahāhō su-su 
(su)-bhārē su(sū)bhe | Lokākā-

Fourth Plate, First Side

dhi-mahā-mahīh[ṛ]ya-valayā-devākāravati bhūvas-samāś(a)ktas-as Kaliṅga-rāja-ōṭhakaśī 
ārī-Rājarāṣṭrapīrahā o o o [16a] Kaliṅganagarā-s-paramānāhēvara-paramahē-
 bhaṭṭārakā-mahī(bā)āla-dhiṣitra-Śrīkāla-s-vendra-vārmanā 
 Rājarāṣṭrapīrahā kuśali samās-āmātya-pramukha-janapadā- 
 n-sama(mā)hīya samājāpayati vidītam-astu bhavatēm(ām) || Vṛāha-bhavatīt-

nyām 4 Koṭī-śākhyo grāmām-chatus-sīmāvachchhinmasa-sa-jala-ṣṭhālas-sarvva-pijā- 
vivarjita(ṇaḥ) 
mā(ā)-chandrārākka-kəha-sīmā-kālaṃ yavat mātē-pitrō-sīmānaka oha puṣya-yaśō-bhvī- 
dhāyē 4 Vasu-Nanda-mādī-gānitē Śak-Avde(hā) 4 Čaitre māśi Vīru(abha)-vati samkrāntiḥ(ṇyām) 

Fourth Plate, Second Side

Āṭrēya-gūtra-Śvāvāsa-ttṛy-ārāhēya=C-chhandāga(ā)-tri-ṣa(ṣa)ta-Vra(ṇa)bhrāmābhyah dhārā- 
pūrvvakaṃ-ṣamā(ṃśa)- 
bhīr-dattā iti ||
No. 25—SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA

(Morehwar G. Dikshit, Raipur)

The accompanying inscription, published here for the first time, was found on the 2nd January 1955, in the course of excavations conducted by me, under the auspices of the University of Saugar, at Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone bearing the inscription was found lying upside down on the floor in the northern verandah of the monastery at a depth of 8 feet below the surface. The stone is a yellowish variety of soft sandstone, measuring about 14 inches broad, 8\ 1/2 inches high and about 3 inches thick. From the chisel marks at its back, it appears to have been fixed up high on the wall near which it was found. The slab was very heavily laden with moisture at the time of its discovery and it was with repeated hot sand-baths that it could be restored to its original hardness.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing, each line containing about 39 letters of nearly one half inch in height. The characters are early Nagari current in the 7th or 6th century A.D. and are incised neatly and beautifully and also deeply, particularly in the upper part of the letters. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except at the upper left and lower right corners and at the beginning of lines 11-14. A few scratches also appear on the surface evidently resulting from its fall from its original position in the wall.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse throughout except the concluding sentence occurring in line 14. The sign for े is invariably used for े. As regards orthography, it may be noted that े, े and े are clearly distinguished. Of lexical interest are the two words स्वत्ति (lines 8-9) and स्वत्ति (line 8).\(^1\)

The inscription opens with a stanza in praise of the lotus-foot of the Sugata (i.e. Buddha). The next few verses record the construction of a monastery (स्वत्ति) by a Bhikshu named आनंदस्पर्भा during the reign of बलार्जुन, as well as of the establishment of a सात्ता (feeding house) for the monks residing in the monastery, for the upkeep of which a white-rice field was given. The field is stated to have been purchased from the Saṅgha and given together with the supplementary crops grown in it. The monks were to enjoy it in succession till the sun shines in the sky.\(^2\)

The culation (prāṣṭā) was composed by the illustrious Sumangala, son of Tāradatta, and the inscription was inscribed by one Prabhakara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it enables us to fix the date of the Viha in which it was found; for king बलार्जुन mentioned in it could be no other than the homonymous king महात्मागुप्त of बलार्जुन of the Pāṇḍava dynasty, who is known from several inscriptions\(^3\) and whose reign-period is generally assigned to c. 590-550 A.D.\(^4\) or about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. This king, though Śaivite by religion, gave liberal patronage to Buddhism.\(^5\)

---

\(^1\) The word स्वत्ति occurs in the Anjāni grant (A. a. P. Prithvirathendra Bhāgalakī, above, Vol. XXV, p. 232) and in the unpublished Surang Mound (Sirpur) inscription. (The word स्वत्ति meaning "contribution" is of common occurrence while स्वत्ति is found in several epigraphical and literary records in the sense of a measure. See below note 2.—Ed.)

\(^2\) [The author has totally misunderstood the meaning of the inscription. What has been read by him as सत्ता is clearly सत्ता, although the reading intended may be सत्ता. But even then the object of the inscription is not what has been understood by Dr. Dikshit. The sense of verses 4-5 (पुष्पाकृति) would stand as follows: सा संघातां मयाधिभिः विहार-कुर्जितं स्वत्तं संहितं सीता-शून्य-स्वत्तं चा ब्राह्मण सात्ता (=सत्ता) यदौ प्रवेषदेव नान्दका-नान्दका-नान्दका-नान्दका (तदन्तः) अनुदिनं समस्याः पुष्पाकृतिः संहितं सीता-शून्यं सत्ता-चालं योग्यं सरस्वती-सात्ता। The stanza meant to say that आनंदस्पर्भा started a free-feeding establishment for the gūta or monks of the local monastery and that, for this purpose, he purchased from the Saṅgha a hut within the monastery establishment as well as a सत्ता (equal to four paisa or two handfuls) of white rice with an adequate quantity of स्वत्तं (rundament) for each of the monks per day. For सत्ता, see above, Vol. XXV, p. 235, note 3; Vol. XXX, p. 177. Apparently आनंदस्पर्भा paid a suitable amount of money to the monks who undertook the responsibility of securing the quantity of rice and consumable required for the purpose.—Ed.]

\(^3\) For his inscriptions at Sirpur, see Hiralal, Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (2nd edn.), Nos. 178 and 184. For the Lakshmi temple inscription of his mother वस्मा, see above, Vol. XI, pp. 104 ff.


(197)
as is known from his Mallār plates which record his donation to a Vihāra of Buddhist nuns. Recently three more inscriptions have been found at Sirpur, which record his; ifts of land to Buddhist monasteries.

The composer of the \textit{prakāṣṭi}, Sumangala, son of Tārādatta, is already known to us from several inscriptions at Sirpur and also from the Senakapāṭ inscription published above.

I edit the record from the original stone which is now preserved in the Museum of the University of Saγar.

\textbf{TEXT²}

[Makrak : verses 1, 6 \textit{Srāṅklīkā;} verse 2 \textit{Āryā;} verse 3 \textit{Śārīvakrīḍita;} verses 4, 7 \textit{Anuvṛtā;}
verse 5 \textit{Vasantaṭikā.}]

\begin{enumerate}
\item [\textit{Oṃ}][\textit{a}][\textit{ṣa]}\textit{ṃ-kṣ[pa]-}jātaḥ satē[ta]tam-ṃ api karaṭa apīyaṃmaṇaḥ sudhāṅgō(ḍhāṅgo)ṛ- nō vīmaṇ kada-\n\item chin-na oha hīma-nivalā-sūpi nītō-nysthātvam(tvam) nōdīyat-prōddāma-kalpa-khaya- samaya-marut-prēṇana-\n\item sy-yāpi vaṃhō-saṃkhyātu Sugata-sādhuḥ pāda-padmaḥ ||\n\item [\textit{Dhā]va]-\n\item ṁ-kula-kamala-bhānan bhībhṛti bhūpala-maṃḍal-tilakā \ pratipakṣa-kahati-dakshā rakṣati \n\item ṽ[\textit{a}(k)B]Marjuna kahōuḥ(śūn) || [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ} Dūr-ōtsārita-matsaraḥ śama-sundh-svāda-prasaktāḥ sadā bhīkṣuḥ sa-\n\item \textit{d}-saṃdh-āhīpa-pratikriti-dakṣaḥ kahamā rakṣape \ Āṇandaprabha ity-udāra-karupā-\n\item bhārā-\n\item \textit{t}-prabhāvo bhavade bhaktiṁ Śastarī Māra-vairīpi bhīṣam vi(bhi)bhrad-bhava-ohohēdini \n\item [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ} Sa vīha-ra-kuṭuś\n\item chakrā krītvā muḫeṇa Saṅghaṭaḥ \ \textit{vyaṇjan-āsūṛ}(n-āṃś)ṇa sahitaṁ cita-τα[ŋ](u)la-sētikāṁ-\n\item (kūm) || [\textit{a}] Satram\n\item y-ānudinaṁ-atra oha kāsrayīvī tad-vyaṇjan-āsūṛ(ṃ-āṃś)ṇa sahitaṁ yatibhiḥ samastaiḥ \ \pratīyakam-\n\item \n\item \textit{t}ma-paripāṭi vaśēna bhōjaṁ yēvaṃ-nabhas-talam-alakṣurarē Vivasvān || [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ} Vāt-ōdṛhuṭ-amvura(mbu)-patra-\n\item \n\item \textit{ṭi}ṭa-saḷa-laṅka-srēṇī-śīl-vīḷōlaṃ Lakṣahmim-sālokṣya lōka-sthitum-api vipul-śapa-\n\item \n\item \textit{d}-graha-graṣyamānāṇaṁ(ṃ) \ \textit{v} (bud)dhvaḥ oh-ōdṛ̣ma-duḥẖha-prabhava-bhava-gatau \ vā(ś)cāhām dharmam-ekām dānām datā\n\item \n\item \textit{d}am-ihā yatibhiḥ sarvadā pālaṇyāḥ(yam) || [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ} sūnanda-nugatām-śīnām chakṛ-\n\item arajam-av-\n\item [\textit{jva](ja)laṁ(lām)] || sūnha śrī-Tārādattasya prāṣṭāṁ śrī-Sumangalāḥ || [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ} Utkṣṛṣuḥ-śyaṁ \ \textit{Prabhākarāṇa} || o [\textit{a}]\textit{ṃ}]

\begin{enumerate}
\item See Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-122.
\item See ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 31 ff.
\item From the original stone and ink impressions.
\item Expressed by a symbol, traces of which are visible on the stone.
\item Only faint traces of this letter are visible. [The correct reading of the passage is snekīṣṭośuṣuṇakāya bhārā.---Ed.]
\item [The correct reading is gāmya rāmīd-anau.---Ed.]
\item [The correct reading is samceti-bhāṣa-bhāṣa.---Ed.]
\item [The correct reading is saktikā. But see above, p. 197, note 2.---Ed.]
\item There is a dot over this letter owing to a flaw in the stone. [The correct reading of the expression is caṇḍeśiḥ. gāati-sita.---Ed.]
\item Two letters here are adhered in the original. [The reading is datt-dṛṣṭeṣu(mcu)ṣu.---Ed.]
\end{enumerate}
No. 26—TWO EASTERN GANGA GRANTS FROM ANDHAVARAM

(2 Plates)

R. SUBRAHMANYAM, Guntur

A. Plates of Anantavarmanadēva

This set of three copper plates was discovered at Andhavaram in the Narasannapeta Taluk of the Šrīkākumārī District, Andhra State. Each of the plates measures about 6½" by 2½". They are fastened together by means of a circular ring (4½" in diameter), the two ends of which are secured below an elliptical seal which bears in relief a crude representation of the crouching bull or nandin facing the proper right with a crescent above and a floral design (perhaps a lotus) below. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both sides. Each side contains eight lines of writing. Though the edges of the plates are not raised into rims, the preservation of the inscription is quite satisfactory.

The script of the inscription bears close resemblance to that employed in the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarman and other records of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings. The engraving is carelessly done. The carelessness of the scribe is responsible for several mistakes of omission and commission. Medial i and ñ are not clearly distinguished in many cases. Often p is written like s (cf. prati in line 2 and prayām in line 8) and s like p (cf. saruvau in line 9). The letter bh often looks like t (cf. samkshōhha in line 6) and i like n (cf. bhagamati, svarāṇa-nāvarata in line 3). The consonant r after r is doubled in some cases (cf. sarwraptu in line 1). The use of anusvāra for class nasal in samkshōhha and v for b in many places is noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary verses quoted at the end (lines 24-30) the inscription is in prose.

The charter records the gift of the village Kālamanadambisākuna in the Varāhavartanī vilāya, after making it into an agrahāra and exempting it from all taxes, to the Brahmans residents of Ānandapura, who belonged to different gōtras and were well-versed in the Vedāgas, by Mahārāja Anantavarman of the Gaṅga family for the merit of his parents. The grant was issued from Kālīgangañagar on the eleventh day of the black half of the month of the year 216 in the victorious reign of the king. This date of the grant is written both in words and numerical symbols: but there is some disparity between the two. While it is clearly stated in words as kātna-dvaya-śabdāntid, numerical symbol 2 in the hundred’s place and 6 in the ten’s place alone are written. This appears to be the engraver’s mistake. The grant was drafted at the oral order of the king by Gunag-ōpādhyāya and engraved by Mātrichandra.

The royal prāstāi set forth in the record under review does not materially differ from that found in the records of Devendravarman, dated in years 183 and 195. One Anantavarman is known from an earlier record discovered in the village of Gurandi near Parakāmīdī. This record, dated in

---

1 Of the two other copper-plate grants found along with the present set, one belonging to Vajrāstha is edited below while the other issued by the Māthara king Anantaśeśavarman has been published above, Vol. XXVII pp. 177 ff. and Plate. Of the two records published here, A is No. 6 and B No. 7 of A. E. Eps., 1931-32, App. A.
3 [See p. 302, note 1 below.—Ed.]
4 One Mātrichandra figures as the father of the composer of the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarman (above, Vol. XIII, p. 215).
year 204, mentions Anantavarman as the son of Dvendravarman. Though our record does not mention the name of Dvendravarman as the father of the donor, since it is dated only twelve years later, and since the Santabommali plates, dated in year 221 record a gift of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman, it is reasonable to identify Anantavarman of our plates with Anantavarman, son of Dvendravarman of the above epigraph. If this identification is accepted, Anantavarman of our record should have ruled over Kalinga at least up to the 216th year of the Gaṅga era. Calculating from the starting point of the era as fixed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, this charter can be said to have been issued on Thursday, the 6th June, 720 A.D.¹

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kālamadyāsakunā-grāma appears to be the Sanskritized form of some village name which I am not able to identify. Varahavartani-vishaya appears in many early Gaṅga records and has been identified with the region between the rivers Vamśadhāra and Nāgāvali, i.e. the modern Srikakulam and Narasannapeta Taluks of the Srikakulam District. Of the other localities mentioned in the record, Dantapura has been cited as the capital of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga in many of their records² and it has been identified with Dantavarapukūṭa on the banks of the Vaṁśadhāra in the Narasannapeta Taluk.

TEXT

**First Plate**


2. śikha-ra-pratipthi[ah]ah)tasya char-āchāra-gurōh [sa]kala-su(bhu)vana-ki(n) rmsāp-aika-

3. sasya bhagevatō Gokarna-svāminō-nā(n)varata-prapāmād-sapagata-sakala-

4. Kali-kalāhalo ni[n]-nītrī(śrim)ā-dhārā-opārijita-sakala-Kalingā-dhārā-

5. [ahya]tya prava(vi)jata-chatur-unadhi-saraṅga-mālā-mākhāl-āvanita-āmala-yaṣā

6. and-āhava-saranghēbba-jaṇita-jaya-śavda(bdaḥ) pratāp-āvanta-samasta-sāmanta-cha-

7. krā-chuḍamāṇi-prabhā-maṇjarī-putra-rajāti[ṇ]jita-charaṇa-kamalaḥ parama-mahāva-

8. rō māṭi-pitṛ-pāḍ-ānudhyātāḥ trimaḍ-Gaṅ-gāmala-kul-ōdgaja(bha)vo mahārājaḥ

**Second Plate, First Side**


10. sarvā-samavētsa[ṃ]-kutumvi(ṃbi)nāḥ(nah)


12. timuḥya-a-chenḍ-ārkka-pratīdham-udaka-pūrvvapi[n] kṛitvā māṭi-pitṛ-ro puṇya-

Abhiruddha-


---

¹ lid., pp. 186 ff.
² Scholars are not unanimous on the starting point of the Gaṅga era. The view that it commenced some time in 480-490 A.D. seems to be nearer the mark. See History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III, p. 215 above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 230 ff., and Vol. XXVII, p. 192.—P.B.D.
³ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 281; JAHRE, Vol. IX, p. 27.
⁴ From impressions.
⁵ Expressed by symbol.
A.—Andhavaram Plates of Anantavarmadeva

Scale: Actual Size
B. — Andhavaram Plates of Vajrahastadeva

Scale: Three-fourths
13 va-rāstavyai(vya)-nānā-gotrābhīyō Va(Va)danāgā-pāragābhīyaḥ sarvva(rvv)vēbhīyo Brah- 
manābhīyaḥ[/*]
14 [syan](sya)n pradattas-tad-ēvaṁ viditvā yathā(th-ō)ch(a)ita-bhāga-bhōgamun(m-m) 
panayataḥ [sn(a)k[/*]] pra-
15 tivasatāth(ē)-ti[/*] simā-nitāhī la(li)khyantnt(ē) [/*] grāma-pūrvvēṇa Indrapura- 
ch(a)mā- 
16 ntē Sindhi[vrā]jē sarvva-pālyāṁ(lyām) [a]jvāt[tha]-vṛikshāt tato dakshīṇā(ṇa)-ma[mukhā 
va[na]*]rājī[/*] I-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 ndrapura-Dantapura-grāma-tri(tri)kēṭa jala-mārggeḥ ardha-chandra iva dakshīṇa(ṇa)- 
na[na] va[ka]-[sth]- 
18 tēs-tatā(tō) vanarājij[/*] paśchimā(ma)-mukhā Dirpikavāṭakūma-grā[ma*]-ai(at)m-
āntāḥ ku(kū)pa(p-ō)
19 ttara-hala[h*] tato dakshīṇa-[mukhā*] va[ka]-vana-rājij[/*] dakshīṇa-pā[r*]vēṇa gata(tō) 
nandī-tar[ṇ]* 
20 tatō(taḥ) pūrvvē(ρvβα)-mukhā Tivādrāhali de[ka]hi[na]((na)-mukhā vana-rājij[/*] punaḥ 
paśchimām-
21 mukhā vanar-rājij[/*] Īruvaṅgapāḍā-Sakunagrāma-sim-āntō(ntē) jala-mārgga-
22 sahitā [va*]ma-[rājij[/*] paśchimāyāṁ ditī Pīshāli-Vukaḍapāṭaka-(Sā)ma-
23 ntapāṭaka-Śrī(Śrī)kunagrāma-tri(tri)ku(kū)te teta uttarēṇa vanana[r*a]-rājij[/*] pūrdhyāśā-
24 [yam]* yāvad-iti [/*] bhavil[hy]ṣa-te-ḥa rajñāḥ prajñāpeyati [/*]* Āyurvyā(r-yya)va-

Third Plate

25 nam-ākāraṁ lakṣhmi-[ch-āpy-ati-cha]-chalāṁ(ṣam) [/*] vijñāy-sivam nripaṁ shā(ś)īṣyō 
dharmanā sā-
26 dhāraṇ-ūdy다[ma]*ḥ || [/*] Tathā oha Vyāsa-gītā || Va(Ba)huhir-vvasuḥ dattā rājāḥḥī Śa-
27 gar-ūdih[kī| *, yasya yasyā yadā bhūmīṁ-ṛṣayā tasya taddā da[pha]laṁ(lam) || 2[*] Sva- 
dattā[/*] [pa*]
28 ra-dattāṁ=vā(tēṃ vā) yatmā-srakha Yudhishṭhirā [/*] mahī[m*] mahīmahā mahīṃ śrēṣṭhā 
dānūkhaṃ(ṛch=ohhr)ṣy(o)-[ma-na]-
29 pālana[m || 3[*] śaśṭi-vasah[re]-shahas[r*]-jāpi vṛgga mādaḥ bhūmīdaḥ [/*] ākshēptā 
30 ch-ānamantā oha tāṇy-śva narakṣ vāśē[ti]-[vase* || 4[*] iti] pravardhamāna-vijayā- 
śāyō sa-

1 The intended reading might be stra-vēḥyāḥ.
2 This may be the name of a locality; cf. Pīshāli in line 22.
3 This so is redundant.
4 The intended reading of this expression might be pūrvanātha.
5 There is an omission over this obhāra which has to be ignored.
6 This and the three following verses are in the Assaḥsah metre.
7 The form of this letter which looks like a conjunct is peculiar. The two dots of the following word are 
joined up.
B. Plates of Vajrahastadeva

These plates were also discovered at Andhavaram. The set consists of three plates of which the first and the last are engraved on one side only, while the second on both the sides. Examination of the plates shows that they had an earlier inscription on them which was completely erased before the present inscription was engraved. But the surface was not smoothened before engraving the later record and this has caused considerable difficulty in deciphering it. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims. The plates are of a fairly uniform size measuring 7\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) and about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) thick at the edges. The longer sides have a slight inward curve. The plates were strung on a solid copper ring 3\(\frac{3}{4}\) thick and fairly circular in shape with a diameter of 4\(\frac{1}{4}\). The two ends of this ring are secured under a circular bronze seal, 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) in diameter. On this seal are seen the figures of a couchant bull with the crescent on the top, a conch in the rear and a lotus bud with its stalk in a vertical position in front. Below the bull are the figures of an elephant-god, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, probably a representation of the sun, and a pârña-ghata. All these figures are cast in high relief. The ring with the seal weighs 94 tolas while the three plates together weigh 186 tolas.

The script of the inscription is old Nāgari and bears close resemblance to that of the Pudur plates\(^5\) of Vajrahasta and the Chincasole plates\(^6\) of Madhukāmīrana. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in all prose. As regards orthography, the sign of \(\delta\) is used for \(b\) (cf. śāvda in line 11) and rarely that of \(s\) for \(s\) (cf. śimā in line 26). The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are conspicuous by their absence in this record.

The charter was issued from Damnīpurā. It records the gift of the village of Gōśhhavāḍa or Gōṭhavāḍa in the Krāshṭaukavartan viśaya by Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārnava, to Majapa Bhūmama, son of Dhanjanyāka of Vāmmana-kula. The date and the purpose of the grant are not stated in the record. The charter, however, may be assigned to the 10th century on paleographic grounds. The inscription contains the usual prāsāti of the Eastern Gangā family to which the donor belonged. The gift village was declared out of bounds for the police and military personnel and exempted from all kinds of taxes.

Like the present plates, the Pudur plates\(^5\) also mention one Vajrahasta as the son of Kāmārnava. According to B. V. Krishnarao\(^7\) and others, the Pudur plates which belong to Vajrahasta II, are dated in year 500. The donor of the present record may be identified with Vajrahasta II, son of Kāmārnava I.

The gift village Gōśhhavāḍa or Gōṭhavāḍa appears to be identical with Gottivāḍa in the Srikakulam Taluk of the District of that name. This, however, cannot be verified as its boundaries are not specified.

\(^1\) [The reading is 2\(\frac{3}{4}\).—Ed.]
\(^2\) [The intended reading of this expression might be śravam-śāmu.]
\(^3\) [It seems that it was the text of the present record which was cancelled.—Ed.]
\(^4\) JARAS, Vol. XI, pp. 8 ff.
\(^5\) Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 140 ff.
\(^6\) JARAS, Vol. IX, pp. 23 ff.
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 32.
\(^8\) Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 322.
TWO EASTERN GANGA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE II

B.—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF VAJRHASTADEVA

Scale: Three-fourths
SEALS

A

B

(from Photographs)
TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasty-Amarapura-anukārigaḥ sarvav-ārutē-su(a)kha-rama-
2 viyād-vijaya-vaf[dh-ā]dvahana-sudhā-dhavalaya(lita)-āri-
3 prāsāda-māla-[da](sv-a)dhi[shh]thita-vara-vilāsini-
4 lalita-lasyād-urda(dda)nḍa-papāti-kul-ālanakṛita-
5 āri-Dantipura-vāsakāt prasiddha-siddha-tāva(pa).
7 [la]-kanaka-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya char-āchare-yu-
8 rōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūra(tr)a)dhārasya

Second Plate, First Side

9 śaśāmka-chuḍāmaṇī-bhagavatō Gokarṇapāvamīnaḥ-cha-
10 ra[n]a-kamala-yugala-praṇāmā[=vi]gata-sakala-Kala(li)-
11 kalamkā-nēk-āhava-sat[kebō]bha-janita-jaya-savda(bda)[h] pratā-
12 p-avanta-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chuḍāmaṇī-pra-
13 bhā-me[r*]jari-punja-ra[n]jita-vara-ācharana-kamala-
14 yugala[h*] sakala-Kalīng-ādhipati[h*] Gaṅgāmala-
15 kula-tilaka[h*] mā[ma]hārajādhirāja-paramēśvar[h*] mā-
16 tā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyāt(a) naya-vinaya-daya(ya)-dāna-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 dā[kshi]na(aya)-śauryyē(ryy-an)ārīrya-satya-tyāg-ādi-gupa-satpad-ādhāra-
18 bhūtāḥ śrīmat Kāmāṇivasadeva[t-a*]jaya sūnu[c-vipu]la-vikram-ō-
19 na[t-ā]nēka-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-marichi(chi)-raṅjita-pāda-
20 padma-yugala[h*] vimala-chī[tt-a]rchita-bhagavan-Mārtanda-
21 vara-ācharana-kamala-yugala[h*] Surasari[d=ī]*vāśēsa-di-
22 g-[mu]kha-vaṃśi-pratāpa[h*] Surasarit-kulāmala-sa-
23 kala-mā[ma]hāraja-tilaka[h*] mamārājamaiva vikhyā-
24 ta-विर्या mū[ṛ]jita-śrīmad-Varṣahastadeva[h*] Kṛśṇaṭukavartanyah Gō-
25 śrīhavēda-nīva(vā)jenaḥ kuṭumāvi(h)i)nā(e)n[ah] samājāpayati vi-

Read Amara-rōga va
Third Plate

26 ditam-astu vō yath-ṣyaṁ grāmāḥ chatu[h*] dvim-abhyantara-jala-
27 saṁśtya[ta][h*] sarva-pūḍā-vā(bā)dha-varjite[h*] a-ahaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-sarva-ka-
28 ra-parihāra[matya]4 dēva-dvija-guru-pu[p]jakab(kasya) su[hrit]-vah(d-vah)sa(śa)-di-
29 na-jan-ātaya[sya*] Vē[mma]-kula-dipaka-[Dhavala]nā-
30 yakṣya putra[sya*] āt-Maḍapa-Bhimanaḥ/sya/ udaka-pū-
31 rvakṣa[h*] Gōṭhavāḍa[h*] sampradatta iti ||

4 Read parihātra[ya]
   Read parihātra[ya].
No. 27—GUJARRA INSRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAGUMUND

The hamlet of Gujarrā lies in the Datia District of Vindhyaka Pradesh, near the village of Parāsāri on the Datia-Unao road, about 11 miles to the south-east of Datia and 12 miles to the north of Jhansi in U. P. At a little distance from the hamlet, there is a hill locally known as Sidhēs-ki-terīya or "the hill of the Perfected Ones". The inscription under notice is engraved on a boulder lying at the foot of this hill.

The inscription was discovered by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Mr. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Dr. Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor Asoka1 (c. 269-222 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Mr. Sharma for information regarding its exact finds spot, so that he could visit the place in order to examine the inscription and take inked stamspages of it for study and publication. But Mr. Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not prepared to give the required information unless Dr. Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure when brought to light as a result of his study of the record. Dr. Chhabra tried to convince him that such epigraphs do not contain any information regarding buried treasures, but in vain. He, however, followed up the matter until, thanks to the interest taken in the matter by Mr. J. S. Lall, then Collector-in-Charge of Jhansi, Mr. Lal Chand Sharma and his younger brother, Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma, Municipal Commissioner of Jhansi, ultimately agreed to disclose the name of the finds spot of the epigraph. They requested Dr. Chhabra to reach Jhansi on the 15th of November 1954 for being escorted to the spot. Although Dr. Chhabra could not visit the place on that date, the two Sharma brothers took Mr. Lall to Gujarrā to show the inscription, and the discovery was announced in some daily papers. On the 8th of December 1954, Dr. Chhabra visited the village in the company of Mr. Lall, Mr. S. K. Sen, Additional Deputy Commissioner of the Datia District, Dr. K. N. Puri, then Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra (Northern Circle), and the two Sharma brothers. He carefully examined the record and took inked impressions and photographs of it. Soon afterwards he incorporated the results of his study of the epigraph in a paper which was read at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress in the last week of December 1954. In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions in the winter of 1954-55, I visited Gujarrā for an examination of the record on the 5th of February 1955. Some time later Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal a copy of his unpublished paper as well as his tentative transcript of the epigraph2 and in February 1956 he was so good as to permit me to edit the inscription in the Epigraphia Indica.

The area occupied by the writing on the face of the boulder measures about 9 feet 5 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There are only five lines of writing. An akshara is about 3 inches in height. Lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about 6 inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1. The fifth line, with which the epigraph ends, is shorter than the other lines. The letters are carefully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some

---

1 Mascot or o has not been used in the article.
2 Dr. Chhabra's paper together with his transcript of the inscription has since appeared in Proc. 18th C. Ahmedabad, pp. 55-71.

(205)
letters at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 are very badly damaged. Indeed it appears from the stone that line 4 stops a few inches towards the left of the end of the preceding lines. Even in other parts of the record, there are many letters and signs which are indiscernible.

The characters, which are early Brāhmī as expected, are slightly longish in shape as in some of Asoka's Pillar Edicts such as those on the Delhi-Topra and Lauriya-Nandangad pillars. The inscription is another version of Asoka's Minor Rock Edict I. The language of this edict has been called the Maγadhī dialect found in his Pillar Edicts as well as the Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jangana; but it has been noticed that it has not been changed to I in all the cases in some of the versions such as those at Rūpāthā and Maski, while it has been retained in versions like those in Mysore. There is no orthographical peculiarity which is not already known from other inscriptions of Asoka. In several cases, medial ą, ē, ē, and ə have been used respectively for medial a, ē, and u. The consonant r has not been changed to l except in chilathikāl in line 4. Ch has been used for š in chākyē (Sanskrit śakyam, śakyaḥ). A point of grammatical interest is offered by the verb aṃśi (Sanskrit asmī) in the place of aṃśi found in the same context in the Rūpāthā, Sahasrām and Maski versions of the edict. The word aṃśeṣaḥśa has been used in the neuter gender. The case-ending e has been used for both Masculine Nominative Singular and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular. Both the suffixes for the Active and Middle forms of the Present Participle have been used; but the suffix for the Middle form has taken the shape of mīna in the place of Sanskrit mīna. It is interesting to note that the Participles charaṃ (Active) and charaṃ (Middle) have been formed from the same root. The old form of the Inactive Mood is noticed in yāpate and ārāḥṣyate.

The inscription begins with the sentence: Devānāṃpiṣa[sa] Priyadarīno Asokarāja (Sanskrit: Devānāṃpiṣya Priyadarīnāḥ Asokarāja). "Of Devānāṃpiṣya Priyadarīn Asokarāja". A word like ārāḥṣyate, 'proclamation', is understood in the context. The same is the case with the Maski version of the edict. It is well known that, in his inscriptions, Asoka generally calls himself "king Devānāṃpiṣya Priyadarīn" or "Devānāṃpiṣya", and that, among the published inscriptions of the Maurya emperor, the version of Minor Rock Edict I at Maski alone mentions him by his personal name Asoka. The Gujarā version of the edict, which calls him A'okarāja, is thus the second of his known epigraphic records mentioning him by his personal name.

The next sentence of the inscription reads: [ā]ḍāpiṣye [a][m]auḥṣharāṃ upāsaka[e]＝[m]i (Sanskrit: ardhāpiṣye maṃvatsarāṃ [vāpya aham] upāsakaḥ asmī), "I have been an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two years and a half." The word sāḍhikāṃ or sāṭhakānī qualifies aḍāpiṣye in the corresponding sentence in the other versions suggesting that, when Minor Rock Lintel I was issued, Asoka had been an upāsaka for a little more than two and half years and not exactly for only two years and a half as stated in the present version. The omission seems to be due to oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver. Most other versions add to this a sentence saying that Asoka was not energetic in the practice and propagation of Dharma during the whole of this period of a little over two and half years. The Mysore versions of the edict clearly state that this period of inactivity on the part of Asoka lasted for one year. The following sentence of the edict says that he worked zealously in the cause of Dharma only for a little over one year forming the latter part of the said period of his upāsakatvam till the date of the proclamation.

The third sentence runs as follows: sāḍhikā sa[m]auḥṣharā [re]ya ca me Samgha γ[α]lē ti [aḥa]śa vādā[n]cha parakarmite ti [ā]ṭā (Sanskrit: sāḍhikām saṃvatsaraṁ [vāpya] yat ca maṣṣa Samghaḥ yātā iti abhāv bābhiṃ parakrāntāḥ iti āha). "Seith he, 'It is a little more than one year that I have been associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in

---

1 CII, Vol. 1, pp. cxxxii, cxxxix.
the practice and propagation of Dharma). The wording of the sentence is different from that in the other versions. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as regards the meaning of the word yāta indicating Aśoka's relation with the Buddhist Church. In the place of yāta, some versions have upaya, upagata or upeta. The sentence is in the passive in some versions (e.g. maññyati Sanghāya yāta) and in the active in others (e.g. akham Sanghāya yāta). Some scholars think that the reference is to a visit that Aśoka paid to the Buddhist Church. But this is improbable as the Present Tense in the verb sumi, 'I am' or 'I have been', in the corresponding passage, e.g., in the Rūpānāth version (sātīke chu chakravatīre ya sumi hakañ Sanghā upeta, Sanskrit: sātīke cha tu satīvardhīna yaśaṃ aham Sangham upetaḥ), would suggest that the action indicated by yāta-upaya=upagata-upeta=upeta with reference to Aśoka's relation with the Sangha was a continuous event lasting for over a year immediately preceding the date of the edict. To obviate this difficulty, some scholars take upeta and its equivalents to mean 'entered' and think that Aśoka became a Buddhist monk or at least a bhikṣu-gatika or gīthastha-muni. That, however, Aśoka was an upāsaka and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the edict is clear from the Present Tense used in asmi in the second sentence of the inscription already discussed above. On the date of the proclamation, Aśoka could not have been staying in the Church for more than a year as the edict is stated to have been issued on the 267th day of a tour which he had undertaken for the propagation of Dharma, the period covered by the tour being eight months and a half. We have elsewhere suggested that yāta-upaya=upagata-upeta=upeta has been used here in the sense of satīvara, 'intimately associating', and that it speaks of Aśoka's close contact with the Buddhist Church, which began more than a year before the promulgation of the edict.

Some scholars think that the second and third sentences of the edict speak of two different stages of Aśoka's upāsakatva. The first covering more than 2½ years when he was not zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma and the second covering more than a year when he was exerting himself in the cause of Dharma. This would suggest that, by the time when the edict was issued, Aśoka had been an upāsaka for nearly four years. But this is unlikely in view of the fact that Aśoka uses the Present Tense in connection with the period of more than 2½ years giving the duration of his upāsakatva till the date of the edict and also with the period of more than a year (immediately preceding the said date) when he was zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma but that he uses the Past Tense (Aorist) in connection with the period of one year when he was not exerting himself in the cause of Dharma (cf. Brahmagiri version: na tu kau bōdhām prakramīte havaṁ ekam satyavāchhāram—Sanskrit: na tu khaud boddhā prakramiṣṭaḥ abhūvaṁ ekam satyavācam). The fourth sentence reads: ceta anātareṇa Jambudvīpā Devāna[m]piyaḥ na ajñānavādevā samita mumia misāv-deva kātā (Sanskrit: ceta anātareṇa Jambudvīpa Devānāśpīyasya amitra-devāḥ sanāt manushyāḥ mīśra-devāḥ krūḍāḥ, "Devānāśpīya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who were unmingled with gods during this period, have been made (by him) mingled with gods."). The wording of the sentence is not the same in all the versions. The use of Devānāśpīyas in this context is a peculiarity of the Gujarāṭa text of the edict. In some versions, men who had been formerly unmingled with gods are represented as mingled with the latter, while, in others, gods are represented as having been formerly unmingled with men and later mingled with them. Jambudvīpa here apparently indicates the empire of Aśoka. The following sentence makes it clear that the result of the practice and propagation of Dharma on the part of Aśoka was claimed to be this mingling of his subjects with gods.

The com mingling of gods and men has been understood differently by different scholars. H. P. Sastri's interpretation of devāḥ as 'the Brāhmaṇa' is based on a misunderstanding of the corresponding sentence of the Rūpānāth version of the edict and has now been given up. Sylvain Lévi

---

1 Moti Inscription of Aśoka, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 1 (revised edition), 1930, p. 34.
2 JPAE, 1910, pp. 258 ff.
and Filliozat take desa to mean 'a king'. But it is difficult to believe that Ashoka, who claimed to have been 'beloved of the gods' would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or, to kings including himself) as a god. He could hardly have been unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from the use of the word in a sense which is not its normal meaning. E. W. Thomas thinks that Ashoka brought the Brahmanical gods to the knowledge of wild tribes and other backward peoples who had formerly no knowledge of them. But Ashoka's Dharma had really little to do with the Brahmanical gods, and the claim seems to refer to his subjects in general. According to E. Hultzsch, desa here means diceyam repast of Rock Edict IV, meaning 'gods in effigie' which Ashoka exhibited to his subjects. But Rock Edict IV really says that Ashoka's dharma-anuvastami achieved better result in promoting Dharma among the people than the religious exhibitions conducted by earlier kings had attained. The correct interpretation of the passage in question has been offered by D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks that Ashoka led men in the path of Dharma so that they became fit to be commingled with gods not only in heaven but also in this life. This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage yogam yuñjaniti occurring in the latter part of the present version of the edict.

The next sentence runs as follows: parakamasa iyaṁ phale (Sanskrit: parakramaśa śātm phalam), "This is the result of (his) exertion (in the practice and propagation of Dharma)". The exertion relates to Ashoka's activities during the period of more than a year immediately before the date of the edict, which is referred to in the third sentence discussed above.

The sixth and seventh sentences of the inscription read: no [cha iyaṁ mahataṁ ti va chakiye pāpotane ['] khudāke pa parakamaminē dharmanā charamam yanvate svayate vypale pi svaghe chakte śrādhayećate (Sanskrit: no cha iyaṁ mahataṁ āt eca śrādyā prāptum | khudākepa api parakramamāṇena dharmam charata prāgathu samyate vypale apī svaghe śrādyate śrādhayećate), "It is not that the rich man alone is able to obtain this (result). Even a poor man, who exerts himself, practices (the duties associated with) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, is able to attain even the great heaven". Ashoka here says that the brilliant result obtained by him by dint of his exertion in the practice and propagation of Dharma can also be achieved by a poor man and that it is not a monopoly of a rich man like himself. The wording of these two sentences is not the same in the different versions. By 'great heaven', Ashoka possibly understood a station higher than the world of the gods.

The next sentence reads: [ej] aśāya aśāyej iyaṁ svacca (Sanskrit: tat etasam avihāya idam śrāppam), "Therefore this proclamation is (being issued by me) for this (following) purpose". The twofold purpose is indicated in the next two sentences.

The first of the two purposes is indicated in the sentence which reads: khudāke cā uṣare chā dharmanā charaminē yogam yuñjanāti (Sanskrit: khudāke chā uṣare chā dharmanā charāminē, yogam yuñjanāti), "Let the poor and the rich (both) practise (the duties associated with) Dharma and effect (their) association (with gods thereby)". Ashoka's first purpose for issuing the proclamation was that his subjects, both poor and rich, should emulate him in the practice of Dharma (which, in his view, included the propagation of Dharma) and this, he believed, would make them fit for commingling with the gods. In the place of this sentence, other versions have," Lot (both) the poor and the rich exert themselves (in the cause of Dharma)". The passage yogam yuñjanāti added in the present version to what corresponds to the above sentence of the other versions is of considerable importance as it throws welcome light on the interpretation of the controversial reference to the commingling of gods and men in the earlier part of the edict.

---

1 See Journ. As., Item CXXVII, 1845, pp. 225 ff. See also comments on some of Filliozat's suggestions in Mati Inscription of Ashoka, op. cit., p. 83 and note 9; p. 27, note 1.


The second purpose underlying the proclamation is indicated in the next sentence which reads: 

aśāṭa pi cha jānāntaśāh kina ti ........................ enaḥ [vā] dharmam chatra[ga] ati[yo], [Sanskrit: aśāṭa api cha jānāntaśāh kina ti ........................ [jana] enaḥ ava Dharmam charaṇa avasā, “Let the people outside the borders (of my dominions) also know that ........................ if (people) practise the (duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree.” The message to the aśāṭa or peoples living beyond the borders of Aśoka’s empire is also found in most other versions. But the wording of the present text is different. Unfortunately many of the aśkharas in this part are damaged and the meaning of the section is not absolutely certain. We have tried below to restore the lost words on the basis of the wording in the other versions. In matters like the promotion of Dharma, Aśoka made no distinction between his own subjects and foreigners. To him all men were like his children.

The last sentence of the inscription reads: iyam [cha] sāvana vivuthena 256) [Sanskrit: idāni cha śravayam vyuṣṭena 256], “And this proclamation is (being issued by me when I have been on tour (for) 256 (days)”. The word vivutha (i.e. viyutaka) standing for Sanskrit vyuṣṭha has been used here for Sanskrit vyuṣṭha. There is difference of opinion among scholars on the interpretation of the sentence. But the corresponding sentence in the Sahasrām version makes its meaning absolutely clear. This reads: duve saptamānā tuḥ-śāta viyuktā ti 257 which stands for Sanskrit: dvē satapadiśad-śāra tvam vyuṣṭah (=vyuṣṭah aham) iti 258 or dvē satapadiśad-śāra tvam vyuṣṭha (=vyuṣṭhe maya) iti 256. This tour seems to be one of the early Dharma-yātrās (i.e. tours for the propagation of Dharma) instituted by Aśoka in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e. in the eleventh year of his reign, corresponding roughly to 260-259 B.C.) and particularly referred to in Rock Edict VIII. It is now generally believed that Minor Rock Edict I is the earliest of Aśoka’s proclamations on matters relating to Dharma first issued 12 years after his coronation, i.e. about 258-257 B.C.

TEXT


2 dha[m] cha paraśaṃte ti[ṃ] [sāh] [∗] (IV) etena aṣṭāṃśa Jastubudipasi Devvāna[m]piyas[sa] a[ṃ]sau[ṃ]vārai sa[ṃ]kṣ[a]tā[ṃ] sarvāni muniṣa[ṃ]vārai kātā [∗] (V) parakamasa iyam phale [∗] (VI)

3 no [cha] iyam mahatena ti va

4 chakīye pāpolave [∗] (VII) khudakāṇe pi paraśakamāṇe dhānaṃ charaṃ[ṃ]nā pāneśa[ṃ] samayānā vipule ti svage chakīye āraṇhāyitave [∗] (VIII) a[ṃ]e stāye

5 athā[ṃ]v[e] iyam sāvane [∗] (IX) khudāke chā udāre chā dhānaṃ charaṇī[ṃ] [yo]gaṃ yunjanī[ṃ] [∗] (X) aśāṭa pi cha jānāntaśāh kinti cha[ṃ] chilā[ti]ke dhamāmace...4...

5 ...[si]hā [cha] enaḥ [vā] dha[m]mam chara[m] ati[yo] [∗] (XI) iyam [cha] sāvana vivuthena 200 50 6 [∗]

[2] In the place of vi, no seems to have been originally engraved.
[3] This ākṣara had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small spaces between the preceding and following ākṣaras.
[4] This ākṣara should better be read after chilā[ti]ke.
[6] The intended reading may be rāja[ṃ] (Sanskrit: rāja[r]hūtya). As suggested by other versions of the edict, the last words before rājā[ṃ] may be iyam aha (Sanskrit: iyam ahaṃ).
[7] This PARTICIPLE in the Nominative Singular has to be taken with a word like jana (Sanskrit janāḥ). Of, kharā or kalā[ti] (Sanskrit: cīraṭhīkīte cha pālakṣama bhūmā) in the Maṇḍālī version.
TRANSLATION

(I) (This is a proclamation) of Devāṃāpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja.

(II) I have been (now) an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two and half years.

(III) Saith he, "It is (now) more than a year that the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) has been intimately associated with me and that I have been exerting myself (in the cause of Dharma)."

(IV) Devāṃāpriya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who had been unmingle with the gods during this period, were made (by him) mingle with the gods.

(V) This is the result of (his) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).

(VI) It is not that this (result) can be obtained by the rich man alone. (VII) Even the poor man, if he exerts himself (in the cause of Dharma), practises (the duties associated with) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, can attain even the great heaven.

(VIII) Therefore this proclamation is (issued by me) for this (following) purpose.

(IX) Let both the poor and the rich practise (the duties associated with) Dharma (and) effect (thereby their) association (with the gods).

(X) Let the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) also know that ................. if (one) practises (the duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable extent.''

(XI) And this proclamation (is issued by me when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days).

---

1 The conjectural restoration of the damaged portion of the inscription would suggest the translation: "Let the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) also know that the practice of (the duties associated with) Dharma should further increase. This matter will increase if (people) practise (the duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree."
No. 28—RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(2 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In a letter dated the 14th September 1946, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, a keen student of ancient Indian history and an Advocate of the Madras High Court, sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India an eye-copy of the beginning of an old Brāhmī inscription, which he had reproduced from an old record about thirty years previously. Just then he could not remember the source from which the eye-copy had been taken down; but he correctly noticed that some of the letters of the inscription looked like Brāhmī characters found in the edicts of Asoka. Unfortunately it was not possible to make out anything from the eye-copy and Mr. Aravamuthan was searching for his notes to trace its source. In another letter, dated the 14th March 1947, he informed the Government Epigraphist for India that he had reproduced the eye-copy of the inscription from the following volume of the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Madras Government's Oriental Manuscripts Library: "Local Records, Vol. 29, Sheet 28, Title 55: Inscriptions on Stone and Copper in the Aundavanny Mangala Dinne and Pancha Pallem Districts.—Transcribed in Local Records, Vol. 23." He also wrote in this connection that the inscription is stated in the said source to be in a dora opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rāmalinga Devaḷayam in the southern part of a village called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the Paṇḍapāḷayam Taluk in the District of the same name. As the List of Villages in the Madras Presidency does not refer to places called Paṇḍapāḷayam and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, the findspot of the inscription may be, he suggested, no other than Maṇḍigiri in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District.

The discovery of the eye-copy in the Mackenzie Manuscripts points to the date when it was prepared. Colin Mackenzie, born in 1754, was appointed to the Sappers in Madras and arrived in India in 1783. He was appointed the first Surveyor-General of India in 1815 and died in 1821. Soon after his arrival in South India, Mackenzie contacted certain Brāhmaṇa Pandits and realised the importance of collecting manuscripts and studying their contents for an evaluation of Indian culture. In the thirty-eight years of his stay in India, he collected innumerable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as well as in the South Indian languages, of which the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sent to England. His collection also included transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper plates. After his death, Mackenzie's South Indian collection was purchased by the East India Company and their catalogue in two volumes, prepared by H. H. Wilson with the assistance of Mackenzie's Pandits, was published from Calcutta in 1828. The manuscripts were afterwards deposited first in the library of the Madras College, then in the library of the Presidency College, and ultimately in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It seems that the eye-copy of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri inscription was prepared for Mackenzie sometime at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In February 1948, Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited the village of Maṇḍigiri in the Bellary District in search of the epigraph. But no such inscription could be traced there. In December 1952, in the course of his annual tour in search of inscriptions, Mr. M. Venkataramayya, then Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Paṭṭiṇḍaṇḍa which is the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Kurnool District and lies about 8 miles from the Tuggali Station on the Guntakal-Bezwada line of the Southern Railway. There he heard of a locality called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri lying at a distance of about

---

1 Macron over s and o has not been used in the article.

(211)
EYE-COPY OF RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION

(Portraits from Mackenzie MSS.)
3 miles to the north-west of Pattikonda and also of the existence of some inscriptions at the place. It is a hamlet attached to the village of Juturu about 4 miles to the north-west of Pattikonda. There is no road from Pattikonda to Râjula-Maṇḍagiri; but the place can be reached by a bullock-cart. The hamlet lies at a distance of about 20 miles from Erragudi where the edicts of Ashoka were discovered in 1929.

Mr. Venkataramayya could not visit Râjula-Maṇḍagiri just then. Next year he again went to the Pattikonda area in search of inscriptions and discovered the record at Râjula-Maṇḍagiri on the 26th December 1953. There is no doubt that this is the inscription, an eye-copy of which found a place in the MacKenzie Manuscripts. The temple of Râmalâṅgēvara stands on the rock on which the inscription is engraved. The epigraph is incised on the surface of the rock at a distance of about ten yards from the entrance of the temple. Four other early and medieval epigraphs were also discovered in the locality.

The inscription representing a version of Ashoka's Minor Rock Edicts I and II commences with a triscoele which is sometimes found on the uninscribed cast coins of ancient India. The same symbol is noticed in the eye-copy. The copyist tried to reproduce only some letters at the beginning of the inscription. But he only copied the letters and their parts which he could clearly see and omitted damaged letters without leaving any space for them. This made it impossible for anybody to decipher the record from the eye-copy.

The area covered by the Râjula-Maṇḍagiri inscription consisting of 15 lines of writing is about 70" by 40". Individual aksaras are about 2½" in height. The preservation of the writing is extremely unsatisfactory. There is no line in which a number of aksaras are not damaged, beyond recognition in most cases. The characteristics, which are slightly roundish in shape and are rather carelessly engraved in lines which are not always straight, closely resemble those of the Erragudi inscriptions of Ashoka. While, however, the Erragudi version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II has many passages to be read from right to left and several groups of letters engraved outside their proper places, the said peculiarities are absent in the writing of the Râjula-Maṇḍagiri version. The lines have to be read from left to right as usual in Brâhmi and letters do not appear to have been incised outside their proper places. The left and right strokes forming the lower part of are curved, the two of them together generally forming a sort of semicircles. The letter r is not of the cork-screw type. It is a horizontal line, its upper end being generally a curve opening towards the right. The upper vertical of v is sometimes a curve opening towards the right and the letter resembles m without its right upper member (of Devānāhī and in line 1). The conjunct pr has been written as rp. As regards the Prakrit language of the record and its orthography and grammar, it may be pointed out that the Râjula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II may be regarded as a close copy of the Erragudi text of the same records. Most of the characteristics of the epigraph in those respects are also known from some other inscriptions of Ashoka. The letter t has not been changed to f and n has been used in all cases for s. The use of vē śaka for Sanskrit evam-āśa only in the Râjula-Maṇḍagiri and Erragudi versions is interesting. Both these versions appear to use hā́ for Sanskrit bāvana.

Most of the sentences of the Râjula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II are fragmentary; but the lost aksaras can be restored with the help of the almost identical copy found at Erragudi. Such restorations are generally supported by the possible number of aksaras lost in particular gaps. The Râjula-Maṇḍagiri text in its turn helps us in restoring certain groups of letters either altogether left out in the Erragudi copy through inadvertence or incised there out.

---

See A. "E. P., 1932-33, Nos. 64-67 of Apf-B.
See Aba *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. lxxvi, 98.
of their proper places. There are only a few cases where the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to differ from the Erragudi copy. But the variations are not of great importance.

For the purpose of interpreting the edicts, we propose to quote the text of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version singly or in groups and, in the case of the fragmentary sentences, also the corresponding parts of the Erragudi version. The Minor Rock Edicts at Erragudi have been published by several students including the author of this paper. But, in the following lines, I shall quote the Erragudi text from a fresh transcript recently prepared by me from a re-study of the record.

The first sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edict I reads: Devānath-piye hevāla (Sanskrit: Devānapriyaḥ evam aha), "Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods." There is a triseces symbol at the beginning of the sentence. The symbol is also found in the Erragudi version of the edict at the beginning of the same sentence, although it was wrongly read there as sa (Sanskrit sat, tat).

The second and third sentences, the first of which is partially preserved, read adhikāri cha a ………………… ke [**] no tu kho ekam sauvahchara pakāhita kusam. The text of the same sentences as found in the Erragudi version runs: adhikāri [ādhatisīmāṇi sauvahcharāṇi] yā khuṣṭaṃ upasakaḥ [**] no tu kho ekam sauvahcharaḥ pakāhitaḥ kusam (Sanskrit: aṭṭhakṣiṇ arthisīmāṇi sauvahcharinī [vyāya] yat āhām upāsakaḥ [asmi] | no tu khalu [āhām] ekam sauvahcharaṃ [vyāya] prakritāḥ abhūvam), "It is (now) more than two and half years that I have been an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha). I was, however, not energetic (in the practice and propagation of Dharma) for one year (at the beginning of the above period)." The passage aṭṭhakṣiṇi sauvahcharāṇi in the second sentence of the edict appears to be either cut off from the impressions of the Erragudi version or inadvertently omitted from it. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version has space for these abakaras, although they are damaged. In the place of aṭṭhakṣiṇi other versions generally have aṭṭhikāri or aṭṭhirekāni.

The next sentence, which is also partially preserved, reads: sātireka ………………… vyāya bhāhah cha me pakāhita. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Erragudi version: sātireka cha kho savahharaṃ mayyā Ānghha upayeśā bhāhah cha me pakāhita (Sanskrit: sātirekaḥ cha tu khalu sauvahcharaṃ [vyāya] yat mayyā Ānghhaḥ upaśā bhāhah cha mayyā prakṛtāham), "It is (now) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in the cause of Dharma)."

In the place of upayeśā (Sanskrit upasāḥ) of the Erragudi version, the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to have upayeśā (Sanskrit upaśāḥ).

The fifth damaged sentence reads: iminā chu kālena amīśa. The complete text of the same sentence in the Erragudi version reads: iminā chu kālena amīśa [ye] munīśa devaḥ te dāni mātihātā (Sanskrit: etena cha tu kālena [devatā] amirāḥ ye manushyāḥ [abhūvam] devaḥ te idāmśi mātihātā [santi]), "Those men, who were unmingled (with the gods) during this period (down to the present), have now been mingled with the gods."

The next sentence, which is not fully preserved, runs: pakama ……… phale. The same sentence in the Erragudi copy reads: pakamasā hi iyaṃ [phalaḥ] (Sanskrit: [mama] prakramasa

---

2 The passage ya khuṣṭaṃ upasakaḥ no tu kho ekam sauvahcharaḥ pakāhita forming line 2 of the Erragudi record has to be read there from right to left.
3 The passage "be bhāhah cha me pakāhita [**] iminā chu kālena a" of the fourth and fifth sentences in the Erragudi copy forms line 5 of that record and has to be read from right to left. But "minā ye munīśa which follows has been engraved about the left end of the line and has to be read from left to right. The abakara "dakṣaṇa pāṭa" of a sentence in the latter part of the edict are engraved before devaḥ.

this matter). He (in his turn) will order the people of the countryside as well as the (official entitled) Rāshtrakula." Both these sentences are found in the Erṛagudi copy. The Mahāmāyīras, indirectly referred to in the second sentence of this edict, seem to have been in charge of the provinces or groups of districts in Asoka's empire while the Rajakulas and Rāṣṭrikaśas mentioned in these sentences were probably rulers of the districts and their sub-divisions respectively. The designation Prādēśika seems to have been applied to the said class of the Mahāmāyas in Rock Edict III, the Yuktas mentioned there being probably officers of a class similar to that of the Rāṣṭrikaśa or of a still lower grade. The word yuktas may also mean there merely 'an official'.

The next five sentences, which are mostly damaged, read: mātā ........................ [†] gurusu ............ [†] rāpurasu dayūaviye [†] sache vataviya [ | | ] taviya. The complete text of this part, as found in the Erṛagudi version, runs: mātāpitāsā sususitaviye [†] hemaśa gurusu sususitaviye [†] rāpurasu dayūaviye [†] sache vataviye [ | | ] ima dhanamagantu pawatiaviye(ṛ) (Sanskrit: mātā- pitā-sā suśrutiviyaṃ | evaṃ eva gurusu suśrutiviyaṃ | prā- nesu dayūaviye | satyam vaktavyam | ima dharmagantu pravastiaviyaṃ), "One should be obedient to one's parents. One should likewise be obedient to one's elders. One should be kind to the living beings. One should speak the truths. One should pronounce the truths of Dharmā." There appears to be no space for hemaśa in the second of these sentences in the Rājula-Maṇḍāgarī inscriptions copy.

The tenth sentence reads as in the Erṛagudi copy: hovam tuphe ānapayāha Devānāmśriya- vachanena (Sanskrit: evam yuṣyam ajāpayaṇa Devānāmśriya-vachanena), "Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods."

The eleventh sentence, which is damaged, reads: ................................................................. tha ha ...... karunakāni gṛgṛccharyāṇi bhamhanākiḫi(chi) cha tuphe. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Erṛagudi version runs: hovam ānapayāha hāthi-yūrōhānā kāru(tra)nakaṇāi gṛgṛccharyāṇi bhamhanākiḫi(chi) cha tuphe (Sanskrit: evam ājāpayaṇa hāṭhyārohanā karunakāni gṛgṛccharyāṇ brahmanān cha yuṣyam)." In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes, the charioteers and (the teachers of the) Brahmāṇa (community)." The elephant-riders, scribes and charioteers are mentioned side by side with the Brahmāṇa teachers apparently because they had also their pupils to whom they taught their profession. The idea was that all teachers should guide their pupils in the path of Dharmas as understood by Asoka. The following sentences are meant to be the address of the officers to the teachers.

The twelfth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: ........................................... ante ................. pakūti. The complete text of the sentence, found in the Erṛagudi version, runs: hovam nīveśayāṅka antarācāriṇī yārīdā parānā pakūti (Sanskrit: evam nīveśayāṅka antarācāriṇā yārīdā parāṇa prakṛtiḥ), "You must thus instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

The damaged thirteenth sentence reads: .......................... viśe. The complete text of the sentence in the Erṛagudi copy runs: yuṣyam sususitaviya (Sanskrit: idāṃ suśrutiviyaṃ), "This (order) should be obeyed".

The fourteenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: apahāya .......... se achariyā. The complete sentence reads in the Erṛagudi copy as follows: apahāyanā ya vā achariyāsa se hemaśa (Sanskrit: apahāyanā ya eva achariyasa sa evam eva), "Whatever honour is enjoyed by the teacher lies really in this." But there is no space for so many aksaras in the damaged part of the Rājula-Maṇḍāgarī inscriptions, the intended reading in which may have been apahāyanā hemaśa se achariyāya (Sanskrit: apahāyanā evam eva vā achariyasa).

---

1 The aksaras evam to go before śrutisaviye hemaśa at the beginning of the line in the Erṛagudi version have been engraved at the beginning of the following line before ma dhanamagantu.
2 The aksaras hovam ānapaya in the Erṛagudi copy are engraved below the right end of the line and have to be read from right to left.
3 In the Erṛagudi copy, the aksaras yuṣyam of achariyasa have been engraved at the beginning of the following line, and hemaśa, incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left.
The fifteenth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: ...... và pana, ...... nātikāni yathārāha nātikāsa pavatātviye. The complete sentence as found in the Ērāgudī copy reads: yathā và pana ācharījasa nātikāni yathārāhaṁ nātikāsa pavatātviye (Sanskrit yathā và punah ācharīyasā jñātikāśa [sānti] yathārāhaṁ [taiḥ tasya] jñātikāraṁ [idāṁ] pravātātviye). "Then again, this (principle underlying the order) should be established in the proper manner among (the teacher's) female relations by the male relations he may have." In the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the reading may be nātikāsa (Sanskrit jñātikāsha).

The sixteenth sentence, also fragmentary, runs: .......... aṣe............. viṣya yāsīṁ porāṇā pakāti. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Ērāgudī copy: kṣaṇeśu antevāśitn ācharījasa yathārāhaṁ pavatātviye yāsīṁ porāṇā pakāti (Sanskrit: kṣaṇeśu antevāśitn yathārāhaṁ pavatātviye yāsīṁ porāṇā pakāti). "This should also be established (by them) in the proper way among (their own) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage".

The seventeenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: yathārāhaṁ yathā iyāṁ viṣya ......... tha ānāpayātaka cha antēvāESA. In the Ērāgudī copy, the complete sentence reads: yathārāhaṁ yathā iyāṁ sātīrōre kei viṣya hevam tupe ānāpayātaka nīnasyātya cha antēvāESn (Sanskrit: yathārāhaṁ yathā idāṁ sātīreśan eṣāṁ evaṁ ānāpayātaka nīnasyātya cha antēvāESn). "You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (principle underlying the order) grows (among them abundantly)". The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy seems to have nīnasyātya ānāpayātaka cha in the place of ānāpayātaka nīnasyātya cha of the Ērāgudī version.

Only two akṣaras of the last sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy are traceable on the impressions. But the sentence seems to read as in the Ērāgudī copy: kṣaṇe Devānapīya ānāpayati (Sanskrit: evaṁ Devānapīya ānāpayati), "Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods".

TEXT

A. Minor Rock Edict I

1 a(1) Devānapīya hevā[ha]t [(*)] (II) adhik[ka]ni [cha' a]. ................. *
   k[ka] [(*)] (III) no tu [kho]

   [payā]te bē-

3 dhāṁcha me paka[ni]te [(*)] (V) [l]minā [chu] kā[le]na amī. ...........
   [bha]n[ta] [(*)] (VI) [pa]ka[mā].

* This akṣara is damaged and is preceded by a damaged sā at the beginning of the line. This sā is, however, actually meant for the beginning of the following line.
* Of this word, sā[da] stands at the beginning of the third line from bottom and tīre[ka] at the beginning of the penultimate line.
* From impressions.
* There is a tracées symbol at the beginning of the line.
* This word stands for Sanskrit evaṁ ānāpayati.
* Other versions would suggest sātīreśa. But the Ērāgudī copy has adhikāni. This damaged akṣaras looks more like sātīreśa. About 16 akṣaras are damaged here. They may be restored as "sātīreśu samārṣchadārayaṁ kāmāṁ kātasya upāyaṁ".
* About 12 akṣaras which are damaged here may be restored as tu kho samārṣchadārayaṁ maṁ samāyaṁ suṣṭhaṁ.
* The number of akṣaras damaged here is about 12 and they may be restored as "sā maṁstā devaṁ te dāna maṁ".
RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

No. 28

4. phale [I] (VII) no hiṣṇa mahapati[va] sakiye [I] (VIII) [ku]dak[e]  [sa]kiye vi[pū]  [sa]kiye vi[pū]

5. [ta]yve [I] (IX) etā[y] cha aṭhāya  [sā][vane] sā[vite] [I] (X) [la]kā


7. (XI) [ṣa]vane sa[rāpi]te [vṛ]tihona [200] [50] [6] [I]

B. Minor Rock Edict II

(1) [hovan De]vānahr[piye ṣa]ha [I] (II) [yathā Devānahrpi]-

8. ye [I] (III) raj[ū]ka jāna[pe]t[va]i[va] [I] (IV) se dā[ṇi jāna]padā-


11. [I] (VII) sa[cha vātavi]ly [I] (IX) [la]kā

12. [I] (X) he[vaṇ tu]pche ṣa[n]pa*[y]thāa Devānahr[piye] vachane-

13. [n]a [I] (XI) [la]kā

14. [la]kā


16. (XII) [la]kā

17. [I] (XIII) [vi]ly [I] (XIV) [ṣa]vane ohāya

18. [ṣa]vane ohāya

---

1. About 3 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "sa hiṣṇa".
2. About 8 aksharas which are damaged here may be restored as "na pi pakṣamāṃṣena".
3. The damaged aksharas can be restored as "te swavo".
4. The number of aksharas damaged here is about 3 and they may be restored as "dīshā".
5. About 2 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "ṣaṭa".
6. There are about 7 aksharas damaged here. They may be restored as "ōthā khudaka-maḥa".
7. The damaged aksharas may be restored as "ima paka".
8. About 3 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "meṣu amān".
9. The number of aksharas damaged here is about 11. The reading appears to be "yude vadhāśī apanādhyād".
10. About 6 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "diyādhiyāḥ" [I] iyasm.
11. There are about 8 aksharas damaged here. They may be restored as "ye ṣaṭā tāṭā lalāṭi".
12. About 8 aksharas which are damaged here may be restored as "sima vaśvamāḥṣa".
13. The word can be restored as "vaśvamāḥṣa".
14. These damaged aksharas can be restored as "ima ḍhāma".
15. There are about 8 aksharas damaged here, which may be restored as "māṇuṣa pattaśa".
16. The aksharas lost here can be restored as "kaṇtha ḍnapoya ṣaṭa".
17. About 8 aksharas are damaged here. The word may be "khaṭṭā ṭroṭāṇi".
18. The damaged aksharas can be restored as "khiṇa niṣṭaṭāṭi".
19. About 8 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "ōṭāni āryaṁ āpaṇāmā".
20. The damaged aksharas can be restored as "śrāvaṇa svamāṁ".
21. There is space here for about 4 aksharas which may be restored as "ad hemena. The Kansa copy has apakṣyamand paṇḍaṭṭaṇiṣaḥ sa hemena, in the place of which the present copy seems to have apakṣyamanda hemena se aṭṭarīṣaṇa."
13 [śiya.4[1/4] (XV) 3 vā pa]ma
[śiya.4[1/4] (XVI) 4 [śiya]/vā [śiya]/vā/]

14 [śiya yārisā pora[nā pa]ka[i] [śiya]/ (XVII) [śiya]/ham yathā
śiya

15 [śiya]/ (XVIII)

---

1 The lost akṣaras may be restored as as.
2 About 2 akṣaras which are damaged here may be restored as yathā.
3 There are about 6 akṣaras damaged here and they may be restored as vāṣṭiśaṇa.
4 The word looks more like nāṭkāma than nāṭkāma here.
5 About 3 akṣaras are lost. They may be restored as ṣaṅga pa.
6 The damaged akṣaras (about 11 in number) may be restored as "vāṭiśa yathārtham pavatita".
7 The damaged akṣaras may be restored as pāvātita.
8 About 8 akṣaras are lost here. They may be restored as "kṣetra upada niṣesaya".
9 The damaged akṣaras may be restored as as.
10 The sentence may be restored as kṣetra Deveśāṃpīya ṣaṅgopati.
No. 29.—Adhambahara Plates of Mahan-NannaraJa

(Bal Chandra Jain, Raipur)

Adhambahara (Adhabhār or Arbhār), about 40 miles from Bilaspur, is a village in the Sakti Tahzir of the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. On the 6th of August 1954, when a cultivator named Bodhram Bhatku Teli was digging earth in his Khaer No. 747 of that village, he found the present plates buried in the field. They were deposited in the sub-treasury at Sakti where they remained for several months. They were later acquired by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur and presented to the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Each plate measures 8" in length, 4'95" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. About 1" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole (6" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through. This seal-ring is now lost. The weight of the three plates together is 118½ tolas.

There are 27 lines in the inscription: IAB—8, IIA—8, IIb—7, IIIA—4. The lower portion of the last plate is blank and the record incomplete. The letters, which are neatly and deeply engraved, are each about ½" in size. The characters are of the box-headed variety and very closely resemble those of records like the Rajim and Baloda plates of Tivaradeva. The length of medial i is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form. Medial au is tripartite and the subscript r resembles in many places the sign of the vowel ri (see ārī in lines 1, 7 and 9). The final form of m occurs in line 24. Punctuation is denoted by a vertical line with its top bent towards the left and followed by another vertical line.

The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. Its language differs from the formal portions of the grants of Tivaradeva and Mahā-Sivagupta Bālājīna. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has used in many places medial i for medial ī. Aumāra and āmār have often been unnecessarily used while aumāra, āmāra and the final consonants are omitted in many cases. As regards orthography, a consonant preceding and following r is doubled in some cases. The letter s is sometimes used for v (see abhīrriddhi in line 15 and pratīruṣṭhaka in line 20). Aumāra is wrongly changed to a before a sibilant in āvāsa (line 5) and to a before s in āvasūna in line 22 while a is used for a in puṣṣa in line 16. The letter d is omitted in adīya in line 21 and ādāya in line 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Köntītika, situated in the viskaya or district of Ashtadvāra, to a Bhāgavata Brahma named Nārāyaṇa-पाद्यायā who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and the Mādhyandina-वंश, by the illustrious Mahā-Nannarāja, son of Mahāśiva-Tivararasāja. The king, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and the gift was made on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada, on the occasion of the sankhīrīti.

1 For the antiquity of this place, see Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 255; Hiralal, Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar, 1922, No. 230.
The inscription is very important as it reveals the existence of Nannaraja, an as yet unknown king of the lunar dynasty of South Kosala or Chhattisgarh. He calls himself the son (dharma) of Tivaradeva. Thus the genealogical table of the Paudvamati or Soma-vamati kings of South Kosala would now be as follows:

1. Udayana
2. Indrabala
3. Nanna I
   |    | Bharadova
4. Tivara
5. Nanna II
   |    | *
6. Chandragupta
7. Harshagupta
8. Sivagupta-Balirjuna

Mahasiva-Tivararaja issued the Rajim and Baloda plates respectively in the 7th and 9th years of his reign. He was the son of Nannadeva and grandson of Indrabala. While his own grants mention him as sakala-Kosala-dachipati, the present inscription claims that he was not only in possession of Kosala (South Kosala, modern Chhattisgarh), but that his supremacy extended to the territories of Utkala (modern Orissa) and many other vasatas and that it was the value of his own arms that brought these vasatas under his command. Scholars have different opinions as regards the date of Tivaradeva. But I agree with the view that he came to the throne about 500 A.D.  

Like his father Tivara, Nanna II was an ardent worshipper of Vishnu and held sway over the whole of the Kosala country. Nanna II probably had no sons and was succeeded by his uncle Chandragupta, grandfather of Mahasiva-Sivagupta-Balirjuna.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Sripura, whence this grant was issued, has been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Ashadvarna is the same as Adhkhara, the findspot of the plates. It is also mentioned in one of the Sitamalabhi cave inscriptions. The gift village Kontika may possibly be either of the modern villages of Kasthibopi and Konti, both about 12 miles from Ashadvarna.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1. दशस्वति [1] भर(श्री)पूराणकालवाचस्पतिनस्यवाकाराय
2. बशस्वति राक्षसस्थप्रसादादस्वतिनस्यशचराय
3. दशस्वति राक्षसस्वति (ल) बशस्वति राक्षसस्वतिनस्यशचराय
4. राःस्वति राक्षसस्वति राःस्वति बशस्वतिनस्यशचराय
5. लस्वतिशाश्चकालवाचस्पतिनस्यराहस्यवाकाराय

---

3. Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 229.
5. From the original plates.
6. Expressed by symbol.
पार्वतिकसमीयकोसस्वरूपस्मृतिकलिपिमण्डलस्मृतिकलेखप्रमादायतः

लत्यतय च(श्री)महाभिका[े]जीवितसिद्धात्मकता प्रवृत्त्य इव कैठोरेराल्यः

श्री[स्तु]जीवितयुक्तसिद्धाजयः श्रीसाकलाक्ष]स्नानः

Second Plate, First Side

श्लोकाविधिः परस्परविंचनोत्तरानुवादः विष(ब्रह्म)यः

हान्दराजः[७] कुशलि(श्री) || प्राप्तबाचराजये कोनितिर्ग्रामेम श्रावः

अर्थाण(संग्रह) समूहः प्रतिवासमेव समानांप्रति विद्वतसालः

बो यथोस्मादशद्यं प्राप्ते[१०] बालब्रजविशिष्टकारारिकयः

शित्यारानावकारं जागवत्तज्ञे तावः[१०]भोगः सं-

निषिद्ध[१०] सोपाननिवृत्तरः चांभुः[१०] चावेश्वरः[१०] सबक्राक्षरालम्बनः[१०]

समृद्धिरः नीद्दिवसकृतो मातापिर्यो रतनः पुनः(क्षुर)सिद्धवः[१०] द्वः[१०] कृषि-

विज्ञायताय वायुनेत्रमाध्यमः(तर्क)दिनमायारविजयाः

Second Plate, Second Side

नारायणोपायायाय मातापिर्यो रतनः पुनःसिद्धवः[१०] द्वः[१०]

भागवदः[१०]हुमः(संग्रह) संकाले उद्वृत्तः[१०] शासनः प्रारम्भः

लिपावित हत्याके प्रसादः प्रचः प्रमाणः समुचितः भोगभागः

मुन्नान्तिरः[१०] सुखः प्रतिवस्त्वः(श्री)मिति || माहित्यः बृही-ः

पालानुविद(हिंदी)गोदमारङ्गिणी(की)परते [१०] भूपिण्डा दिति तस्मान(लैं)

निः परत्(त)निः हृत दुःखः महिम(की) हृष्ट्यो नरः कुष्ठः(श्री:-) ||(१)

एतद्वः[१०] यः(विं) परंपरयत यज्ञाः चक्तीमायाः(यु) तथा कृष्टः

Third Plate

यदुवतामिति(की)पर(हिंदी) || १० || भार्ति ज [१०] दानात्मायिनयोत्साहकः(श्री)

1 The passage involves a complex scriptural reference. Dasha is redundant.
2 Read दास्य-पै।
25 चुरमिकुण्ठी [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमुद्रुग्य नरकं भास्करं
26 ब्रह्म [२*] ब्रह्मन्नर्मी(या)ता (तां)ब्रह्म व्यासानुदाहरितं || प्रम०
27 प्रथम सूंदर भूम्भरणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [१*]²

² The verse is incomplete.
No. 30—NOTE ON PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

While editing the Pallavarayyanpettae inscription of Rajadhiraja II, Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has translated lines 10 to 13 of the record as follows: "Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) ........ and (having brought) the princes, residing at Gaṅgaikonaḷapura, and at the time of Periyadēvar’s demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Edirlippermēḷ, the son of Neriyudaiṣippermēḷ and grandson of Udaiyār Vikramaśālādeva, who had already been invested with a crown and was therefore bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of Rajadhirajēdeva in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the udāsēṭṭam (assembly) and the sāḍu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions." This indicates:

(1) that the prince selected by Rājarāja II for being crowned under the name of Rajadhiraja was Edirlippermēḷ, the son of Neriyudaiṣippermēḷ and grandson of Udaiyār Vikramaśālādeva,

(2) that the selection was followed by the investiture of the crown during the life-time of Rājarāja II, and

(3) that in the fourth year of his installation, after the demise of Rājarāja II, he was again crowned under the title of Rajadhiraja II.

Thus are postulated (a) two coronations of Rajadhiraja II, one on his selection and the other in the fourth year of his reign, on the demise of his predecessor, and (b) the death of Rājarāja II before the fourth year of the installation of the Yuvardēva.

But the text of the inscription published does not warrant any of the above hypotheses. The text runs as follows:


11 ṛapaciṣya pāktu [mu]ŋ-gāḷilē kārijam īrundaṇḍi vi ........[a]ḷuḍu Gaṅgaikona[ṇa]daśēḷapura ....daruḷi iru[k*j]kira pillaigaḷaii ....yāsam paṇṇu ....daiyār Vik[k*]ramaśālādeva pēṇāṛ


---

1 The note is the outcome of a discussion initiated in 1947 by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam and continued intermittently for many months, in which Dr. N. Venkataramanavēyya, Mr. S. Vaiṣayāpuri Pillai and Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar also participated.


3 Ibid., p. 192.

(229)
The passage maṇḍai kaṇhipputu-[ypōn]dārāṇavāta ṣivarrai=tiṟi-ābbisēgam paṟṟippukka-kadavāṟṉa (nićeñhāyiḻu) in line 12 has been translated as 'who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne', taking the word dāraṇavāta to mean 'having already been'. But the word dāraṇavāta also gives the meaning in the same way as 'and a reference to the context would show that the expression has been used in the inscription. Adopting this meaning, the translation of the whole passage would be as follows:

"Even in earlier years, when (the senior king) Periyadēvar was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king . . . . . and (having brought) the princes residing at Gaṅgaiṣقول-ṭapāra, and deciding that this (prince) should be crowned in the same way as Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neṭiyuḍaippērurumāḷ and grandson of Udaiyār Vikramādēvar, was invested with the crown at the time of Periyadēvar's (death), he (Pallavarāyar) anointed the prince under the title Rājādhirājāva on the fourth (annual) asterism (of his installation)."

Accordingly, the prince crowned under the title Rājādhirāja becomes different from Edirilipperumāḷ whose name is mentioned in the inscription only by way of citing a precedent, of which we have no knowledge.

So far as we know there was no apparent occasion in the history of the Imperial Chōjas of Taṅjavūr, from the time of Vijayalaya to that of Rājarāja II, when there was a failure in the regular succession to the Chōja throne for want of a direct heir in the male line. But the mention of the precedent in the inscription, preceded by the words maṇḍai kāriyam ṣivundapadi vi . . . . . keyru clearly points out that there had arisen such an occasion previously. Since the person then chosen to succeed on the Chōja throne was the grandson of Vikramachōla, it should have occurred after the time of that ruler. Between Vikramachōla and Rājarāja II who was confronted with the problem of selecting an heir to the throne, there was only the reign of Kulottunaga II intervening. Edirilipperumāḷ could therefore be none other than Kulottunaga II who succeeded Vikramachōla on

1 [The authors have taken both the passages [maṇḍai kāriyam ṣivundapadi vi . . . . . keyru in line 11 (translated as 'as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king') and Udaiyār Vikramādēvar . . . . . maṇḍai kaṇhipputu-[ypōn]dāraṇavāta in lines 11-12 (translated as 'in the same way as Edirilipperumāḷ . . . . . Periyadēvar's (death)'), as referring to the same precedent. The construction of the sentence does not permit this interpretation. This will make the passage between these two sections a parenthetical one thereby making the interpretation of the whole section further complicated. Moreover, in line 12, after the expression kaṇhipputu-[ypōn]dāraṇavāta occurs the word ṣivarrai. The authors have not made clear as to whom this word refers. There is no other word to which it can be referred except Edirilipperumāḷ, the name occurring immediately before it.—Ed.]

6 The accession of Kulottunaga I, born of the Eastern Chāḻukya line, to the Chōja throne has sometimes been taken as such an occasion before the time of Rājarāja II. It was not so. Kulottunaga was clearly a usurper to the Chōja throne.

7 A recent writer has taken this Edirilipperumāḷ as the great-grandson of Vikramachōla, i.e. as the son of Neṭiyuḍaippērurumāḷ who was the grandson of Vikramachōla. See V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Mēṟṟam Kulottunaga (Tamil), 1st ed., 1941, p. 21. It is true that such a construction can be put on the passage Vikramādēvar pēṟar ṣivunmaṇāṭ Edirilipperumāḷ of the inscription, taking the word pēṟar as pāṟuṟāṇa and as the adjective of Neṭiyuḍaippērurumāḷ instead of taking it as qualifying Edirilipperumāḷ. But this construction is somewhat strained as the author himself admits (op. cit., p. 139), although he considers such a construction necessary on the presumption that Edirilipperumāḷ was Rājādhirāja, since Rājarāja II who was in search of an heir to succeed him on the throne was himself taken to be a grandson of Vikramachōla and any heir selected by him should be at least one generation further removed.
the throne. In fact, both in literature and epigraphy, he is known by that name. The Kulottungasodha-pilla-tamiḻ on Kulottunga II, composed by his tutor and court poet Oṭṭakkuttan, refers to him by that name in several contexts. An inscription of the 3rd year in the reign of Kulottunga II from Perumācāram in the South Aroor District containing the megakāvithi beginning with the words pūmanṟu padam, makes a gift of brahmādeva land newly called Edirilisōjanallir as a tax-free devadāna to the god Tiruvattirgaṇiṣhīṇamūḷaiya Mahādeva. We also find an officer named Edirilipperumāḷ alias Kulottungasōja-Kaṭambarāvaṇ who figures as a donor of the village Neḷungiraisakkūr in an inscription of the 2nd year of the reign of Rājadhirajā II at Nāṅguppaṇṭī in Pudukkōṭṭai. It will thus be evident that Edirilipperumāḷ referred to in the Pallaḷarayapōṭṭai inscription could very well be Kulottunga II. But he is generally taken to have been a son of Vikramachōja. The Chellur plates, dated in the 11th year of his reign and Śaka 1086 which is a mistake for 1085, registering the gift of a brahmādeva village by Kolani Kaṭamaṇiṇyaka with the king’s permission, clearly refer to king Kulottunga II as the son of Vikramachōja (tatt-pūtraḥ). The Kulottungasōjaḷa, another variety of probandha composed on him by the same Oṭṭakkuttan, also refers to him likewise as the son of Vikramachōja in kaṇṭi (couplet 28). But the three succeeding kaṇṭis contain some interesting information about the parentage of this king. The relevant portion of the śīl is quoted below:

— vēṟṟē

23 virumb-araṇi veṅgaḷa-ṭīṟ-vēṭṭu-kaligaṇa
   perum-paraṟ-kūḷa perumān tarum pudalvaṇ
29 korra-kulottungasōjaḷ kuvalayangal
       muṟṟa-ppurakkū muṟṟa-vaṇṇaṇ per-ruvarai
30 Indu-marabu irukku nap-kuḷattil
        vandu Manu-kuḷattai vaiḻvittapai taḷiṟ-ktai
31 māṭar-ppidī perṛa vāṟaṇam=sa-vvāraṇattiś
   kādar-ppiṟṟa kāja-kaḷabhaṇ

"King Kulottungasōjan, the son given by the Perumāṇ (king) who obtained (the eulogy of his praises sung in) the great paraṇi of Kaliṅga having carried the fire of the fercious battle-field into the fortress considered to be invulnerable by the enemies. He who fully protects all the worlds is of the cloud complexion (black). He is Kaḷakalabha (black young elephant), the dear grandson of the tusker (vāṟaṇam) who was the son of the lady, the she-elephant whose hands are (soft) like the tender shoots, who in turn was born of the matchless family belonging to the lunar race of the golden Tuvarai (i.e. Tuvarapati) and made the solar race prosper."

1 Kulottungasōjaḷa-piyal-ii-amij, verses 2, 25, 26, 89 and 94. The printed edition gives the name as Edirilipperumāḷ.
3 Ibid., No. 337 of 1914; Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 138.
It is thus seen that the grandfather of Kollottunga II was the son of a princess of the lunar race from Tuvarasati or Dwaramadrum, i.e., a Hoyasa princess. If Kollottunga II is taken as the son of Vikramachola as has been presumed so far, then Kollottunga I becomes his grandfather who, we know, was the son of a Chola princess (i.e., Ammataghavi, the daughter of Rajendrachola I) and not of a Hoyasa princess as described in the sidha. So we have to assume that Kollottunga II was the grandson of Vikramachola who in turn was the son of Kollottunga I, not by Madhurantaki, the Chola princess, but by a Hoyasa princess hitherto unknown. That this presumption is correct will be evident from the title Ayya-gandhavera-pusa (the proud elephant of his grandfather) applied to Kollottunga II. The village Tungakka (Tirumurug-kuppam) in the Musiri Taluk of the Tiruchirapalli District is referred to as Ayyanagandhavera-chaturvedimangalam in an inscription of Vikramachola, the date of which is lost, and in another record of the 10th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. This is evidently based on the title Ayya-gandhavera-pusa. Since this name of the village came into being in the reign of Vikramachola, it is very likely that the village was named

---

1 There is an old commentary on this sidha which has been included in the Mahamahopadhyaya Sarmanatha Adyar Library edition of the Madura-sidha published by the Kalikshetra, Adyar. The relevant portion of it is Mokappa: pon chakkaravall. Vaidrama: pon chakkaravall-pidda-pidda (padya Mandaviga Madhuri-svaragam-kumbha), amat chakkaravall-kumbha por Vaidramacurisvarav. The expression mokar-pidda padya madhuragam is taken by the commentator to mean mokarpidda-padya-madhuragam (madhuragam or the person who gave birth to the queen) i.e., the father of the Chola queen. It is also mentioned there that he was a Padya and that he was known as Vaidramacurisvarav when he became a yogi four years after his birth. It is said that Vikramachola had a Padya princess for his queen and that the Padyas also claimed descent from the lunar race. But the mention of the golden Tuvarai in the sidha as the place wherefrom the princess can render such an interpretation untenable. Even if we take the word Tuvarai to mean the ancient Dwaram, the seat of Krishna, it is to be noted that the Padyas never claimed descent from that city or from Krishna. The word padya only means 'obtained'. As such it is also possible to interpret the expression as mokarpidda-padya-langa-langa-padya-svaragam, i.e., 'the taker whom the excellent woman obtained as her husband.' Thus the same expression may be interpreted as indicating the father or the husband of the princess; but these are all forced interpretations. The natural one would be to take it to refer to the son of the princess and it is this meaning that has been followed here. Further, we may also mention that, contrary to expectations, the old commentary is not reliable for the historical information it gives and the following may be cited as examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaapi or complete No.</th>
<th>Exploits of the king of the Chola lineage mentioned therein.</th>
<th>Name of the king to whom such victories are attributed in other sources.</th>
<th>Identification by this Commentator.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Construction of the embankment of the river Kaviri.</td>
<td>Karikala (the sidha mentions him by name).</td>
<td>Not identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Adorned with the scars of 93 wounds on the chest.</td>
<td>Vijayalaya.</td>
<td>Bajrakshadeva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Split the chest of a Dwarama-Nehe and saw Tillai.</td>
<td>Aditya.</td>
<td>Tirumugilchola (or Munumudi-chola).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Ibid., No. 264.

4 Ibid., 1932-33, para. 23, p. 65 takes the title to be that of Kollottunga I. But the fact that two inscriptions dated in the [39th and the 49th years of Kollottunga I (Nos. 253 and 262 of 1932-33) in the same temple do not give the name Ayyanagandhavera-chaturvedimangalam to the village renders this surmise improbable. [From a scrutiny of Nos. 254, 253 and 262 of 1932-33 from Tungakkosam, dated respectively in the 10th, 39th and 49th regnal years of the reign of Kollottunga I, it may be surmised that the village came to be known as Ayyanagandhavera-chaturvedimangalam during his reign. It is very likely that the village was so named after his son Vikramachola whose mother was probably a Hoyasa princess. The expression mokarpidda-padya-madhuragam of the sidha seems to be an echo of this fact.—Ed.]
after the dear grandson of the king, which only echoes what is mentioned in the text. That Kulotutsa II took pride in calling himself an elephant will be evident from his title Kala-kalabha not borne by any other Chola king. But successive Hoyasala kings appear to have used this title. There is an incomplete copy of the Gadyakaracaritra, a prose work in Sanskrit commemorating the marriage of the Hoyasala king Somaśvara with a Pāṇḍya princess. The poet who wrote the book was the protegé of the Hoyasala king Vira-Narasimha, a contemporary of Chola Rājarāja III and Kāḷava Koppuruṇīga. The poet bears the titles Kāḷakaḷaṇha and Sakalavīḍyāchakravartī, which were probably conferred on him by the king. The title Sakalavīḍyāchakravartī borne by the poet was perhaps in virtue of his being the court poet of the king, a title that was borne by two other poets of the Hoyasala court, one the author of the kavya entitled Rukmini-kalīga in the court of Vira-Ballāla III, and the other in the court of the Hoyasala king Vira-Rāmanāthādeva referred to below. The other title Kāḷakaḷaṇha was probably based on a title borne by the king himself. In the Ranganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, there is an inscription of the Hoyasala king Vira-Rāmanāthādeva dated in the 15th year of his reign registering a gift by Śokka Vili-bhaṭa of Pāṇḍagam, who was also known as Muddaliyar Kariyamari Sakalavīḍyāchakravartī, of certain gold articles presented to him by king Vira-Pāṇḍya. The epithet Kariyamari applied to the poet means the ‘black young of an elephant’ and as such is only a synonym of the other title Kāḷakaḷaṇha.

The Pallavarāyanpettai inscription states that Ediriliperumāḷ, i.e. Kulotutsa II, was the son of Neriyudaiiperumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramačola. It is not known whether Neriyudaiiperumāḷ was the son or daughter of Vikramačola. An inscription from Kāḷaśamavalli in the Tiruvorur District, dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramačola, registers a gift of land mentions that Venkada Pandaragam-udaiyar, the son of Neriyudaiachoḷa Pallavarāyar, a native of Marudāju-nāṭa, was also present in the assembly. The name of this officer, who probably hailed from Tondaimanḍalam, suggests that he got the official title after Neriyudaiachoḷa. It is quite possible to presume that Neriyudaiiperumāḷ stands for Neriyudaiachoḷa and in that case he is probably to be taken as a son of Vikramačola. But the statement in the Chilīrū plate that Kulotutsa II was the son of Vikramačola, which goes against the presumption made above, requires an explanation. If Kulotutsa II had been the son’s son of Vikramačola, it could not be said that there was no regular heir to the throne. The only course then to explain this apparent

---

1 Sāntadārī, the queen of the Hoyasala king Vishnuvardhana, is known to have had the title Uḍerīka-sasvati-gadādlēkāvara, ‘the roving-elephant to the ill-mannered co-wives’ (Mysore Gazetteer, new ed., Vol. II, part II, p. 1542). A host known as Sasvi-paṇḍādevūla was constructed in 1232 A.D. in her memory after her death. Again Arkiśvara, the Chālikya chief of Lāmulavāla, whose court was adorned by the famous Kannada poet Pama, had the title Amanu-gadādlēkāvara which was also borne by his grandson Arkiśvara II. It is true that there are, in literature, many instances of poets comparing both men and women with elephants and that even Rājanārakalā has been referred to as a ‘naked’ in some of his inscriptions found in the Mysore State. But this is probably the first time when we find the term borne by a Chola as a title. This was perhaps adopted from the Hoyasala of the Mysore country where elephants are abundant.
2 A variant reading of this term is Kasa-kalabha which in Tamil will mean the ‘black young of the elephant’ and this meaning will also fit in the context since Kulotutsa is referred to in the previous line of the text as of cloud-complexion. See also Rājarāja-ud, Koṇi No. 78.
4 SII, Vol. IV, No. 499.
5 A. R. Ep., No. 80 of 1914.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.
inconsistency would be to take Neiyuṣṭiṣṭhipprumāl as a daughter of Vikramachāla and Kulottunga II as her son (purāṇa-puṭra) adopted and hence called son. The princess had apparently married a Pāṇḍya or Hoyasala prince and thus belonged to a lunar family. There is a significant passage in the Kulottungaśhāla-uluç (verse 112) describing him as follows: Mudukula māṇgaṁ muḻi-vanāga vanda Vidukula-nāyakaś-śrī-māhār ......... ‘He is (said to be) the son of a noble queen belonging to the lunar race, to whom (all) the kings of the ancient families made obeisance.’ It is worthy of note that no other king of the Chōḷa line or, for that matter, of any royal family in South India, is referred to as the son of his mother. This is probably due to the fact that his mother had some pretensions to the Chōḷa throne.

One other point of similarity in the nomination and coronation of both Kulottunga II and Rajadhiraja II has to be noted. Kulottunga II counts his regnal years from some time in May-July, 1133 A.D.¹ But his predecessor Vikramachāla seems to have lived for a period of about two years thereafter as his inscriptions (which began about the 30th June 1118 A.D.)² go up to his 17th regnal year, i.e. 1135 A.D.³ It will thus be seen that Kulottunga II was selected as successor to the throne and enthroned with the administration of the kingdom by Vikramachāla himself in his life-time. The selection of Rajadhiraja II by Rajaraja II was also made in the same way. Inscriptions of Rajaraja II which count some date after the 6th April 1146 A.D.⁴ as the starting point of his reign are found up to the 28th year of his reign. It is true that his records in the Tamil country go only up to his 19th year, i.e. up to 1165 A.D., and no inscription of his bearing a date after that year has so far been traced in the Tamil area. But we have many inscriptions of his up to the 38th regnal year in the Telugu country and almost all of them, registering gifts by the local rulers acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chōḷa overlord Rajaraja, are coupled with the corresponding Šaka dates, clearly showing that his reign continued up to 1173 A.D. But Rajadhiraja II was already selected and crowned by him. We know that two sets of dates are found for Rajadhiraja II in his inscriptions, one set containing some date between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial date,⁵ and the other set having some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point.⁶ This well fits with the statement in the Pāḷavarṣīyappēṭṭai record that Rajadhiraja was crowned on the fourth annual aṣṭerism, i.e. on the completion of three years after his selection. Thus it will be seen that both Kulottunga II and Rajadhiraja II were selected as heirs-apparent to the throne and crowned by their predecessors in their own lifetime and that these predecessors did live some time after such selection.

² Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.
³ BH, Vol. VI, No. 123; also A. R. Ep., No. 156 of 1906.
⁵ A. R. Ep., No. 85 of 1928.
⁶ BH, Vol. VI, No. 829 (No. 181 of 1899); also Rangacharya’s List, No. Gt. 883.
⁷ Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
No. 31.—BRAHMII INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(D Plate)

D. G. BIROR, GOTACAMUND

Sometime in the year 1954, Mr. C. S. Upadik of the Pali Institute at Nalanda, near Bhiharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar, sent me a photograph and an impression of a Brahmii inscription for examination. The epigraph was stated to have been engraved on the brim of a stone vessel preserved in the house of one Mohan Lal Singh, an old cultivator of Hassanpur, P. O. Kailvan, District Patna. The vessel was discovered by him in the course of ploughing a field in front of a mosque and a Dargah in the village of Kailvan about half a mile away. As the material received from Mr. Upadik was not quite satisfactory for the decipherment of the whole record, I visited Hassanpur for an examination of the inscribed vessel on the 6th of January 1956.

The adjacent villages of Hassanpur and Kailvan lie within the jurisdiction of the Bakhtiarapur Police Station in the Barh Subdivision of the Patna District. They are about 8 miles from Belch and about 6 miles from the Harnaut station on the Bihar-Bakhtiarapur Light Railway. A mosque and a Dargah near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan appeared to me to have been built on the ruins of certain older structures. Ancient bricks measuring about 14" x 91/2" x 21/2" were found lying here and there in the neighbourhood.

The vessel, made of Chunar sandstone, weighs 4500 tolas (1 maund and 17 seers). The circumference of the outer edge of its brim, which is 21/2" wide, is 5' 3". The height of the vessel is 91/2" and the diameter of its open face is 1' 31/2". Although the brim bearing the inscription is rather rubbed out and rough, the outer side of the vessel still bears traces of the original Mauryan polish which once beautified it. We know of an inscribed Mauryan stone bowl from Sanchi. 1

The inscription runs along the whole face of the brim of the vessel, although there are four symbols between the beginning and end of the circular line of writing. The first of these symbols looks like a water-pot with a long neck resembling a modern sarahi, which, however, does not resemble the auspicious puruṣa-kunjaka as represented generally in Indian art. 2 The second symbol is difficult to identify while the third is a double reostika. The fourth symbol looks like a damaru with the two strings fastened to its middle and the guškis tied to their ends longer than usual. Since the damaru is generally associated with Śiva, this object may refer to the Saiva association of the inscription under study.

The characters are Brahmii of about the first or second century A.D. The letters v and k have an angular shape with a horizontal base. D and g resemble the forms of these letters in the inscriptions of the Kushāgas. The top of some of the letters is thick and looks like a clear serif. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in most of the inscriptions of the Kushāgas. A peculiarity of the orthography is the use of ś for s in samadhikāra (Sanskrit samadātāra). 3

---

3 It may be a yāpā with a wooden yāpō-kunjaka of the shape of a damaru at the top. Cf. Subhūtakāra-druma, a.v. yāpō-kunjaka. If this identification is accepted, it may refer to the Brahmanical association of the record. Dr. V. S. Agrawala drew my attention to a similar symbol on ancient Indian coins (cf. Allan, op. cit., pp. xxiii, ixiii, 52-53, 300). For the representation of a damaru side by side with a puruṣa-kunjaka, see J. R. E., 1903-04, Plate facing p. 20. Or does our figure represent a yāpū-kunjaka along with a yāpā?
4 Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
The inscription bears a date. Its reading and interpretation are, however, not entirely beyond doubt. The passage in question, with which the record begins, reads: rājaḥ Ārāya-Viśakhamitrasya savacchāre which is followed by three akharas and two symbols. These three akharas read satāye; but the following two numerical symbols have a rather peculiar appearance. The first of these resembles the symbol for 7 with a short horizontal line on its head. The right end of this top stroke joins a curve with its opening downwards. The symbol may possibly be taken to stand for 100.¹ The second sign looks like an early symbol for 8 turned from left to right. The expression satāye seems to contain the words kuto and ashti and to indicate the number 108. Thus the whole passage appears to stand for Sanskrit: rājaḥ Ārāya-Viśakhamitrasya samavacchāre satāye (=ashti-ottara-kuto) 108. The record therefore seems to have been engraved in the year 108 of an unspecified era during the reign of a king named Ārāya-Viśakhamitrasya.

Further details of the date are given in the following passage which reads: gimeha-pakhe samā 8 divasa pachame 5. The symbol read here as 8 resembles the second of the two symbols discussed above. But the passage preceding the symbol does not offer any satisfactory sense unless it is amended as gimeha-pakhe as(a)(th)ā(m)e-Sanskrit grisha-pakhe ashtiome. The exact date of the record under study thus may be the fifth day of the eighth fortnight of the summer season in the year 108 of an unspecified era. Considering the paleography of the inscription and Bihar’s association with the Kushāpas of Kanishka’s house, the era seems to be no other than the Kanishka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year quoted in the inscription therefore appears to correspond to 160 A.D. The eighth fortnight of grisha corresponds to the second half of pūrvimānta Āśājha. Thus the day referred to in the record may be Śaka 108, Āśājha-sudī 5. As the Mauryan polish, noticed on the vessel bearing the epigraph, went out of fashion long before this age, the inscription seems to have been engraved on an old vessel.

The object of the inscription is recorded in the following two sentences. The first of these reads: bhagavato achariyasya kuḍe upaniha-Sanskrit bhagavate āchāryasya kuṇḍam upanitam, or bhagavata āchāryasya kuṇḍam upaniṣṭam. The word upaniṣṭam means ‘presented’. The sentence therefore refers either to the kuṇḍa or vessel having been presented to the venerable āchārya or teacher probably by his pupil, or to the vessel belonging to the teacher having been offered as a present to some deity. There is little doubt that the vessel referred to is the one bearing the inscription under study. That, however, the stone vessel was not a present of the pupil to their teacher seems to be suggested by the following sentence with which the inscription ends. This sentence reads: Mahānāda Phalgumadikā kirti-bhūtiṃ-mitra hi kuḍe upaniha bhagavato-Sanskrit: Mahānandakā Mahāgumadikā [cha uddātā] kirti-bhūtiṃ-mitra hi kuṇḍam upaniṣṭam bhagavataḥ. It seems that the vessel, used by the teacher during his life time, was offered by his pupils to the river deities, Mahānāda and Phalgumadikā, probably after the teacher’s death. The epithet kirti-bhūtiṃ-mitra applied to the vessel seems to indicate that it was believed to be associated with the fame and power of the deceased teacher. The vessel was probably dedicated at the waters of the junction of the Mahānāda and the Phalgumādi. The Mahānāda is no doubt the present Mahanā which runs about 2 miles away from the findspot of the inscription. It meets the river Dhovā, which runs about 4 miles from the place, at a distance of about 6 miles. This Dhovā is now a branch of the holy river Phalgumādi and seems to have been known by the name Phalgumādi in the age of the inscription.² It is not impossible to think that the junction of the two rivers then lay near the findspot of the inscription at Kaiyā. The casting of a vessel into waters in

¹ See Ojha, Palaeography of India, Plate LXXIV (a). Of the sixth symbol for 100 quoted from the coins of the Western Kusāapanas and the third and sixth symbols for 100 quoted respectively from the inscriptions of Aka and the grants of the kings of Valabhit.

² A branch is sometimes regarded as the main river even now.
BRAHMl INSRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(from Photographs)
connection with the Śrāddha ceremony of a deceased person is not unknown in Hindu ritual and the junction of two rivers is regarded by the Hindus as of particular sanctity in religious matters.

The inscription under study seems to be the only record so far discovered in Bihar, which bears a date in the Kanishka era. There are Chinese and Tibetan traditions referring to Kanishka's successful expedition against Pātaliputra and this may suggest the spread of Kushāṇa influence over Bihar. But the real nature of such influence cannot be determined without further evidence. The tradition regarding the rule of the Murundas of Śaka nationality in the Bihar region about the second century A.D. and the spread of the Kanishka era in Bihar as suggested by the inscription under study, when read together with the Chinese and Tibetan traditions referred to above, may suggest the inclusion of Bihar within the Kushāṇa empire but do not prove the point conclusively. The discovery of Kushāṇa coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possible adoption of the Kanishka era by the Licchhavis of Nepal can hardly be regarded as definite proof of Kushāṇa rule in those areas.

Whether Bihar formed a part of the Kushāṇa empire or not, the present inscription seems to show that king Ārya-Viśākhāmitra was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (ancient Magadhā), as an independent monarch in the last quarter of the second century. The coins and inscriptions of certain rulers with names ending in the word mitra have been found in the said region, although their relations with the Mitra kings of Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī, known from their coins, cannot be determined. A Magadhan monarch named Brihaspatimitra or Brihatavāṣṇimitra is known to have been a contemporary of king Khārlavāla of Kaliṅga who flourished about the close of the first century B.C. Ārya-Viśākhāmitra of the inscription under notice appears to have belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadhā. Whether his epithet Ārya hints at the contemporary or past rule of the non-Āryas or Miśārāṇa foreigners in any part of Bihar cannot be determined without further evidence. It is also uncertain whether Ārya in this case is a dynastic name like Ārya (Sanskrit Ārya) found in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmabhūtās of Kaliṅga.

TEXT

Rājō Ārya-Viśākhāmitrasya śavaṇhabhre sat-śāhe 100 8 gimha-pakhe sa(a)[tha*]-mā(zi) 8 divasa pachame 5 bhagavato achariyasya kuḍe upaniṣe [[*] Mahanadake Phalgunidke kitī-bhūtīka-miśa hi kuḍe upaniṣa bhagavat[o] [[*]]

TRANSLATION

On the fifth—5—day of the eighth—8—fortnight of summer in the year one hundred and eight—108—of king Ārya-Viśākhāmitra, the vessel of the most worshipful teacher is offered as a present. The vessel of the most worshipful one, which is verily associated with his fame and power, is offered as a present (in the name of) the Mahānāmaka and the Phalgunidīka.

---

1 See Colebrooke, Miscellanea Essays, Vol. I, p. 185. The performance of the ceremony on the Phālu at Gaya is known to have been regarded as specially meritorious.
2 Age of Imperial Unity, p. 142.
3 Raychaudhuri, PHAJ, 1933, p. 460.
4 Age of Imperial Unity, loc. cit.; Select Inscriptions, p. 256.
5 Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 327.
6 Select Inscriptions, p. 256.
7 Ibid., pp. 206, 214.
8 From the original and impressions.
9 There are some symbols here. See above, p. 229.
No. 32.—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS

(2 Plates)

A. M. ANNIYARI, Dharwar

A Bhōja family of kings ruling in the west coast of Southern India has come to be known recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao in his article entitled 'A Note on Siroda Plates of [Bhōja] Dēvarāja'1 has pointed out that the name of the family of king Dēvarāja is Bhōja and not Gēmin as formerly read by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnacharlu.2 According to the Siroda plates the capital of the Bhōjas ruling round-about Goa was Chandraura. This place is identified with Chandorgos in the Goa territory.

In the course of my official tours on behalf of the Kannada Research Institute, I succeeded in discovering two more copper-plate charters of the rulers of the Bhōja family. I am editing them below with the kind permission of Prof. S. S. Malwad, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar.

1. Arṣā Plates of Kāpālāvarman

Through the help of Mr. Mogta Naik, Forest Contractor of Karwar, I discovered this set of copper plates in 1946-47. The plates were under worship in a temple at Arṣā, situated 8 miles to the south of Karwar. On inquiry the priest of the temple informed me that the set was incomplete and that two more plates which formed part of the set were thrown into the tanks at Yellāpūr in the Karwar District. On examination of the record, however, the set of plates as handed over to me was found to be complete.3

The set consists of two thin rectangular plates each bearing a ring-hole in the margin on the left side. The copper ring on which the plates were strung is open, the seal attached to it having been lost. Each of the plates is engraved on its inner side only, the outer side being blank. The first plate is broken and mutilated on the left side near the ring; but the broken parts were somehow joined together by a wire later on. Each plate measures 8" x 2' 4" and the diameter of the ring is about 2' 5". The plates together with the ring weigh 19 tolas. Though the rings are not raised, the writing is well-preserved. Some of the letters are so deeply engraved as to leave their traces on the reverse side of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be styled archaic Kannada. The letters are box-headed and resemble, to some extent, those of the Kadārama Māndhātāvari.4 Initial a appears in lines 9 and 10 and å and u in line 4. Medial å is denoted by a slanting line to the right (cf., e.g., pā in kāpāl in line 1). In the case of ū (line 1), the å sign, added to the middle of the letter on the right, takes a curve to the left at the top. Medial ī is indicated by a circle at the top (cf. śi and śi in line 1), and ī by adding a spiral within the circle. The letter sī is engraved in two ways. One of these shows the vowel sign at the top of the left arm of the letter (cf. line 5) while the other the sign touches its right and left arms at the top in an arc of a circle (cf. line 6). Medial u sign is added below the right arm of the letter in the form of a hook turned to the left as in pu in line 2. In the case of su in line 9 and su in line 10,

2 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff.
3 The plates have been noticed by Mr. H. S. Pancharakshi in the Report on the Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay, 1947-48, pp. 4, 10.
the sign is shown turning to the right. The rounded and cursive form of ḷ in line 4 is noteworthy. 

As regards orthography, the consonant following r in a conjunct is doubled; Ignorance of the rule of saṃskṛti may be noted in the expression punar-va" (line 6) which should be punaḥ va" or punas-va". There are other mistakes in the record, linguistic and scribal, which have been duly corrected. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is all prose. The charter is not dated. It may, however, be ascribed approximately to the sixth century on palaeographic considerations.

The purport of the record may be briefly stated thus. At the request of Svāmikarāja, Dharmamahārāja Kāpälivarmman, while he was residing at Pāmasākṣēṭaka, registered a gift of land in the village of Śivapraka to the former who in turn donated it to a Brahmāṇa named Bhavārya of the Kaṇḍinīya gūra, so that merit might accrue to him.

The Bhōja King Kāpālīvarman is made known to the students of history for the first time by the present inscription. He bears the epithet Dharmamahārāja like the Kadamba kings. It may not be unreasonable to surmise that Svāmikarāja of the plates is the same as the Chālukya chief Svāmikarāja who was victorious in eighteen battles and was killed by the Early Chālukya king Mañgalkaśa as disclosed by the Nērūr plates of the latter.1

Śivapraka-grāma may be either Shivapur in the Supa Pēṭhā or another locality of that name in the Kalyāṇa Taluk of the Karwar District.Śivapura-viṣhaya was a division round about Śivapraka. I have not been able to identify Pāmasākṣēṭaka. The expression Pukōli-khajjāna cannot be explained.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddha[m] [Vijaya-Pā]masā-ḥēṭakād = Bhōjana[rñ] Dharmamahāra[rñ]jaya ārt-Kāpāli-

2 va[rmmnap va]chāhanā Śivapura-viṣhayā varttāmatā-bhavāya-

3 [d-bhē]jak-āyukta-sthāsay-ādayo vaktavā yathā Śivapura-

4 grāma-[a]l[m]i upari-sadakē Adityasārṣēṭhi-Pukōli-khajjāna[rñ]

5 Svāmikarājēna dhamm-ārttham vijāpa[pī]tair-asmābhiḥ-paritūṣhape

Second Plate

6 Svā(Svā)mi[karājēya datta[rñ] Svāmikarājēna punarave[nah sva]pūry-ṭūchāya-nimittam

7 Kaṇḍinīya-sagṛtrāya Bhavāryyā[y] odakēṇa datta[ttam] [[*]] jñātvaiṣva na kānchita

---

1 From the original plates and impressions.
2 The letters sīṣa are completely damaged and restored conjecturally. The following letters parā are only partly preserved. [The letter sā in this name can be read as sā also.—Ed.]
3 These damaged letters could be restored with the help of other records.
4 Read eṣṭhāya" as in the other grant edited below.
5 The aśekara kā has an unnecessary u-mātra. [The intended reading may be puṭūllī; of above, Vol. XVI, p. 297, n. 9.—Ed.]
8. vya[th] sitava[m(vam)] [**] yo-smat-kula(l-ā) bhyantarē v-ānyē vā vyāṣā(n) karōti
9. sa sarvav[ha] [**] pāta[k]a-s[m]ā[ty]ukto bhāvāhyati [**] auṃpayati vā sāmya[k**]
10. su[hrēna sa[r]u] [**] yuktō bhāvāhyati [**] atra oba(ch-ā) jūnpīr-Nandaka-talavara[h [*]
11. likhita[m*] [Kr]i[ˈKr]iṣṇa(h) [-] bhōyakaḥ-Śtī [**]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success. Let the present and the future Bhōjakas, Áyuktas, Sthāyins and others in Śivapura-viśaya be ordered thus in the words of the illustrious Dharmanamahārāja Kāpāllīvarman of the Bhōja family from his victorious residence at Pāmasā-khṣākā. The land named Pukolli-khajjāna, belonging to Aditya-srāṭhi, in the upper region within the boundary of the village of Śivapuraka was granted by us with pleasure for religious purpose to Śvāmikarāja at his request. Śvāmikarāja, in his turn, made over the same to Bhavārya of the Kaṇṇūrīya gōtra with libation of water so that merit might accrue to him. Knowing this, nobody should deprive him of it (i.e. the gift). Whosoever, either of our family or an outsider, interferes with this, will incur all the sins. The protector (of the grant) will enjoy complete happiness. The executor of the charter is Nandaka-talavara. This is written by Krīṣṇa-bhōyaka.

2. Kāpōlī Plates of Aṅkītakvarman, Year 5

This set of plates was found in the possession of Mr. S. V. Adjanagi, an advocate at Belgaum, whom I met in May 1954 with my friend Mr. G. V. Chulk. According to Mr. Adjanagi the plates were found buried in an iron box at Kāpōlī in the Khanspur Taluk of the Belgaum District. An agriculturist of the place discovered them and brought them to Mr. Adjanagi for decipherment about 5 years back. Mr. Adjanagi was kind enough to place the plates at my disposal and also to supply their tramspages subsequently.

The set consists of three plates strung on a ring bearing a seal. The seal bears the figure of an elephant. The writing which is well preserved is on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The expression divākara is incised in the centre of the outer side of the third plate. The plates measure 7·5' x 3·5' each. Each plate has a small round hole in the left margin for the ring to pass through. The set weighs 80½ tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet of about the 8th or 7th century. They can be compared with those of the Bannaljhi plates of Kadamba Krīṣṇavarman. Initial ī and ē are

---

1. This letter is faintly engraved and its form is not normal.
2. There is an anusvāra mark above this sūkha which has to be properly associated with the previous letter.
3. The punctuation is denoted by a vīrtu-like sign followed by three small strokes.
4. [The term bhōyaka, which is found with slight variations in the inscriptions particularly of the western region, seems to denote a specific area of cultivable land or locality. Cf. Raḍḍa-bhōyōma in the grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla (above, Vol. XXX, p. 77) and bhōyaka in the Panjam plates of Jayakēti I (Kadamba Kula, p. 389).—P.B.D.]
5. [This is the interpretation of the expression upari-śadaka.—P.B.D.]
6. [Nandaka-talavara must have been an officer of some distinction. The designation talavara was formerly associated with an important official of the state as known from the Nāĝurjunākoṇḍā inscriptions of the 3rd century A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 4 ff.), although it has lost its original meaning in its modern Kannada and Telugu survivals (talavara and talāri). This office retained its dignity in the Kannada area during later centuries is attested by an allusion to an officer of the Rākṣatrākhas, named Horeyama, who is styled Śrīnadhgrāmī and Tāḷāṇa of Māṇyakhēta in a 12th century Western Chalukya inscription (B. K. No. 115 of 1299-1300).—P.B.D.]
7. [Bhōyaka stands for Sannārīt bhōjaka referred to in many inscriptions. Cf. Sām. Sāl., pp. 94, 183, 201, 203, 265, 270. It may also be the same as bhōyaka of the following record.—Ed.]
8. [See below, p. 235, note 8.—Ed.]
9. [The seal is not of the usual type. It is oval and has a flat surface. In the centre is a sunken circular space bearing the figure of an animal carved in relief. This may be taken to be an elephant, but not without doubt.—P.B.D.]
10. Above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18.
TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS

appear in lines 13 and 8 respectively. Some of the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities are the same as those noticed in respect of the record edited above. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and its composition is prose except for a verse in lines 16-17. The writing is fairly free from mistakes.

The charter purports to record the gift of the village of Vaṁśavāṭaka situated in the tract of Sollundūraka-seventy in Palāśīka-vishaya to Nāgaswarman of the Hārīta gōtra, who was endowed with all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa. The gift was made with the approval of Mahārāja Asankitavarman of the Bhōja family by the chief Īlakēḷa of the Kāḷēya lineage for the merit of both. The executor of the grant was the Mahārāja himself.

The record is dated in the 5th regnal year of the Bhōja king AsanKITavarman and the gift is stated to have been registered on the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha. This date does not admit of verification. On consideration of palaeography, the Bhōja ruler and Īlakēḷa who must have been a feudatory may be placed approximately in the sixth or seventh century.

King Asankitavarman is described as a great devotee of Śiva. If this king is identical with his namesake of the Hirūguti inscription, he has to be regarded as tolerant towards Buddhism. Īlakēḷa, the donor who belonged to the Kāḷēya lineage, is known for the first time from the present record. The Kāḷēya family, however, is known from several epigraphs. The Halmid inscription of Kadamba Kākūśhatvarman refers to a fight of the Kadambas with the Kāḷēyas and Pallavas. Kadamba Krishnavarman I married a Kāḷēya princess. Prabhāvati, queen of Kadamba Mrigēṣvarman and mother of Ravi-varman, belonged to the Kāḷēya lineage. The Kāḷēya family also figures in later inscriptions such as the Haldipur plates of Gopāla-deva and the Kekkār inscription of Anncyarasa of the eighth century.

In regard to the geographical names in the record, the village of Vaṁśavāṭaka may be identified with Kāpōli from where the plates were unearthed. Sollundūraka-seventy remains to be located. It seems to have comprised an area of the Khasapur and Halyal Taluka. Palāśīka-vishaya is the same as the well-known Palasige-12000 of the later epigraphs, Halai being its chief town.

TEXT

First Plate

1 18 combust [ | * ] Vijaya-āri-pravardhamāna rājya-sarīvatsaram pāmchamaraṃ pā-
2 layalath sakal-svani-tala-sarvā-mandal-anbbhō.

Asankitavarman of the Hirūguti plates and his namesake of the present charter apparently belonged to one and the same family. The seals of both these plates bear identical figures of an elephant (see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 76 ff.).

[A close examination of the palaeography of the two charters would suggest that the two kings might be different. Asankitavarman of the Hirūguti record being a predecessor of his namesake of the Kāpōli grant. Their seals are of different types. Further, the characters of the Kāpōli record are box-headed, while those of the Hirūguti epigraph are not so.—P.B.D.]

6 [Above, Vol. XXI, p. 173.]
7 [Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-46, p. 5.]
8 This identification is questionable. If my information is correct, the original findspot of the plates is Halai and not Kāpōli. In January 1950, while I was camping at Halai in the course of a tour, I learnt that a set of copper plates had been unearthed some years ago in a field by a local farmer. It was subsequently taken by Mr. B. K. Desai to his village Kāpōli for destruction. Mr. Desai whom I contacted next year told me that he had handed them over to his friends at Belgum. Apparently the same plates were later found by Mr. Annigeri in the possession of Mr. Adippara at Belgum.—P.B.D.]

* From a set of impressions.

* [At the beginning of the line is a spiral which may be taken to be as a śādhan symbol.—P.B.D.]
TRANSLATION

Seems. At the command of Mahārāja Śraddhitavarman, who by his birth has graced and adorned the family of Bhōjas who are the lotuses in the circle of the lake in the form of the whole earth; who is the sole abode of the gems of all kingly qualities and who is a great devotee of Śiva, in the fifth year of his reign increasing with the glory of victory, the (present and) future Bhūgikas, Ayukta, Sthāyina and others should be instructed thus: On the full-moon day of Jyāśṭha, (the village of) Varnasvātaka included in Sollundūranka-seventy in Pālaśīka-viha, is made over with libation of water, free from all impurities, by Ėlakēlla of the Kaikēya family to this Nagaśarman of the Hārita gūra, who possesses all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa, for the religious merit of himself as well as of ours. We have also approved of it. Knowing this, neither a member of our family, nor any other ruler should snatch away (the gift). Whosoever matches it away will incur the five great sins. So it has been said by Manu: 'The land has been enjoyed by many kings like Sagar and others. To whomsoever it belongs, to him goes the fruit.' The executor (of the grant) is the Mahārāja himself. (The charter) is written by Mādhava, the son of Gōvinda-bhūgika and the writer of royal charters. Hail!

1 Before this the word varṇamāna appears to have been left out. Cf. line 2 of the Ėrga plates edited above.
2 The record proper ends here. It is, however, interesting to note that the name Diśikaru is engraved on the back side of this plate in characters of about the same period as of the main record. It is difficult to determine the significance of this writing. [He might have been the engraver.—Ed.]
3 [The original word is pāṇgsa (line 15). Its modification as pāṇgsa is met with in the Kālamkara records of the later period. It may be derived from the Sanskrit base pāṇga meaning 'obligation'. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 76.—P.R.D.] (Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 15, note 3. Pāngas occurs in many Telegu inscriptions (cf. SSL, Vol. X, Nos. 367, 405, 422, etc.). Brown's Telegu-English Dictionary explains it as 1/2 of the produce collected in ancient times by the government as tax from lands of gods and Brāhmaṇas.—Ed.)
TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS—PLATE II

2—KAPOLI PLATES OF ASANKITAVARMAN, YEAR 5
No. 33—KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140

(1 Plate)

ASHA VYAS, UDAIPUR

These plates were first noticed by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his Rajputana Itihās, Part II, pp. 445-46. He traced the plates which were lying hidden with a Brāhmaṇa family of the village of Kadmal, some 25 miles to the north-west of Udaipur. The plates thereafter went underground and the owner would never show them to anybody for fear of dispossessing. It was in the year 1940 that Pandit Ratilal Antani, the then Education Minister in the Mewār State Secretariat, who was himself a numismatist and was also keenly interested in other branches of Archaeology, somehow procured these plates for perusal through his Head Clerk, Mr. Bhavani Shankar who was closely related to their owner residing at Kadmal. After he had dealt with them in his own way, he was kind enough to pass them on to me, only for a couple of hours, through his Head Clerk. I utilised the opportunity to immediately get them photographed and sent the originals back to the Ministry within the scheduled time through the same bearer. They could neither be weighed nor their actual measurement could be taken during those hurried hours, and it now seems impossible to get them back for the purpose. It is from the photographs that I propose to edit the plates in the following pages.

This is a set of two copper plates which are said to constitute the earliest metal record of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. The plates were found by me fastened together with a thick copper ring passing through proportionate holes cut midway towards the upper border in both. No seal, however, was found fixed to the ring-joint. The plates appear to have been given the required shape and size by hammering heavy lumps of copper, not less than two seers in weight. The inner sides only in both have been used for writing, the outer ones being left blank.

Though an important record, it has received the most unsatisfactory treatment at the hands of the ignorant engraver who appears to have tried to follow the written out mass of lines without either knowing the signs that were made or the sense they were intended to convey. He does not appear to be knowing where a particular letter ends and the other begins or which medial vowel pertains to which particular letter. He has thus fared very badly in his task, sometimes transforming altogether the expected shapes and sometimes distorting them by superfluous additions and lamentable omissions. This blind engraving of the record has rendered it perfectly illegible, and there are hardly a few letters that have escaped the arbitrary touch of his chisel. In order to judge the amount of arbitrary alteration brought about in the actual text written by the scribe, it is sufficient to examine the very first two or three letters with which the inscription opens. Oh Svasi appears to be the intended reading; but the engraver has reduced the whole phrase into an incomprehensible group which it is difficult to restore to its proper form. The simple symbol, with which the initial Oh is expressed, is itself arbitrary in formation and the next two syllables constituting the word svasi are so rendered as to read māti. The engraver’s fanciful addition, omission and transposition of different strokes constituting these two syllables will be clear from the fact that the d stroke in mad (i.e. svad) is really the hinder part of the i stroke of the following aksha (i.e. svati), which has been joined to the previous letter incomately, and that the i stroke in ni (i.e. svi) is the fancifully changed aspect of the medial i pertaining to the next syllable sa (vā) with which the invocatory verse begins. This is only an indication, the whole
record being treated in this way. It is therefore no wonder that the plates have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.\footnote{Cf. Ojha, op. cit., p. 446, note 1.}

Proper reading of this record is not so much a matter of regular decipherment of an epigraph written in the script of a given age; but it is a troublesome process of restoration and adjustment of various signs in relation to a correct comprehension of the intended sense. The text, at places, is difficult to transcribe as it actually stands, for it would be impossible to transcribe a syllable on which two different medial vowel strokes have simultaneously been imposed, as in Khō of Khośmā(nā)spa towards the end of line 6, where both the medial ā and ė strokes have been applied to a common syllable. So also is the case of letters that do not resemble any letters of the alphabet. In transcribing the text therefore I have, at places, necessarily to give only the intended reading.

Owing to reasons given above, there is no room for any palaeographical or orthographical observation on the record. The most that can be said is that it is written in the Nāgari script of the twelfth century. The initial vowel ā is throughout made up of two dots with a comma-like sign below, which is characteristic of the early medieval script of Northern India.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, even if it was written correctly by the scribe, the engraver's chisel has brought about mistakes almost at every step. Though looking as if engraved by one and the same person, both the plates differ in neatness of execution. The second plate is tidier than the first as regards the general trend of incision. There are in all 40 lines of writing covering the inner sides of the two plates.

The document opens with Om Svasti which is followed by an invocatory verse in the Assaṭha metre in praise of Śrī-Ekaḷaṅgī, the guardian deity of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. Then obeisance is again paid to Śiva in the passage Om namaḥ Śivaḥ.

Then follows the genealogical portion which covers verses 2-9. Though it is a bare enumeration of names in chronological order without any historical information, the section contains some valuable information. The first few stanzas (verses 2-5) of the present genealogy are nothing but a mere reproduction of the corresponding verses of the well-known Āpur inscription of Sakti-kumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A.D.), a manuscript transcript of which, found by Ojha at Māqṣling in Mewār, was discussed by the late Dr. D. R. Bhāndarkar.\footnote{Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 180-191.} The opening genealogical verse reads: 

\textit{Aṇānḍapura-viṣṇuta-vipra-kul-āṇānḍanaḥ mahi-dēvāḥ jayati Śrī-Guhaṭattāḥ prabhavāḥ Śrī-Guhilā-pañḍārya} \| Bhāndarkar suggested that the rulers of Udaipur had a Brāhmaṇa origin and that they were Nāgari Brāhmaṇas.\footnote{Ibid., p. 190.} In his opinion, the verse means: "Triumphant is Śrī-Guhaṭattā, the founder of the Guhila family, a Brāhmaṇa and the delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Aṇānḍapura."\footnote{Pandit Mohanlal Vishnual Pandya tried to refute this Aṇānḍapura or Nāgari Brāhmaṇa theory regarding the origin of the Guhila dynasty in his article in \textit{JPASSE}, Vol. VIII, 1915, pp. 83-99.} He takes both vipra and mahi-dēva in the present verse to mean 'a Brāhmaṇa'.

Now, strictly speaking, there is no reason why two different words should have been used in a small couplet to connote one and the same sense. If both the families mentioned in the verse had a Brāhmaṇa origin as supposed by Bhāndarkar, either of the two words would have sufficed. Unnecessary repetition of variants for a common expression constitutes a palpable flaw in literary compositions and goes against the canons of rhetorics. The simultaneous use of the variants with reference to two different entities seems to imply difference of meaning. In our opinion, the
family, under whose guardianship Guhadatta lived, was Brāhmaṇa; as suggested by the term vipra in its connection; but he himself was not a vipra but a mahā-dēva, i.e. a ruling prince of the Kabrātriya stock.1

It is worthy of note in this connection that as many as four later epigraphs, viz. the Chitāgarh inscription of V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.),2 the Ashhalgarh (Mt. Ábūl) inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.),3 the Rānpur inscription of V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.),4 and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.),5 which aim at giving a genealogical list of the dynasty, regard Bāpā Rāval as the progenitor and make Guhila or Guhadatta of our record his son. But the latter’s mention as the founder of the family in older records like the Ātpur inscription of V. S. 1034 (977 A. D.) and the present epigraph establish beyond doubt that the prince described in the foregoing verse was really the progenitor. This also shows that, even as early as the thirteenth century, people had already lost remembrance of their predecessors’ knowledge about the genealogy of the family. Nothing more is known about Guhila from this verse. The inscription of V. S. 1517 mentioned above, however, adds that he had a son called Lāṭivināda, which name he acquired for his passion for ladies of the Lāṭa country. In 1869 A. D., General Cunningham found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra6 bearing the legend āri-Guhil, which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Next come in chronological order the princes Bhōja, Mahēndra (I), Nāga, Sīla, Aparājita, Mahēndra (II), Kālabhōja, Khōmmāga (I), Mattaṇa and Bhartripaṭṭa (I) (verse 3). Except a bare enumeration of the names of the princes, no other information is found in the verse. We, however, know the dates of some of them from their own inscriptions so far discovered. An inscription dated in V. S. 703 (646 A. D.)7 pertaining to the reign of Sīla or Sīlāditya was found at Sāmōli in the Bhōmaṭ District of the old Udaipur State. The stone is now lying in the Rājputnā Museum at Ajmer. Another inscription of the reign of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (661 A. D.)8 has been found at Nāgdā, the ancient capital, which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur.

Thereafter comes Sinha (the son of the last prince mentioned in the foregoing verse). His son was Khōmmāga (II), after whom came Mahōyaka. His son was Khōmmāga (III) from whom sprang Bhartripaṭṭa (II) (verse 4). In contrast to the previous verse, the present one gives some additional information by way of mentioning the relation of each succeeding prince with his immediate predecessor. Sinha has been referred to in an inscription of V. S. 1335 (1278 A. D.)9 found at Chitāgarh and now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. No inscription of the other princes has so far been brought to light.

Mahālakṣmaṇi, born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family, was the beloved consort of Bhartripaṭṭa II and gave birth to his son Allaṭa (verse 5). An inscription10 of the reign of Allaṭa has been found

1 If Guhadatta was himself a Brāhmaṇa and at the same time the delictor of a particular Brāhmaṇa family, it is only natural for a poet worth the name to use two different words meaning ‘a Brāhmaṇa’ in the stanza conveying the two ideas. If again he was not a Brāhmaṇa, the poet could have used an expression like madhipata (meaning ‘a king’, and also ‘a Kābraṭiya’ according to medieval lexicons) instead of mahā-dēva which is generally recognized in the sense of ‘a Brāhmaṇa’ and not ‘a Kābraṭiya’. — Ed.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 80.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 304-305.
6 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 95.
7 PRASIWS, 1902-03, p. 43.
8 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 31.
10 Bāh. Inscri., pp. 27-29...
engraved on the inner face of the lintel over the porch of theŚrāṇjāvaramesh temple near the
Udaipur city, in which also Mahālakshmi has been mentioned as his mother. It records the
construction of a Viṣṇu temple which was begun in V. S. 1008 (951 A. D.) and completed in
V. S. 1010 (953 A. D.) during the reign of Allāh. This inscribed lintel does not appear to be
original to the Śiva temple to which it now belongs, but seems to have been brought here from
amidst the neighbouring ruins of Āhār, i.e. Ātapura or Āghāṭapura of inscriptions, which was
one of the capital cities of the rulers of Mewār during this and the following centuries.

From Allāh sprang his son Mahipāla (verse 6). Thereafter the ninth prince was Vairāṭa
who had obtained rulership elsewhere. His son was Hamsapāla (verse 7). It is to be noticed
that verse 6 of our grant introduces a new name in the genealogical list of the dynasty, namely,
Mahipāla who has not yet been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions so far discovered.
The present record is the first document which mentions this prince as the son and successor of Allāh.
According to all other inscriptions so far known, Allāh was succeeded by his son Naravāhana,
an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1028 (971 A. D.) lies in one of the big niches flanking
the entrance of the Nātha temple near the temple of Śri-Ekañīga, some 15 miles north of
Udaipur. After the mention of Mahipāla, our inscription cuts out the regular course of
succession and abruptly brings in Vairāṭa who is said to be the ninth prince in chronological
order. The name of Vairāṭa appears in almost all important records in the regular genealogy.

From the Rāja-varahāna section of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S.
1517 (1460 A. D.), which contains an exhaustive list of the princes of the dynasty ascertained by
a study of a number of ancient epigraphs, we learn that after Allāh there came on the throne in
chronological order the eight princes Naravāhana, Śālivāhana, Saktikumāra, Ambāprasāda,
Naravarmen, Anantarvarman, Yasovarman and Yōgarāja, after whom it passed on to Vairāṭa
who was the ninth. We thus find that the chronological position of Vairāṭa, as found in the inscrip-
tions of as late as the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, is fully supported by earlier
records like the one under review, which speaks of him as the ninth prince after Allāh, evidently
including Mahipāla.

Our document calls Mahipāla the son of Allāh, and it appears that Naravāhana (mentioned
in other records as the son and successor of Allāh) and Mahipāla were both sons of the same father.
The former, obviously being the elder of the two obtained the throne in regular succession after
Allāh, and that is why all important known records clearly mention him; and the latter being
his younger brother, possibly governing some small estate given him for maintenance, was naturally
omitted from the genealogical part of the records. But his introduction in the main line and the
omission of Naravāhana from it in our record do not appear to be meaningless.

It has been stated in verse 7 of the present plates that Hamsapāla succeeded Vairāṭa and that
the latter had obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal place (anyatra labhita-rājya;yaga,
line 10). This fact is also corroborated by verses 143-144 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh
inscription, which state that the progeny of Yōgarāja, the predecessor of Vairāṭa, did not attain
regal status, though he himself fully enjoyed it, and that the lot finally fell on Vairāṭa who was a
descendant of a branch of Allāh’s lineage. The reason as to why the line of Yōgarāja was de-
prived of succession and Vairāṭa had to be brought in evidently from a junior branch of the family
is unknown. It may have been a case of some internal family feud as pointed out by me in my

3 The opening verse of this Rāja-varahāna section reads: Ayāśa Ṛāja-varahāna prayāhārā (pravāhāh) [pravāh-
āda] | Chaurāhāna-pravāhārā [pravāhārā] [pravāhāh] [pravāhāh].
5 [Pata-sīha Yoda(v)ādha-mahā-līlā-śāha nīsā] pataḥ | api rājya cādri termin evam-dhāhaka(līlā) nīsā[ha]-
(līlā)-pātaḥ pataḥ || 143 Parvāhāna-Allāha-rājya-vahā [vahā] [vahā] [vahā] [vahā] [vahā] [vahā].
article on that record. We are, however, now in a position to conclude that Vairaṭa was a descendant of the branch of Allaṭa's family, of which Mahipāḷa, the younger brother of Naravāhana, was the head, and that he was required for some unknown reason to succeed Yōgarāja of the main line, whose progeny had been deprived of succession to the throne.

The following is the succession of rulers from Allaṭa to Vairaṭa, as known from all important records so far found including the one under consideration.

**Allaṭa (V.S. 1010 = 958 A.D.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Senior Branch)</th>
<th>(Junior Branch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Naravāhana (V.S. 1028 = 971 A.D.)</td>
<td>1. Mahipāḷa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Śālivāhana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śaktikumāra (V.S. 1034 = 977 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ambāprāśāda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suchivarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Naravarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Anantavarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yaśōvarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Yōgarāja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Vairaṭa (V.S. 1083 = 1026 A.D.)

The above pedigree shows that Vairaṭa is the tenth prince after Allaṭa including Naravāhana on the main line, although our document speaks of him as the ninth including Mahipāḷa, the younger brother of Naravāhana. This discrepancy is, to some extent, clarified by the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), which does not include Suchivarman in its corresponding dynastic list and makes Vairaṭa the ninth prince from Naravāhana. Though Vairaṭa's description as the ninth prince found in our grant correctly suits his number in the corresponding list of the Kumbhalgarh inscription due to the omission of Suchivarman, we cannot discard the omitted prince altogether from the chronology, as he is clearly mentioned as a successor of Śaktikumāra in the fragmentary Hastimāṭa temple inscription found at Āhār near the Udaipur railway station. The slight variation in the chronological position of Vairaṭa may, however, be overlooked in view of the general tendency of the authors of such epigraphs, who, at one place include a particular prince and omit the same at another. Thus Ambāprāśāda, the fourth prince from Naravāhana in the foregoing table, is clearly mentioned.

---

2 Naravarman is also called Nivarman in certain inscriptions.
3 Yaśōvarman is also named Kirivarman in certain records.
4 [See below, p. 266, note 3.—Ed.]
6 *Bāhu. Insere.,* pp. 72-74; *Ojha, op.cit.,* p. 442, note 1.
in the Kumbhalgarh inscription as the son and successor of Saktikumāra; but he finds no mention in records like the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū) and Rāpur inscriptions which insert Suhēvarman instead. This is how variations in old chronological lists have been brought about.

It is interesting to note that the position of Vairāṭa as the ninth with Mahipāla, as mentioned in our grant, appears to reckon him implicitly in combination with Naravāhana and his successors of the senior branch, while the corresponding number of princes of the junior branch headed by Mahipāla is conspicuous by its very absence. We do not know how many princes, if any, appeared on that branch between Mahipāla and Vairāṭa; but we see from the dates V. S. 1010 and 1034 put respectively against Allāta and Saktikumāra that the average rule of each of the four princes covered about 6 years. Applying the same average to the remaining eight princes up to Vairāṭa with the inclusion of Saktikumāra for the computation of dates, we get a period of 48 years which, when added to V. S. 1034, the latest given date in the chart, yields V. S. 1082.

Now V. S. 1083 (1036 A.D.) is actually the date of the fragment of an old epigraph now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur, of which the major portion containing the name of the ruling prince and other details is lost. This inscription has probably to be assigned to the reign of Vairāṭa, the last prince on our table. In view of the shortness of the average individual rule from Allāta to Yōgaśāja, it is not altogether impossible if this prince was the son of Mahipāla himself, living long enough not only to witness a series of successes on the royal throne but also to get an opportunity for himself to occupy it through transfer during his advanced age. 4

After Vairāṭa came his son Hamsapāla. Nothing else of his reign is known from this or any other record. From Hamsapāla sprang the prince Vairāsīṁha (verse 8). His son was the illustrious Vijayasainī (half verse 9). Vairāsīṁha is here stated to have snatched away his enemy's elephant with the help of those who received assistance from him in the past; but it is difficult at the present moment to ascertain this enemy due to absence of information on the point in any of the known records. This much only can be said that hostility prevailed, during this period of history, between the Guhilas of Mēdāpāla (i.e. Mewar) and the Paramāraś of Malwā, to which the incident briefly narrated here may have some reference. The only other information regarding Vairāsīṁha that we so far have is from verses 145-46 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription which state that he erected a fresh rampart having four gates, facing all the four cardinal directions, round Āhāṭa-pattana (modern Āhār), and that he had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a nārāṇā, was the most virtuous. This anonymous nārāṇā of that inscription is certainly Vijayāsainī who issued the charter under review. He finds mention as the son of Vairāsīṁha and grandson of Hamsapāla in records like the Bhārāgāthā inscription of the Chedi year 907 (V. S. 1212=1155 A.D.) and the Mt. Ābū inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A.D.); but ours is the only known record that directly pertains to the reign of this prince. Ojha attributes the

2 Ibid. Intem., pp. 84-87.
3 Ibid., p. 114.
4 The introduction of Mahipāla, unknown from any other source, in the place of Naravāhana mentioned in records, only on the basis of the extremely faulty text of the present epigraph seems to be risky. In the photograph, the name reads Mahgyphmna which has been corrected to Mahipāla. Considering the nature of engraving in the record, it appears that the intended name may well have been Naravāhana. The intended reading of the second foot of the stanzas was possibly Naravāhanas-Vi-dā-khaśaḥ. Of course the author's correction of mahā-pāla to mahā-paśaṇa is an erroneous one in Mahipāla as required by the context. Mahā-paśaṇa may, however, as well be corrected to mahā-vāhana (i.e. bearing the burden of the earth) which not only makes Naravāhana (i.e. bearer of the burden of the people of the earth) an erroneous name but the two together with yāha offer a very good case of alliteration. See also below, p. 249, note 1.—Ed.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 311 and p. 325.
7 Ibid. Intem., pp. 84-87.
Pālā inscription of V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) to his reign; but, as has already been pointed out, this is wrong. From the Bhāṛagāth inscription mentioned above, we also glean that Vijayasingha married Śyāmalādevī who was the daughter of Udayāditya of Mālwā (1060-87 A.D.) and the mother of Abhāṣadēvi, queen of Kālochurī Gayākṣarya (1151 A.D.) of Ďālāla. This matrimonial relation between Vijayasingha and Udayāditya, which established a close alliance between the hostile Paramāra and Guhila dynasties, certainly suggests a combined resistance by both against the waxing imperialism of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt, who, under Baímśa I (1022-64 A.D.), had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall of Bhōja I in 1055 A.D.²

From the latter half of line 12 begins the prose portion of the document, interspersed with a few renunciatory and imprecatory verses. This ends with line 40, the last line on the second plate. Lines 19-21 mention the date of the record both in words and figures, which forms the most illegible part of the whole inscription. Ojha gives V.S. 1164 (1107 A.D.) as its date, though he admits to have not been able to read it completely.¹ Bhandarkar at first put it as V.S. 1140 (1063 A.D.),² but later on supported Ojha.³ This change in Bhandarkar's view does not appear to be based on a re-study of the epigraphic text, but was probably adopted to reconcile it with the date V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) of another epigraph, viz. the Pālā inscription which Ojha attributes to Vijayasingha. But this inscription certainly belongs to the reign of Vijayasingha's son Arisihaha.

As regards the date of the record under review, it is sure that the donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse which invariably falls on the amāśāsyā day. After the syllables vādi in the beginning of line 21 denoting the dark half of the month, we have the numerical enumeration of the tīhī in two figures which have been endowed with head-lines and other alphabetical characteristics. The first of them, though it looks like ṛa, is apparently the numeral 1, while the second, which reads as ka, seems to be the numeral 4 endowed with a top mārī and placed in an unusually oblique position. Thus these figures together make 14 which must be the tīhī on which the solar eclipse of our grant fell. This means that the amāśāsyā merged with the chaturdāśi on the day when this eclipse actually occurred.

Now turning to the numerical mention of the year towards the end of the line 20, we find that after the syllables Samvat, the first two figures clearly make 11. The following figure resembles the second of the figures in the enumeration of the tīhī, which is 4 as explained above. Originally, a cypher seems to have been engraved in the place of this figure making the whole appear as 10; but soon it appears to have been corrected to 4, now making the whole appear as 114. Hence, either by restoring the cypher back to its fourth place which seems to have been originally intended, or by taking, by way of adjustment, the rounded part of the body of ṛa further in maṛēh to serve also as the cypher, we get V.S. 1140. This is supported by the verbal enumeration of the year in lines 19-20. Bhandarkar's original view regarding the date was therefore correct.

What now remains for our scrutiny is the description of the month wherein the solar eclipse of the grant took place. The letters may be taken to suggest Āśādha in line 20, once at the beginning and again towards the end. But the month of Āśādha does not suit the rest of the details of the date. There never occurred any solar eclipse on the fourteenth tīhī of that month in the said year, either by the amāśa or by the pārṇimāṇa reckoning. Even if we take the year to be V.S. 1154, the solar eclipse does not tally. On the other hand, the month of Āśva of V.S. 1140 turns out true to all other details of the date by the amāśa reckoning. The amāśāsyā of the month of

¹ Annual Report of the Bājnīnātha Museum, Ajmer, 1908-10, p. 3; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 191.
² Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 8 ff.
⁴ Ojha, op. cit., p. 445, note i.
⁶ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 176.
Áśvina in the Vikrama year 1140 merged with the Chaturdāśi which ended at only 09 of the day after mean sunrise; and the solar eclipse consequently appeared on that day as registered in our grant, which would be equivalent to Friday, the 13th October 1083 A.D. 

The prose portion of the record from line 13 to line 58 is devoted to the description of its object which is to record the donation of the fifth part of the produce of the village of Palli, embracing all its receipts, to Ṣuṣākṣikā, son of the most respectable Sāhīya who was a resident of Nagarbrada but whose son had since migrated elsewhere, probably to Palli, then comprised within the domain of Mewār. He belonged to the Mādhyaminda school and the Sāsāga gōtre and had five pravars. The donee was given full right over the fifth part of every item of produce of the donated village to the extent of its boundaries, with the exception of the income of taxes and drainage, in which he received only half (i.e. one-tenth part), the other half going to the donor himself (lines 26-32).

The donor was Paramahsātāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāsthara Māṇḍalika (line 13) Vijayāsīrīha, the last prince on our genealogical list. He made the grant with due regards to scriptural injunctions on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Áśvina in Vikrama Samvat 1140 on the occasion of a solar eclipse (lines 19-21) for the enhancement of the spiritual welfare of himself and his parents (lines 25-26). The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nagarbrada i.e. Nagda, his capital city, the ruins of which lie at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Udaipur just near the present town of Eklingji. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the god Ekāliṣa, as the donor is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the Bhāja-tadāga situated near about towards the east of the temple. The present description (lines 21-22) certainly goes to suggest that the north-eastern boundary of the city of Nagarbrada extended up to the eastern limits of the present town of Eklingji, both the temple and the tank near it being here mentioned to have been an integral part thereof, as indicated by the locative case-ending in the expression Nagarbrada-rājadhānī (line 21). Later on, the western half of the capital city seems to have been completely deserted, while part of the eastern half comprising the celebrated temple of Śrī-Ekāliṣa continued flourishing to this day as a holy place of pilgrimage.

Lines 36-37 embody a couple of imprescriptive verses, the contents of which apply to anybody attempting to deprive the donee of his rights specified in the charter. The scribe who wrote the grant on the copper sheets was Nagapāla, the son of Paṇḍita Uhlā, belonging to the Paṇḍita Kullīka (modern Paṇḍīkollī) caste which forms a sub-division of the Kāyastha community. The messenger, through whom the royal order for the execution of the charter had been conveyed to the concerned authority, was Ranaḍhava, son of Sagāṭha, who was a Chāhāmāna Rāja-putra.

The latter half of the last line, i.e. line 40, is reserved for the sign-manual of prince Vijayāsīrīha, the donor. It is represented by a small spear-head to left, at the extreme end of the line, which is stated to have been marked in his own hand. This tiny spear-head mark, having been developed in course of time, assumed the shape of a complete spear later on, as found on the copper-plate grants of the seventeenth and the following centuries, issued by the Mahārāṇa of Udaipur. The other change had been in the position of the sign which now appeared on the upper part of the plate above the actual contents, instead of being marked at the end as seen here.

Regarding the location of the places, Nagarbrada and Palli, there is no difficulty. The former has already been stated to be identical with Nagda near Eklingji, which was the first capital of the dynasty, while the latter is evidently the same as the modern town of Palli in the Jodhpur unit of Rājasthān.

No. 33] KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. 8. 1140

TEXT:

[Metres: verses 1, 5-9, 11-12 Anushṭubā; verse 2 Aṛyā; verses 3-4 Vasantaśalaka; verse 10 Śārdulaśvākridūla.]

First Plate


2 hi Śivaḥ na(bha)kṛtya ma[na]māmya-ahāṁ(bhaṁ) mā[ḥ]aḥ Śivāya | Ānāṁda[pu]ra-vimingata-vi-

3 pa[ra]k[ul-anāmaṇā]ṁ mahādevvraṇa[ṛa] jayati ērī-Guhaḍattāḥ prabhavaḥ ērī-Guhila-

4 [Ṛ]kṣatra yojaṃ(ya)ti . Bh[ī][Bhōj]a-Mahā[ndra]-Nāga-Śīl-Āparājita-Mahendra-sa(bha)ṭṭai-

5 bhāvya-prakr̥ṣhā[maṇa]ṇa[ṛa] Kālabhōja-Khōmā(mmā)ga- Na(Ma)ṣṭṭa-[ṛa]ppaḥ saha Bhargri-

6 hūḥ bhavaḥ[t]ajḍ-akṣuṇu va(t)ajya suḥ-ṭhū(tha) yaj[ṛa] Vāmāṇa[ṛa] ibhy[f]a(t)jaḥ suṭō-'tha


9 vaṇalo Mahōḷāmmana[ṛa] iti budhaḥ | yāḥ u acab[ṛa] satjaṁ(jaṁ) sānva(sā-hva)ṛthāṁ mahā-

* From photographs.
* Indicated by symbol.
* The intended reading is notā.
* Read niśyayāt.
* Read pāyināt.
* Read ṣrī-ṛa.
* Medial s has been used to indicate the lost member of medial s in so in the place of the usual medial ṡ mark.
* Read mahā-śvāhā.
* Read jālai-yathā-krama-sudhāḥ-yātha.
* Read jajñāt. This word had been first omitted by mistake, but was engraved later on between lines 3 and 4 over the names Mahendra and Nāga.
* Read Khōmāṇa.
* Read "nā-simajāna-saḥpa.
* Read lasākā-śoka-śayānica-talak-jaṇini.
* Read Bhasṭṛāṇi.
* Read "-padāṅkā.
* Read Mahālokeśamūraṁ.
* Read asā-yāngām-abḥūt-taraṇa.
* Read "Alaṁbā.
* Read tanayō Ṛōḍhākula [ś]. [See above, p. 242. note 4.—Ed.]
* This akṣara is redundant.
* Read sātka.
* Read karmajāt.
* Read Vairajō."
10 jam(iui) naśvamā 

11 [Navāpyasyamahāvohokauśah̄  

12 Aha(bha)va(ta)sya sutaḥ śrīmān  

13 na-[ para*-]mbhām(bha)ṣāraka-mahārājādhīrāja-vraṇithara-madālataḥ  


15 su(stu) vama sannvihivām yathā |  āthi[i]ḥ[thi]ḥ) pāda-raj-ōpamā girinagāvastipēmā | [su]-  

16 [udu]lāsaḥchopala ke[ph]ēn-ōpamā jivitāṃ(tam [ ] dhani(rmaṃ) yā(yū) na karomē(tī)  

17 dyāsam[ ] pa[soh]āj-tēha(pa)-hatō jārā-paripūtah śōk-āmi(gni)nā dag(dha)(hya)te | [ ]  

18 sāyānī abhivipra  

19 moloṇya  

Second Plate

20 ridadra(brā)śrāsvahavamāsabhāvāyādīṃ sūyakā asikatōvi Sāmravatō 11 ka varahē jāvāhāva.
21 vadi raka¹ [""] avaghña¹ Nāgā[hrā²]da-rājadhānyāmaṃ samjñāna-tūrya-saṅga-parkaṇḍa²
ērit Kākaliṅga-
22 dēva-sa[m]jīdhō(ḥau) Bhūṣā-σādīgē smānvā(ṭvā) [su]hi-chā(vāssai pachi)(rī)dhrāya [s]va-
pitīn sanvyā(ṃ) bhagadāna(ṃ)na(m)na(ṃ)bha-
23 va(yā)́[ ᵀ]ḥa[ṃ(tih)] char-āchha-[ṛu][gu]rum adana² Vīhaṇu Sa(ṣaj)kiś-ādī-sīvīna(ta)-viśa-
viśriṣṭi(-ṭīḥ) sāsthi-śathī-tōṅaḥ(ṃ)haṁ samārasa-
24 sägar-śutā(tā)ra-ūṭam dēva-dānava-ya[ksha]-ra[kaḥ]-h-śiddha-vidyādhar-ādī-nu[taṁ]
maḥṣya bhavvava² [akṣṭ(ṛ)ya va(ḥa) su-
25 gaṅḍhi-puṣha[pai]-ar-bhānyanah(ṛoha) puṇapuruṇaḥ² vē(ṃ)vai(psva[ṃ]na)naṃ p[ti]jaiyaṭvā
hōma-dravyaḥ samantarāḥ māṭri(tā)-pit[ti]ṭrō[ḥ]ṭ-āṭma-
26 naṭrāminā[ṃ] puṇya-yaśo-bhū-piddhyāṃvvañāṃ[ə] sāhikam-āmucchikam va[cha] phala-
śamti(ṛ)gṛt(ṛ)ya² grasini-vrajavipa-
27 ya³ ṣvākalāsatalapati² āllumtīvaśvamā sīraśaṁ svamāś-sīrṇaṣaya śrāmasyaya³
śva(a)rāgatha-kā-
28 ta(sāṭha)-na(ta)jāg-ādī-gaṃ(ṃ)astasā paṇohamō vibhāgaḥ sarvv-ādāyaṣa⁷ ta[d-a⁵]dha-
(rdha)-kara-paṇḍya*-bhāya(ga)-loḥ(bhūg)-ādī-sana(ma)vi-
29 tō Nāgā[hrā]da-sthāna(ṃ)-viṇiṇvṛ(ṛga)la(tā)ya Vīṣavagotṭrāya⁸ staghavarā[ṇa]ya⁹
Madhyāmodini(ṃ)-sākhiṁ[ṃ] t[i]-
30 ha-śiva Nāgahrra-kuśalacha-para-mā[ṇya]-vāchāya⁴[ṃ]-Sāhīya-straṇyā ārīra-[ṃ]-[Ū]pa-śāhāy(ṛ)ya[y]a
-gē[ṃ]pa)ry-arōpi-
31 ta-dhā(grāma)-paṇohama-vibhāga avahādyakthrīvalva⁴[ṃ]-kāthi-sama-kāḷaṁ yācha(va)t udaka-
pūḷa(rvva)kāṁ []
32 u x⁴[í] iti maṃvī(ṭvā) atra grāma-nīvāsiyīḥ(bhi)-ṛjanaṃj-ājātiḷāḥ-pra(ṃ)vaṇa-vi[ḥbhāya]śa-
(u-bhū)tvā saranē(rvva)ṛ-ṛpi pūṇa(rvva)-prāya(ṇa)-
33 pa(ya)maṇaṃ-ākhilam-amaṇi(ḥma) ra(ḥ)ahāryāya ma(sa)yaa mu(pán)stavyaḥ(ṃvyaṃ) |
[jaṭaṭi(dips)a(ya)-patra-puṣṭrāṃṇaṃ sāhāntidā(kā)ṁāḥ

¹ Read 16.
² Read 4. ṣū-ṣū-ṣū.
³ Read saṃjñāna-ṣūrya-grahkaparuvai.
⁴ Sandhi has not been observed here.
⁵ Read Bhūṣa².
⁶ Read saṭhaṛṣṭaṃya.
⁷ Read Brahma².
⁸ Read Bhāṣya.
⁹ Read bhāṣya.
¹⁰ Read puṇāḥ puṇāḥ.
¹¹ Read saṭhaṛṣṭaṃya.
¹² Read ha-śikaḥḥaṃvīṃathāṇa².
¹³ Read bhāṣya-śūryasūrya-arkam.
¹⁴ Read ca-śūrya-raja-virājaṁ.
¹⁵ Read sāṇa-śūra-kīla-cajalaḥ.
¹⁶ Read Fālikramō-paṇohama vīhaṃgaḥ.
¹⁷ Read sa-śūna-ṣūrya-sūrya-grahkaparuvai. The following danda is redundant.
¹⁸ Read sarv-grāma.
¹⁹ Read Pāṇa-sāgāraṁ.
²⁰ Read pahka-paśavrāja.
²¹ Read "vahāya-ṣūrya-māṇḍya-vahāya-ṛkhaṃsya.
²² Sandhi has not been observed here.
²³ Read a-ḥaṭṭaḥ-āraḥ-ṛṣaḥgraṇa.
²⁴ The danda is unnecessary.
²⁵ Read pahka-paśavrāja.
54 cha tuśjanāṁ bhunjāpayastāṁ|m-asā(ama)dvi(d-vam)sajair=atya(ñai)r=spi bhāvi-bhū-
pālaṁ pariṣṭhṛta(tha)nā pa(pra)tishādho

55 vā na karli(aa)tta)vṛṣah | yavva(thā) bā(dā)m-āpahāra-samva(n)h(bam)dhi-pākra(kta)na-mahā-
r(śibil)pa(pra)pātāni [sam]jitī-vāchavānī-astē(nē)ka-

56 śaḥ prā(prāya)ntē | tāni yavvā(thā) | Va(Ba)ḥubhir=avyvum(du)ḥ bhukṣ(ktā) ga(rā)-
jaḥbibh∗ | Sāja(ga)r-ādibhīh [[∗] yasa 2° yadā bhū|mika(ś-ta)nya(sya)

57 [2°] taya(dā) phalaṁ(lam) [1[1°] Suvarrla(rṇa)nē(m=ē)nām go(gā)m=ēkam(kāh) bhū-
mār=apy=ēkam=amgulam(lam) | haramto hārayamūta(ā)=cha daha(m°)ty-ā-āra(sa)plae-
(pu)maṁ kulam(lam) [[1° 12°]

58 i[ty-śi](dī) smṛ[bi]-vākyānā(ṛy-a)vagamy-äsā(ama)t-pradātra(tta)-ohra(bra)hra(hma)dayō=
ya[ūm°] sadhaśā | iti li[ri](khi)-

59 tam-idā(m°) na(a)śasanām āt(pha)m)chakulika-paṃḍita-Ūhila-sutēna Tā(Nā)gavā(pā)lēna iti |
ta(dū)ttakē=tra Chāhas(mā)-

60 na-rājai(pa)pra(tva)-Sa(ga)nā-sutta-Dhā(ṛa)nā(sa)dhaavāh | iti sa(ma)hārāṇ(jā)dhirē(rā)-
ja-śri-Viś(Vi)jayāṁ(m°)hyaśa [[∗]
No. 34—DASGORA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

(3 Plates)

D.C. SINGH, OOTACUMUND, AND SADASIVA RATHA SARMA, PURI

The copper-plate inscription published below was recovered from the house of Sri Kshetramohan Das in the village of Dangahea within the Chandanpur Police Station in the Puri District of Orissa.

The set consists of five thick plates held together by a ring with a seal soldered to it. Each of the plates measures about $13\frac{3}{4}\times 8\frac{3}{4}\text{"}$. The ring, which is of considerable thickness, passes through the hole made about the middle of the left margin of each plate. The diameter of the hole in the first, third and fourth plates is 1" while it is 9" in the second and fifth plates. The seal (about 6" in diameter) has the form of an expanded lotus and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper right of the bull, there are the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a battle-axe, a flywhisk, a dhamara and an indefinite object, and to its left are similarly an anikuta and a danda or gada. The borders of the plates are slightly raised. The first plate has writing only on the inner side, the others being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 155 lines of writing in the following order: IB-18, IIA-19, IIB-20, IIIA-19, IIIB-19, IV A-19, IVB-19, VA-19, VB-2. The five plates together weigh 537 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is 154 tolas.

The charter was issued by king Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.) of the imperial branch of the Eastern Ganga family of Orissa and closely resembles the recently published Nagar plate, issued by his son Anangabhima III in 1230-31 A.D., in respect of palaeography, orthography and style. The date of our grant is Saka 1120 corresponding to 1198-99 A.D. It was therefore issued about 32 years before the Nagar plates. Rājarāja III was the son of Anangabhima II (c. 1190-96 A.D.) and grandson of the great Anantavarman Chōdagahe (1078-1147 A.D.). The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate charter of the king so far discovered. It is specially interesting in view of the fact that as yet we have copper-plate grants of none of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōdagahe, viz. Kāmārava III (1147-56 A.D.), Rāghava (c. 1155-70 A.D.), Rājarāja II (c. 1170-90 A.D.), and Anangabhima II who was the father and predecessor of the issuer of the present charter.

The introductory part of the record contains seventy verses with a string of personal names between verses 6 and 7 in lines 12-16. This part was copied in the Nagar plates with slight modifications and with the omission of only one stanza (verse 63) in the description of Anangabhima II. The importance of this portion has already been discussed in our article on the Nagar plates. It has to be noted that verse 37 quotes the correct date of Kāmārava’s accession to the throne as samārtu-vyāma-chandra-pramitra-Saka-samā-vyāma-kāle dīnātī chāpasthe. This refers to the solar month of Dhanus (Pausha) in the Saka year 1089 corresponding to 1147 A.D. While editing the Nagar plates, verse 8 was taken to speak of Sarapura as the original name of Kōlākha, capital of the mythical prince Kōlākha Anantavarman. But the correct reading of the passage Sarapura-scha tadiyam seems to be sa cha pura-scha tadiyam. This says that both

2 Some of the mistakes that crept into the transcript of the Nagar plates published above may be corrected with the help of the transcript of the present epigraph.
Anantavarman and his capital city became famous under the name Kōlaḥala but does not refer to the original name of the city.

The grant portion of the inscription begins in line 123. Lines 123-27 state that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Saka year 1120, king Rājarṣi III, apparently when he was staying at Śrī Purushottamā-kubāṭra on the shore of the ocean, granted the village of Kōraḍa or Kōraḍā in the Ṭhāṅḍalīkā kṣaṇa (sub-division) within the Čīvaka (district) of Śrīrāma in Uṭhakal-dēśa as a rent-free holding in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gōṭras. The grant is stated to have been made for the merit of the king’s mother Vāghalladēvi. It is not impossible that the king and his mother went to Śrī-Purushottamā-kubāṭra (i.e. Purī) on pilgrimage for taking a bath in the holy waters of the Bay of Bengal on the occasion of the eclipse. In Saka 1120 there was only one solar eclipse occurring on Thursday the 26th of January 1199 A.D. The grant, therefore, was made on the said date.

The donors are enumerated in lines 128-45. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with their respective gōṭras as well as the area of land granted to each of them. Twelve of the Brāhmaṇas received 102 Vāṣiṣṭha of land, each Vāṣiṣṭha measuring about 20 acres. Sixty-two other Brāhmaṇas received one Gṛhasthā-vāṣiṣṭha or house-site each, while a Brāhmaṇa named Dharman alone received four Gṛhasthā-vāṣiṣṭhas. It is stated that the Gṛhasthā-vāṣiṣṭha granted to these Brāhmaṇas amounted to fifteen Vāṣiṣṭhas in area. Vidyākarkrya of the Kastikā gōṭra was the pāṇiniya-gṛha of the principal donor who seems to have received the ceremonial water from the donor on behalf of the donors. He received 20 Vāṣiṣṭhas out of 50 Vāṣiṣṭhas of land granted to Viddamārya. The details of the grant are quoted below in a tabular form. The last name of the list may be that of the God of Purī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Viddanārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>10 Vāṣiṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vidyākarkrya</td>
<td>Kastikā</td>
<td>40 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Badrakarkrya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Śivakarkrya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mādhavakarkrya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Narasākikrīya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Harikarkrya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kātvārya</td>
<td>Hauḍākṣyā</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ādityārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chandrakarkrya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>5 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nāṣṭakrīya</td>
<td>Bhāradvīya</td>
<td>1 Gṛhasthā-vāṣiṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gaddākarkrya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nāṣṭakrīyaśāman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Siddhārvarakrīya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bāmādevārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gauḍāvaraśāman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See above, p. 64.  
2 See above, p. 113.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Doses</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dhanakarasārman</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>1 Griba-kaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Rudraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kālavardarman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jayakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Abhayśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Payākunisaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ṭāti-Mādhavaśārma</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Vasudevaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Budhakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nāgārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Pātālakarṣārya</td>
<td>Partāra</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Machhuśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Gopādvararśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Rudraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇapayajvan</td>
<td>Kāirtya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kāmadharmaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Vaidhryajvan</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Budhakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Gajādharśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kāmadharmaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Chaṇḍāśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Anantaśārman</td>
<td>Bākhtara</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Pādmatkarṣārya</td>
<td>Kauṭika</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Bālāgarjavan</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Gajādharabhoti</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Brahmakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Viśakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Gajādharārṣārya</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇakarṣārya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Chandracakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Kālidaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Sujāṭiyajvan</td>
<td>Kuddākasa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Devapalakarṣārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Udāgaci-Purushottamanśārman</td>
<td>Vasūna</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Hariśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Hariharśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Donee</td>
<td>Gotra</td>
<td>Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Pajjunaśārman</td>
<td>Vataśa</td>
<td>1 Griha-vātīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Teṣīhalakṣārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Puraśakārya</td>
<td>Kaṃduṇīya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Gōvindasārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Mānāyāśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Kāśavasārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Tantāyajana</td>
<td>Kriḥnāśārya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Kāśavasārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Jagāvarāhitāgni</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Pannāyāśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sūṣāyāśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Paruḥōṭamārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Dāmōdaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Rāmadēśasārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Padmanābhārya</td>
<td>Gārgya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Kriḥnāśārya</td>
<td>Vataśa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Kītusārman</td>
<td>Gṛhitakauśika</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Áśīśārman</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Dāmōdaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Dhṛitikaraśārman</td>
<td>Varaḥagana</td>
<td>1 Vātīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Vīyudōvārya</td>
<td>Vataśa</td>
<td>2 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Kāśavārya</td>
<td>Ālamvāyana</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Dhamu</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Griha-vātīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Śrī-Puruḥōṭamasēva</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concluding part (lines 146 ff.) of the inscription contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, many of which are found in the Nagari plates and other inscriptions of the family. Verse 77 praying for the everlasting fame and prowess of king Rājarāja III is an interesting new stanza. Verse 78, also found in the Nagari plates, states that the pṛasta was composed by Appa(ya)na. This poet therefore adorned the court both of Rājarāja III and of his son Anaṅga- bhīma III. Line 154 speaks of the artisan Lōkāyī who engraved the record. The inscription ends with a reference to Kēśavārya of the Ālamvāyana gotra receiving 10 Vātīs of land. The name of this donee was apparently omitted from its proper place through oversight.

As to the geographical names in the grant portion of the record, Sāyilō-vishaya in Utkaladeśa is the present Sailō Pargana in the Cuttack District of Orissa. Aṭṭhāyīśa-khaṇḍa (literally, 'the subdivision of 28 [villages]'), in which the gift village of Kōrada or Kōrādā was situated, seems to have formed a part of the Pargana in question. There is a Pargana called Aṭṭhaśa comprising the Konarak region of the Puri District. The inclusion of this in the old
Sāyilā visāyā would suggest that the latter extended from the Kathjuri river to the sea.

Mr. P. Acharya is inclined to associate Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍa with modern Aṭṭhāspur in sheet map No. 73/L/4.

**TEXT**


First Plate

1 Siddhamśa

2 viśapātaṁ pratiivihi(vi)thā pṛaṇamāni kriḍā-āpānādhi-āpānāvaiḥ Kriḍāḥ pṛaṇākha-

dhiṣṭaḥ bhramarattām-dhātā sa [La] jṣhmi-priyāḥ \[1\] Kṛiṇ-

3 rāvādhā(ba)hṛ-maṭaṁ-tat-sūr-āṣa-vaṇa-paṇādhi prāḍāvahāvānti Rāmaḥ Sambhu-Vra(Bra)

hma-Purandara[ra]-prabhūtiva prakhyāta-kṛitiṁvṛtapi | paśyantu Amrakṣa(m)maṇaṁ-ba-

4 m-iśām-āvṛṇīva-tā-āśā-dhīmāṁ bhitṛ-āśā sākṣātām-āti hi vaṁ phulla(lla)-nya-

ākṣhīnyvapi \[2\] Taṁ-nābbh-saraśi-rūh-āśāvdbhāv.

5 Vidhōt-Atṛivvaśa(r-ba)bhūvaṁ-āmuktaḥ-Chandaḥ-chandrikāvāḥ prakāsa Śita-jagat=ṣambhū-

takā(vān)-n-ntratāḥ | traṅgāya-ga(gras)an-aika-dakṣa-timira-grāśiva-sā-

6 myē-pi yo lakṣmaṇa-vyājī dādhaṁ-tamaḥ prati-vapaḥ sūrya-yādhibhi nirmāmāḥ \[3\] Śrīvē-

(dē)vi-sūraltvād-amṛta-saṅkṣataṁ Kalpavyēkha-ā.

7 bh[a]nu[j]stva[1]*-loka-ānandaṁ vidhātā timira-viśa-haraḥ sarvva-dēv-aika-ḥōgyaḥ | tat-

tat-saṁsarga-labhāḥ tad-anugata-ghanaṁ sv-aṅga-nīśṭham da-

8 dhanaḥ svasa-[ai]tan-nirmāmāvatvāḥ jagati viṣayati darśayān-nūnam-induḥ \[4*\] Vanē-

(Vaṁśa) tasya nupāravāḥ samahavān-yēṣāṁ gunāḥ cchanda-

9 saḥ prōśpurāṇāśiva yate-purāṇa-pathagās-tāt-eśā māmīr samītāh \[4*\] tat-tat-kāvya-patāṁ


10 va bhāmyant-isva va sa chetanaḥ arūti-grīhi viśamya viśamya cha || \[5*\]: Praty-ekāṁ

śaṁ-vanāsa(vanāsa)-bhūpatah-bhūja-vāpāra-saṅkīrtaṁ kar-

11 rūttvaḥ-kai-viḥataḥ va(bh)mbūkhaḥ yatra-Āṛjunasya-siva hi | dūrdandaṇḍ-ā(r)[*] jjita-kṛiti-

varṇyana paraṁ tad-Bhūrataṁ prabhavat-tasmād-āhvyā-mātra-

12 ma-śadri-piṭa(ti)-śrōṇi-kramālikhyatā \[6*\] tatāḥ hi Chandrādha-Vu(d-Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)-dẖāt=ṣurēvālaḥ | tasmād-Āyuh | tatāḥ Nabhākhaḥ | tatāḥ Yāśiṁ \[**\]

13 tatāḥ(ta)a-Tuṛvvasūḥ(auḥ) | tatāḥ Gaṅgīyaḥ | tatāḥ Vīrōchanaḥ \[1*\] tat-sutaṁ Samvē-

(Saṁ)vējyaḥ | tatāḥ Bhāvīn | tatāḥ Dattasēlav [**] tatāḥ

---

1 From impressions and the original plates.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The Nagarī plates read pṛāphuliṣṭ.
4 The Nagarī plates wrongly read sammatāḥ.
5 The Nagarī plates read patha-irīsāṁ-trī-bhvavaṁ.
6 The Nagarī plates have koḥmahaṭ kehītu.
14 Saunyāḥ | tataḥ-nandatathāḥ | tataḥ Saurāṅgaḥ | tasāmāḥ-Chitrāṅgadahāḥ [1*] | tatāḥ-sūnāḥ | Sāradhvajaḥ | tatāḥ Dharmmaṇiḥ | tatāḥ Pa-  
15 rīshtita(kahit) | tataḥ Jayasenaḥ | tataḥ-sūnāpi | Jayā(nga)sa(sa)naḥ | tataḥ Vrishadhvajaḥ [1*] | tataḥ Saktatāḥ | tataḥ Praguḥaḥ | tataḥ Kolā-  
16 halāh sa ev-Anantavarmanā-sahavata(vat) | Dhana-kanaka-samṛiddhī Gaṅgavādiḥ prasid- 
 
17 1* tad-adhipatīr-atī-ādīyā-nantaevarammā nṛp-āndraḥ samabhavādi iti rūpāh Gaṅga-nāṃmā 
 
18 tataḥ nṛpaṁāḥ bhūḥ yataḥ sa cha^4 puraṇa-chocha tadgyaṁ-atra | Kolāhal-āhvaṇam-ahbūt-eura- 
 sadma-tulyāṁ tasmin=kra-

---

2nd Plate, First Side

19 mōṇa putibhir-vva(c-bba)bhubir-vva(c-bba)bhuvaḥ || [8*] Rājyajay(a)-ari-bhṛtī MARAŚTH-  
 
20 ṇtha-grah-anandinaḥ | kim-na yāma vayanāḥ bhuj-āśi-latikā samve(ṃavo)hāṭatām 
 
21 rōhata || [9*] Bhāṁyadhirv-vijigāthāya ek(i)ka(h)titalaṁ kv-āpi diśhād-vanditaṁ kv-āpi 
 
22 ūgāḥ kiḷa | tataḥ KAMĀRPAva-pañcakamaiшv[1*]-nripa-varai-yyuddhāṁ KALĪGAM Kaṁ sa 
 
23 Kūrma-svāmim sākṣiṇī Trinayayē tasmin=Mahāndrāṁ gatē Gokarṇāpi mabhādaññāna 
 
24 līgum bhuvams=āharaḥ-bhūja-va(ba)lāi=any-ṣpabhuktaḥ=bhiṣa(ra)l=ṣahṣmil-ḥc-śṭa-āthu 
 
25 kāṭ-āsau KAMĀRPAva-mahipatiḥ | yasya-sitē putra-pautraś-ādya rājanaḥ khyāta-vikrama- 
 
26 shad-ānta-kāri sarv-vārtih vargga-paraśaḥaḥ-hētur-śkaḥ | āhāratī-śni muni-puṅgava-ma- 
 
27 bhuvah VAIJRAHASTAḥ || [12*] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam-arthatōpi sa vajra-hastam-Trikaliṅga- 
 
28 parah prīthivyāṁ vajraṁ patad-vārayūmat samartaḥ || [14*] [Vya]ptē Gaṅga-ka(ku)- 
 
29 pradīyott-āṭmalinēna yasya bhuvana-prahāda-sampādānā | sindürśuri-ṣiśaṃ-pañcaka-pata- 
 
---

* The name intended seems to be Anātudatta and not Asvadatta as found in the Nagari plates and elsewhere.
* The same reading was apparently intended in the Nagari plates.
* The Nagari plates read evārgī-vārgyvyohāḥ.
* This reading should be adopted in the Nagari plates also.
* The Nagari plates have mūr̥-shāmaka-yāni.
* Read dataṁ for dvispati.
* The akṣharu was originally omitted.
* Read maṭrīrāṭha.
* The Nagari plates wrongly read hētrā-vartih.
* The Nagari plates read pradīyott-āṭhi.
31 syām-ahūd-viśr [RA]jarājō mahaptiḥ ॥ [16] Se Rājarājō dvijarāja-kāṁśh-śīntār-gaṣṭi jāna-vaṃśṇyā-κā(ṛ)ttīḥ | śrīmaṭṭasvā-śāhaḥ-kṛṣṭa-
32 [Rāja]rajaḥ svā-vikrama-yakṣrāṇa-Dēvarājaḥ ॥ [17] Taṣyāṇa-mahishā rājñī nāmā yā Rājasundari | Lakṣmīr-Nārāyaṇasiyā-śvā Cha-
34 || [19] Dāttṛ taṣya Sarasvatī samabhavam-nāmā na cēt-śūkṣmha-tat-sāravatam = 
35 ārya-vā(kā)laṁaṁaṁ śrī-Caṇḍas-aṅgaṇaḥ paśaḥ | tāḍī-
36 = Vādā-matiḥ kathaṁ nipūṇaṁ sāstrēśu tāḍīk-kathaṁ tāḍīk-kāvyā-kṛṣṭaṁ kathaṁ pārватi[h] ॥ sūtraḥ tāḍīk-kathaṁ(tham) ॥ [20] Kṣaṇiṇī-
37 dikpāla-śūhām-āyaṁ-ākṛita pada dīvandvam-ṭaṣya vai-rākṣaḥbhīr-chūḍā-śrīyāḥ-āṭhaṁ stuti-rātī kīyaṁ Cāṇḍas-aṅgaṇaḥ ॥ nū-
38 naṁ pūrṇaṁ sudhāṁḥ[ḥ] para ṛṇjaḥ dhaṇvala-chaḥhatra-vu(bu)ṛddhaḥ-āpahartā māṁītya = 
39 aṅgaṇya vṛddhiṁ tyajati yata iva tvatra-chītāḥ pravīrā.

Second Plate, Second Side

38 t || [21] Griñhatī sma karaṁ bhūmī-Çaṇḍasya-Gautamās-aṅgaṇayōḥ | madhyā paśyatsu 
39 vīrhātu prājñāḥ prājñāḥ-srīyāḥ iva || [22] Pratibhaṭa-ka-
39 [ṛ]sastra-vyāhata-vaśaṁ-niyāṇaḥ-rudhiram-avani-ṇaṁthanaḥ-nābhaṁ-yuvād-vēsā | nīja-
39 kara-dṛṣṭaṁ-sastra-çobhāhamaḥ-bhīm-ṇaṁṣam-śrī aṅkātra dharaṇī-
40 ayaṁ[ṛ]nyāṁ avantaṇa-vṛddhaḥ Gaṇagah || [23] Yat-tāḍāḥ-śrībhūṣā-sātra-maṅgaṇa-prōd-
40 bhūtā-dūm-aṅga(dga)miṁ-bhūyāḥ Kṛnḍavēva-dāna-śaṁki-manaṁ dévaḥ kṛṣṇa-
41 naṁ bhrāvah ![ṛ]ṣṭvān-ḥaṅ tvārāṇya rupam-gaṇāṁ vṛttīṁ atam-śārṇyaya cha prō(phrau) 
42 dhīn-taṣya muvanty Gaṇa-nirnapaḥ-bhūtaḥ vīrāya dhruva(ḥa)(vam) || [24] *
43 Krodhā(ṛ)ṛdyād[*]vīpā-māgah-[ṛ]vidini māda-krodāḥ(ṛ)ṣṭvāt(ṛ)ti-[ṛ]durgamṛ chaḥhāna-
43 [ṛ]kaḥdāgats-tah(ṛ)ḥ-prabhāvatī nadāṁ([ṛ]na)ḥ-nārākṣa Vaśī[ṛ] ṛdayā[*] mat-sānyā jala-
43 dūga[ṛ]ma[ṛ]-pra-
44 tinidhu jētun pravarttēta kaḥ ||[*] sūrō=pā(ṛ)pṛ vadaṁs-Trilōchana-vibhūr-vvā(ṛ)-bbā-
44 ḍīdhō-munā sam(a)nitgacṛ || [25] Nirmottathā Obtaka-raja-sindhum-apa-
44 roṭa Gaṇa-Ćvata(ṛ)vaḥ prāptaṁ vēsa[ḥ] kirtta(ṛ)śi-śudhākaraṁ prābhutam akṣhmin-
44 dharāyāḥ samam(mam) | mādyad-danti-sahnah(ṛ)saṁ-sāya-niyuṭaṁ
46 rann[ṛ]sāyaṁ-asankhyāni vā tat-sīnāḥ kīt(ṛ)karaḥ samapramā dhvātāṁ vṛśubrū- 
46 ṛvā[ṛ]sam yavā dhar-śantarikhaṁsah(ṛ)maṁ aṁva-nīyūtitaṁ
46 kṣeṣṭha sar[vv]yāisable[ṛ] āśrōṭTechnologyyu-ṛgaṁ ṛvāu-duṇyaṛyogam[m] mūrdhō- śiṇi vāyu-sau(ś) prāsātmāṇaḥ Purojuṁ-śomāsāya nripatiḥ kō nā-
47 ma karttūn kṣa[m]ma[ṛ]ya-taṣya =tātyē-śūdya-nirpaṁn-śūrṣhitam ayam ohakṛṣṇaṛ cha Gaṅa-ićwara
47 || [27] Lakṣmī-janma-griñhatī payoṁī.
Third Plate, First Side

58 staśikamodini | n-ā-Vāishnubh prithvi-patih prabhavat-īty-asmin-Haraù-vah vahvoc rakab-arthaṃ dhrīta-jarnman svayam-asau Lakshmin prasūt-ātha va || [33*]

59 Tasyaṁ-tatō-jani jagat-tritay-aika-virāh Kāmārṇavas-tri-jatā(ge)d-āka-vadānya sehaḥ ||[[ ]] stṛyāḥ pratā-

60 pa-vibhavēna jagat-prasiddhā(ā)dā-(krttāḥ) saśāṅkam-adharikrtavān-viśuddhyā y ī [34*] Gangeśa-sūhār-vivru(bu)dhaśāraya-

565 zāpya-vadh-dvishad-vanā(ahā)-vibhūdih-śaktāh [[*]] Kāmārṇavasya-asya Kumārakatvam nandātāh kāvalam-arthad-pi || [35*]

62 Prāpyo-dayanāḥ saśāṅkasāya vardhaṭā[ā]rā na[a] varidhiḥ | vardhadāḥ kṛttī-chandrī-yaḥ obhitam Kāmārṇav-ō(dāyā)dāyā || [36*] Nand-ārtu-

63 vyōma-chandre-pramīta-śaka-samāvyaśtha-kālē dinēś chāpasthāṃ-nya-grah-aughā vah(ah)avati ripus hubh prakshayām prāpta-

64 vatau [[*]] asmin=mūrdhāḥ-abhīshktē nirā-vara-tanayē sarvvaīk-aika-nāthē śrīma[ś]-Kāmārṇav-śāś jagad-abhadv-īdans-tat-tad-ā-

* The Nāgarī plates have "gāhabhāja ṣu".
* The Nāgarī plates read "ṣṣṭaṣṭa-ś领跑bhṛtāh".
* The Nāgarī plates read kiṃ ca yā.
* These two okharaś are redundant and were penned through by the engraver.
* The okharaṃ gu had been originally engraved and was later inserted.
nanda-pannasah(rumam) || [37*] Kahr-arpanavad-ejani chandra-kal-eti vaartaa Kamarpana-vait-tu sakad-ekdu-divkar-abhad(bham) [*] krtti-pratapa-mithunam saha-
chati lok-te sthashyatvahah para-nupan-anuraga-sarvyaan || [38*] Yasyaasi-nih(ni)dalite-vairi-
karudra-kumbha-ni-
rmukta-maukthika-phalany-sarip-nskhiti || [*] Kamarpanavasya ripu-sahhati-kveh-
aka-la-sandhyaprabhitapra-bha-
na || [39*] Driipyad-vairi-chamur-mmayaa kavalita na-sayam may-asvad-
dit-ety-anyanyana kalab-
tu nirnaya-vidhau khasha-pratap-oohohayah || [*] madhyasathyam gamit-ehvan-nimalatarat-
krttiyadya vra(hra)vinyo-balchya-eha mahadbhir-i-
ty-upas* jagata Dhautal aruti ch-adarata(sati) || [40*] Asarakhit-sa Hiranyagarbham-aparaah loma* Mahesh pur-ety*artho yath vivadanta eva-
vadan-vratas-tadyodhuma [*] krudho yatau Hiranyagarbham-akarat-Kamar-
pan-watas-tatah samuppanam janitam jagad-yata eha pratyasaha-
tah prapinas(nam) || [41*] Sapt-amboohuin-vahanu kahtir-atitala naga-kurmm-
-avarapani sahayaan velhoohha(ohha)-tvan-tad-aspun-ayam ka-
litas-tatra bharaah || [ ] Dhatra* Kamarpan-sakhyaah sa oha* nira-culana(ah) nirijyatat-
svanpa-bharaah bhuya-bhuva-sahita sikh-
ti dharam-bhara-vah(la)hulaym-uptam(ptam) || [42*] Hrisha-pushta-jana-skirupa-vidvaj-
-jaanamoharain[*] daas-avidi(bdi)m-asarat-saiyan-Kama-
rumava-mahipati(a) || [43*] Sri-Chochaga-fripastar-mmahai hito-nyaasya-Endira Ravi-
kul-cdhava-raja-putri [*] y-udya-bsp Dhautu-
rapam-sajani sundarman-saayam sudhama(ohma)-vadanam svayam-eha jata || [44*] Yad-ripa-sila-gati-vaarunyanaya pramsi-

Third Plate, Second Side

[45*] drishtanta-bhur-Gojirasaat-ety-atia-vadaa-dohah | u-cahy-eha chanda-ripu* kama-hore ya-
dutra tam-Indiram-udavahad-bhuvah Choh-
cangah || [45*] Tasyaan tatha samajani kehiti-nathah-nathah-sri-Raghavaah para-dhar-
-esvara* tarpma-marddi | yata-
ta-va(b)udhana* viddhi-sarvapra-prattah* sarvved rupih sva-hroohi kamaras avahyantah. ||

[*] The Nagari plates read *u-kah.
[**] The Nagari plates correctly read *tpe.
[***] The Nagari plates read *rude-uh* or *rutu vo-u*.
[****] Read *par f kha.
[*****] It was originally engraved.
[******] The Nagari plates read *cvudhatit yeh oha which is better.
[*******] The Nagari plates read *udhadhoh which is better.
[********] The Nagari plates read Dhaut.
[*********] The Nagari plates read *ta.
[**********] The Nagari plates read *bho-maham*. 
[***********] The Nagari plates read *bhav.*
[************] Originally sandhena was engraved.
[*************] The Nagari plates correctly read *pravabalo.
80 vihinaḥ kahiti-pāśa-vargaḥ || ( ) tat-pāda-sāvā-kṛita-dāha-siddhā-vammitribhavaty-śvamsatāṃmaśaḥ || 47[1]
81 Puraṇ-āri-prabāti-prākāra-vihiita-prāśanḍya-sandarbha-vac( +dōrdeśa-ōpamiti-
pragālbha-vihiyac̄ haḥ prā-bhōtvāvān-Ārjunāḥ || 48[*]
82 sampratyāh-āhava-ṛta-ṛṣita-śiśita-ka(rā)tanā-ktiśā-sakta-bhūjaḥ sar-śaana-
bhūtāṃ chitr-ōpamā Rāgabhaḥ || 49[*]
83 Jagati Parasurāmaḥ pūrdūṣa[+] dhitiyaḥ kimu riṣu-kula-hanta sv-ājñayā śchehanna-ś
lōkāḥ kahiti-vitarana-dikṣāḥ.
84 sakta-hastāḥ pratāpād-āpi[*] Daśaśatavā(ḥ)hurt=yyasya śaśrur=vvināś || 49[*] Bhēda[nh]-
bhedam-srāti-kuṇjara-ghaṭāḥ-keśōjādhra-pañī-
85 ktiṃ raṇā pāya[nh][+] pēyaam=ṣeṣk-pēyaṃsi va(.flashy)hūdhā śrī-Rāghav-āśiḥ khaṇḍa(ḥ) pāṭa(n) ||( ) subhram=subhram=sv-cvā-va
86 mana-vijyātā kṛtti-pratānāṃ parān-chandram chandra(ṇḍri)kayā prāprūṇataraṣā
sahস্যায়মান-ার্ক্রিয়।
87 tuḥ(tim) || 50[*] Durgēśu dāva-dahanah kahitibhṛte vajraḥ mādyan(dyat)-karindra-
ghataṇāsu cha suṁha śahah ||[*] vi-
88 dvāsah(dvēśhi)-bhūmipatayō nivasaṃ yantra śrī-Rāghava-kahitipatir=vvitata-pratāpaḥ
|| 51[*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharṣhī-
89 śaḥ keśoṇi-nāthe-si(ā)rhōmanih | akarōd=ṛāyi(jya)mu(m=)yaya(bdā)nām=ūddamō dāsa
pariccha cha || 52[*] Tasya śrī-Chara-
90 ganga-kahiti-vāsaya-patār=vvataś sam(sa)ntāna-vallī-kanda-āriś[+] Chandralēkhā sguṭhām=
Aditi=iva prāyad Kaśyapaya ||[*]
91 tasyām-ndōma-dhāma-kṣapita-dinamāpi-jjaśīvān-ṛājarājō raṇjya-khōda-kéśū-tilа-
kite-mahīma-ya-
92 pta-dik-chakravālāḥ || 53[*] Tasām-dig-vijya-prayāja-rasa(ai)kō saṁrāmbha-śumabhach-
chamō-samśeṣhunā-kahiti-chkra-pāṭa-ṛjita-praṇbā̄-
93 ravayat=amva(mhā)ṣ | ( ) bhū=saṁpratā-ṛghīnā-vaśād-dinamāpi-nācholīḥ ma(plu)ṃa
sapatībhiḥ sv-abhyastāṃ sura-sindurē[+] dharanī-
94 paṭṭe rājō(d-ō)dghattanaḥ(nam) || 54[*] Chēdagnaga-nāṛendrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikramaḥ
||[*] Rājarāja iñi khyātāḥ(tas)=Trikāliḍa-
95 mārh-patīḥ || 55[*] Viśvām krodhyāti pragālbha-yasāsi Paṭēyarāśil-a-vīśi yad-yad-yāḍpig-
abhōd=ahbhūtā-sadṛśeṣaṃ sautaḥ

[*] The letter is redundant.
* The Nagarī plates wrongly read "prācheṇḍya=āna...vēkhna".
* This letter was originally omitted.
* The Nagarī plates have kandāka.
3 Before mā, ma was inserted and penned through.
* Dū was originally engraved.
* The Nagarī plates read ghaṭāḥ.
* The Nagarī plates correctly read "nāraśaṃśeṣaṃ".
* The Nagarī plates read "ār-Chā".
* Read sindurē[+]. There is a cancelled i-mārd with nāv.
Scale: Four-ninths
96 samākāraṇyastāṁ (tām) dhātre pīṭhātā śrīgaṇati svar-ačalāḥ praśādayi tvad-yaśō dit-nāthāṁ pratima(mā)nti yaśya pa-

Fourth Plate, First Side

97 ritaḥ satano(bhūtaḥ) padāṁ śrīgaṇati [*56*] Anandaṁ viddhāhāti chātasi bhavat-kirttir-guṇa-grāhinaḥ sūte dōha-

98 dam-arthināe-cha manasā śrī-Rājaratā(ja) dhruvāṁ(vam) || [ ] sāyam karnas-patham samāyta hridayē śālaya-

99 tā vaiśravaḥ svām-Poṣchhān-viśvāyināṁ nahi nijō bhāvāḥ kvachiḥ-dījyate [!] [57*] Etasāṁ bhūvī paṁchavinā(viṁśati)-

100 samāḥ kahāṁ-śrī-lakṣmi-madah[*] kṛitvā jītvā-chāpa-chaṁchalan-bhujā-dam-bhōli-survī-paṭiḥ [*] rājyāṁ prājya-yaśa-

101 sta(a-tu)sādra-kirapa(pu) śrīnt-rāṣā(sā)d-āsaneō udgacchhat-Pu(n-P)ruhūta-gita-charitaḥ śrī-Rājaratā nṛpaḥ || [58*] Tasya-anujō

102 nṛpati-rāja-padē-bhīshiktaḥ sūkṣṭhra-priyāḥ parimit-ādi-nṛpa-prasaṭṭiḥ [*] pa(prīthvi-)paṭiḥ kāl-maḻ(l-ō)bhi(jhi)bhihta-dharmas-āv-

103 dāhā(dāhāj) kārya-kahamas prabhur-saśīvā-Anīyākabhiṁaḥ || [59*] Chī(Vir)-ādībhīṣhta-sāṅgar-ādī-sīkharē sāṅkha-svan-āsāptē k[ū]jh(ku)-

104 nūt(a-t)iḥbhiṁa-mad-ēbha-kumbha-vigala-muktāvāh-ru[ph]jītē [*] harsahād-vrīṣa-nīja- pratāpa-dahanaḥ khadga-aruga(chā) vidvībhaṅ

105 rājāṁ-anasa-paṅkajāṁ nṛpatiṅga(t-ga)rvānayad-yāḥ āriyaḥ(yam) || [60*] Kāhīrśvadhe(bdhē)ṁ-amritaḥ[*] sur-Āṣura-bhujā-vyāpa-vīkharē

106 bhītačchandrasya-ārdhham-abhūt-tad-ayp-adhyaṅyayī Śāṃsenaṁ-śkast kila | ohaṅcha[dvā]-
(d-bāh)-va(ba)jēna saṅgara-bhuvi

107 tvat-khadga-dhāra-ja[la]-jātāsā tvā saṣṭha-dig-ātvarān-prithva-yaśā-candram āmaśīga ||
[61*] Yat-prayāna-samu-

108 dhūtās-bhū-rajah-pūrīte[*] mava(mba)ṛē | abhū[ds]*-d Śripad-āyāsya dhūt-mada-ohitā tanaḥ || [62*] Śrīnātha-pād-śva(mba)-ja-chaṁchārloka(kō) dīpas[yds]*-dvāsah-ga-

109 nōha-karindra-ai(hi)ḥaḥ | Lakṣmi-ha(hri)ā-ākaraṇā- maman-siddhir-muṇiyas-tvām-āsir
| Anīyākabhiṁaḥ(ma) || [63*] Dāsa-vārṣhaḥ virō-sau nirjīt-ā-

110 rāti-mapalāhā | Anaśga-bhūmā-bhūpāḥ dharitriṇā samapālayat || [64*] Praudhā-ānarggala-vikramāḥ kula-grihaḥ

111 yō daṇḍa-nīti-śrīyāḥ[*] saty-āchāra-viśaḥ-āchāra-charitaḥ punyā(ny-ai)ka-shā(pā)raṭyanāḥ
| tasyā-sād-A-

112 na(m)īyākabhiṁa-nṛpati-rādhā-āṅga-lakṣmīṁ ska(sva)yam śn[q]ehayānītīyēna paṭṭa-
maḥiśh Vaghalla

---
* The Nagari plates read es-manasi.
* The Nagari plates wrongly read es-śim-ś.
* Elsewhere we have šatandara-lakshmi-dgocā.
* The Nagari plates correctly read s-manasi.
* The Nagari plates read "khaḍha-rajah-sampūrṇa.
* This stanza is not found in the Nagari plates.
* The danda is superfluous.
Fourth Plate, Second Side

116 t-kara-nikara-guṇaḥ(ḥa) kṣaṭā-sāndram bṛayāṇo(ṛē) vistīrṇaṁ karṇa-ca-tāl-śatibhe(bhi)-

117 m-adhikaṁ kaukaḥyakūś chintanaṁ śāstrā-bhṛyāya-vidhau Vidhau ca jañataṁ kāle Kali(lēh) śrīyātē [68*] Yat-kirtte-dugdha-ja-

118 m-śastra-gnayaṁ mukha-paśa-tulanāṁ-aśadhē dhūli-jalanaṁ(lam) || [67*] Yasmin-sāsati śaśīt-śri-nikaraṁ śa-

119 mantānas(t-sūkṣma) atisūkhema-taralā iva viprashas-tē || [65*] Tyāga śaurūya ēca satyē ca Karna-Ārjuna-Yadvihēththirai-

120 bhiviṣṭadhya-arthau Śakāvē(bē) vinām(vēnām) ty-adhik-ākādaśa-śatē(ta) tamē śri- Purushottarasa-kṣa(kha)trē sūgara-bīrē sū-

121 ryy-śhānēti Utkala-dōeś Śāyōlė-vishaya Āṭṭhāyaśa-khānḍē Kōrād-ākhyā-

122 yām maṇyāḥśra-vīrō Rājarājō nārēndrapā ((70*) Sveyaṁ śri-Rājarājē-nārēndrapā saṅkā-jan-gan-tasa-sana-

123 bhiviṣṭadhya-arthau Śakāvē(bē) vinām(vēnām) ty-adhik-ākādaśa-śatē(ta) tamē śri- Purushottarasa-kṣa(kha)trē sūgara-bīrē sū-

124 sālā-kṣetra[m*] sa-machchhya(ṣe) kachchahaha(ch*) sa-viśāpṝṣanyāṁ pu(pr)vvva-

125 bhīyō Vṛ(ṛ)prāmaṇāḥbhṛyā dhāra-pūrvavam-a-chandr-ārkk-ōpabhṛyā-sākṣrītīya prā-

126 ni ṽkhyāntē || Ka(Ka)jya-pa-gōraḥ Vidanaṇya-tiṣaṣa(striṁśa)d-vāty-adhikārī ([*] ētān-mahād Kauṣikagōraḥ

127 ni ṽkhyāntē || Ka(Ka)jya-pa-gōraḥ Vidanaṇya-tiṣaṣa(striṁśa)d-vāty-adhikārī ([*] Rudrakaṛyāyaḥ Śivakārṇyaḥ Mādhva-

128 ryyaḥ Ḥarē(rī)ḥarēyaḥ ēti pratiyēkah saṁta-sapta-vāty-adhikāriṇāḥ ([*] ētē Kauṣikagōraḥ ([*]śēvā-vṛṛṇyō dāra-vāty-adhā(dhi)-

1 The Nagari plates read ṽtē.[*]
2 The Nagari plates read ṽtē.[*]
3 The Nagari plates wrongly read śaṅkā.[*]
4 The Nagari plates read ṽtē-śāmava-guṇaḥ.[*]
5 The Nagari plates offer a different reading of the stanza.

Fifth Plate, First Side

142 ka-mō(ɡōtra)[**] Ādō-sa-sa[amongness] Dāmōda-śarā[amongness] a Kāya[pə]-gōtraḥ [**] Dhriktara-sa-sa[amongness] Vā-
143 [r]jagāsa-gōtraḥ [**] a prātyēka[amongness] a gīṛha-vāṭī-rāṭha(dhih)kār(a)ta[amongness] [**] Viy[uddhār] Vatsa-gō-
144 trō dvi-vāty-adihikārī [**] Dharmā-nāmō[amongness] gīṛha-vāṭyā[amongness] chata-sa-sa[amongness] [**] gīṛha-vāṭī- bhūṃhi pāñcha-us-ā-
145 vāṭi[amongness] pārma[amongness][**] tātra Vidyā-kārāryaḥ pānlys-grāhī [**] ērī-Purṇuhottamādevāya a ērī gīṛha-vāṭī [**]
146 Mad-dāna-phala-sidhīya-artha-tad-rakha-phala-sidhīya | mad-dharmmaḥ pari-pālyō-yaḥ bhūpaira-chandra-tāraka-k(specimen) [[[71] Mā bhūda-ra-pha-
147 la-tākā tō para-dattē-ṛi pārthīva | svā-dattē-adhikā ṃ puṇyaṁ para-dattē-anupālanam(nam)]] [[[72] Svā-dattēm para-dattēm vā yā-

*The name is doubtful but may be Trīōchē-trāḥ. The visarga looks like the one in line 44 above.
*Originally pōv was engraved. The intended reading may be Kapī.
*Originally ɕ was engraved and cancelled and ɕ was separately incised. This ɕ was later changed to st.
149 ndhärāḥ(ḥrām) | sa viṣṭhāyāni kṣirīṁ-bhūtvā pīthīḥbhāḥ bhīḥ saha pachīḥ(chya)śe || [74*]
Níjjaś prāntar ēśe śuḥka-kṛśna-vāsinaḥ | kṛśna-

150 sarppā hi jāyantē yṛṣa(ṛṣa)ḥmadēy-śpahārakāḥ || [75*] Gām-ekāṁ svapnaṃ-ekasam vā bhūmer-apy-ardehama-aṅgulam(lam) | haran-aṅrankam-āpna-

151 ti yāvavā(dā)-bhūta-sanbhavant(ram) || [76*] Yāvad-Gaś(ṛa)etri-Mahēsau jagad-adhikar-rajah yāvad-avdhān(bdhau) praśadān(hṛishtau) Latyaḥ(ṛaṁḥ)-Pākērūbhākhaṇu

152 dyutī-dvās-pati yāvad-śtānu vibhātāḥ | va(vā)ig-arthau yāvad-āptau bhūvana-niyaminām m(y)j(bi)bhratō(tau) bhāvam-śadyah tā-

153 vat-kirtti-pratāpau jagati viya(ja)cchāh(ya)tāḥ Rājarājarṣya rājāḥ || [77*] Taśy-śājīṣaya yathā-jhānaṁ Gaṅg-āṅvaya-ganā-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

154 n=prati | prasaṣṭi-zasahas(na)-ślokaṁ-Appanah1 kṛtavāṇ-kriṇī || [78*] ||2 śilpinā Iśkāyinaṁ-śekrhayaṃ-iti ||3 Ālamvā(śaṇiḥ)yaṇa-gō(traḥ)

155 *K(e)śavāvyoḥ dāsa-vātī-śibhārī ||
SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 35—KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

(1 Plate)

MORERSWAN G. DIPSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying copper-plate grant, published here for the first time, was found by a farmer while ploughing his field at Kurud, about 27 miles north-east of Raipur, in the Tehsil and District of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. It was brought to the notice of Mahant Lakshmi Narayan Das, President of the Mahakoshala Congress Committee, Raipur, who subsequently passed it on to Shri M. P. Dwivedi, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, for acquisition under the Treasure Trove Act. It was through the kindness of the latter that I secured the grant for decipherment and I am obliged to him for kindly according me permission to edit it in this journal. The plates have since been purchased by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, and are at present preserved in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum at Raipur.

The charter consists of a set of three copper plates, each measuring 5½" broad and 3½" high, secured by means of a circular ring passing through holes in the left margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a seal, about 2½" in diameter, which has on its countersunk surface the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi, standing on a lotus, with two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers held in their upraised trunks. In the topmost portion of the seal appear the figures of the sun and the moon, represented respectively by a small pellet and a crescent. A double line in the centre divides the seal into two compartments, the lower of them containing the legend in two lines, in raised characters in low relief. The seal was apparently cast from a mould. The weight of the plates, together with the seal and the ring, is 66 tolas.

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, of which five each appear on the second side of the first plate and both sides of the second while the remaining six lines are engraved on the first side of the third plate. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are blank.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet, assignable to the fifth century A.D. and commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the Sarabhapur kings, and resemble closely those of the Pipardula plates1 in having less angular forms. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend occurring on the seal and the imprecatory verses at the end of the charter, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, it may be noted that r; takes the place of subscript ri in some cases (cf. lines 7-8). The consonants are sometimes doubled in conjunction with r.

The charter was issued by king Narêndra from his camp of victory at Tisakâvara on the 4th day of Vesâkha in the 24th year of his reign. The legend on the seal indicates that this Narêndra was the son of Sarabhâ who had 'conquered the earth with the sharp edge of his sword'. The charter was issued in confirmation of an earlier grant made by the deceased father of the king.2 It is addressed to the residents of the village of Kâsâvaka, situated in the Chuliâdastma bhûpa (or in the bhûpas bordering on Chuliâda) and states that the village was granted by the deceased king to one Bhârurastavâm or Bhârurastavâmin3 belonging to the Dhârapâ gûtra, after taking a bath in the Gaûgâ, for his own religious merit and was registered by a charter written

---

1 IEQ, Vol. XIX, pp. 139-40 and Plates.
2 [The suggestion is unsupported by the language of the record. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]
3 This name is spelt as Bhârurata in line 5 and Bhârurata in line 9.

(283)
on śaṅka leaves. This charter was burnt in the course of a conflagration in the donor's house; but it was known to the secretariat that the village continued to be enjoyed by the donor unhindered. King Naręndra confirmed the grant to Sākhavāmin, son of Bhāruttavāmin, by means of a charter incised on copper plates, together with all the rights such as bhoga, bāgeśa, dānaya and āvāyēs, for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased father. The dātaka of the grant was the secretariat itself. The record was engraved by one Śrīdrata or Datta.

King Naręndra, son of Sārabha, is already known to us from his Pipardula plates issued in his 3rd reignal year. The present charter, issued in his 24th reignal year, indicates that he had a fairly long reign. Neither the Pipardula plates nor the present inscription give any pedigree and the ruler is mentioned with the simple title Mahārāja. The legend appearing on the seal of both the records says that Naręndra was the son of Sārabha who was perhaps the founder of the Sārabhapura dynasty. It is also noteworthy that the Gaṅga-Lakshmi motif is common to the seals of the grants issued by the kings of this family and this may go in favour of assigning Naręndra of our record to the Sārabhapura dynasty. The editors of the Pipardula copper-plate inscription have rightly suggested that Sārabha mentioned in the legend on his son's seal is probably no other than Sārabharja, the maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died at Eran in 510 A.D.

The only point of interest in the present inscription is the reference to the original charter which is said to have been written on śaṅka leaves and was later confirmed by the present document. There are many instances of older grants being renewed or confirmed by subsequent rulers; but this is probably the only instance, so far noticed, where it is expressly stated that a charter was written on śaṅka leaves.

Kurud, where the plates were found, is hardly 27 miles from Raipur and about 8 miles north of Arāḍi, both of which are known to be the findspots of charters belonging to the Sārabhapura dynasty. The present plate again support the conclusion drawn by the editors of the Pipardula plates that the rule of this dynasty was mostly confined to the environs of Raipur and that their capital Sārabhapura probably lay in the neighbourhood of Sirpur. In the excavations at Sirpur, a small gold coin of king Pārshvanātra was found in the lowest stratum which was superimposed by buildings attributed to the Pāṇḍava kings. This also shows the early associations of the Sārabhapura kings with Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the Mahānadhī. Knowing these details, it is clear that the river Gaṅgā, mentioned in the present record, can only be the Mahānadhī which is one of the most important rivers in the region. It would be improper to connect it with the famous river Gaṅgā.

Tilakāvāra, where the king was camping at the time of making the grant, cannot be identified with certainty. There is a likelihood of its being some celebrated temple in the vicinity of Kāśvaka, probably the small village Kēsha standing on the bank of a nullah bearing the same name about

1 The words of the inscription have not been taken here literally in the analysis of the contents. See below.—Ed.
2 See below.—Ed.
3 The mention of the odāvāvṛtas as the dātaka of a charter is rare in inscriptions.—Ed.
5 I.H.C. Vol. XIX, p. 144.4
6 The detailed results of these excavations conducted in 1952-55 on behalf of the University of Saugar and the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh, are now under publication.
7 For a river called Gaṅgā on account of its sanctity, see the Paitahan and Furushottamapuri plates of Vālaśa Rāmāvindra, where the Godāvāri is styled as Gaṅgā. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 317-18; above, Vol. XXV, p. 208. [If all the rivers are called Gaṅgā, their individual names become meaningless. The Godāvāri has been called Gaṅgā because one of its names was Gautama-gaṅgā (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261, text line 37; note also its other names Gautami, Gautama-sambhāvī, etc.). The Mahānadhī would hardly have been called Gaṅgā without any qualification. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]
KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

Scale: Four-fifths
SEAL

(from a photograph)
54 miles to the south-east of Mahasamund in the Tahsil of that name.¹ Chullāḍa-sima-bhōga, by which the adjoining district or division was indicated, appears to be represented by modern Charoda, a village 7 miles due east of Keshwa.

**TEXT**

**Seal**

1. Khaḍga-[dha]jā-jita-bhuva[h*] Šarabhāt-prāpta-janmanah [**]  
2. nṛpatē[ś-śrī]-Narṛndrasya [sam]asah śrip-[śa]sana[m*]  

*First Plate*

1. Siddham [**] svaet [**] vījaya-skandhā-[vā]rā- Tilakāvāra- vāsakāt paramabhūga  
2. vatō mātē-pitri-pād-amudhāṭah śrī-mahārāja-Narṛndraḥ Chullāḍa-  
3. sīna-bhāgīya-Kēśavakē Brāhmaṇa-purasaarak-pratīvā[-]  
4. kutumbinas-samājānapayati [**] viditaṃ estu vaḥ yathāya[m] grāma[h]  
5. paramabhuṭṭāraka-pāda[h*] Bhasrutasvaminē Dhārani-sagōtrīya  

*Second Plate, First Side*

6. Gaṅgāya[m] sajana[m*] kuurvadbhi[h*] tāla-patra-sāsanāna sva-puny-ābhivri-  
7. dādhayē dattakah [**] tach-cha tāla-patra-sāsanā[m*] griha-dāgheś dagdham-ity-adhi-  
8. karaṇ-āvadhičārayā prāk-prabhṛ(bhṛ)ty-avyavahchhēda-bhōgēn-āya[m*] grā-  
9. mō bhujyate iti [[] adhunā Bhasrutasvāmi-putra-Sākhasvāminē  
10. paramabhuṭṭāraka-pādānā[m*] puny-ācayanādē(ya)i va tāmra-sāsa-  

*Second Plate, Second Side*

11. mēn-ānumōdita ity-ēvan-upalabhāḥ-āṣya-ājāś-sravāṇa-vidhaye  
12. bhūtvā yatho(thā)-kālam-uchita-bhōga-bhōga-dhānya-h[i]raṇy-ādēr-upa-  
13. nayaṃ karṣhyithitēśi [**] bhaviṣhyateḥoḥ bhūpā[m*] kuṭāl-ōpiṣṭham-anu-

¹ See Sheet No. 2 of the Majmuli map of the Mahasamund Tahsil; also Sheet No. 66 E of Survey of India, which gives the location of Charoda and the Keshwa nullah only.

* From the original plates. }

² Ripu-dādkā is the reading in this place on the seal of the Pipālala plates.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The name appears as Bhārute in line 9 below.)

⁵ Read grīha-dādhā.

⁶ The dāyjar are unnecessary.

⁷ Read karṣhyathitēśi.
14 darśayati || dūtakam-adhikarana[m^] || Vy̱ṣe-gttē[rm^]s-oh-ātra śōkān-udāha-
15 ranti || Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhisaś gigar-ādhibhi[h^] || yasaya yasaya

Third Plate

16 yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phale[m^] || Pūrvva-dattān dvijātibhyo ya-
17 tad-rakeśa Yudhiaṭhira [n^] mahān mahimatān śrīkṣaṇa dānāch-ohṛyē-nupāla-
18 ma[m^] Shaśtsi-varaha-sahasarśi svargṛ mādī bhūṃidaḥ [n^] śrīkṣaṇa
19 tā oh-śnūmantā ohoha(sha) tāny-ēva naraka vasēt [n^] pravardhamāna-vija-
20 ya-rājya-savva(asaava)tasē chaturvivhāṣa(rvivhāṣa)timē 20 4 Vaisākha-di 4
21 utkā(tk)ruṣam Śrīdattē-ōti ||

Footnote: 1. Termination of the record is indicated by two curved strokes.
The Kurud copper-plate inscription has been edited by Dr. M. G. Dikshit in the foregoing pages (pp. 293ff.). He has, however, failed to grasp what appears to be the most important historical information supplied by the epigraph.

The record purports to say that the village of Kāsava was originally granted by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, while he had been taking a bath in the waters of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāyām majjanoṁ kurodcāḥ), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Bhāṣūtasvāmin or Bhāṣūtasvāmin by means of a charter written on palm leaves, but that, as a result of that document being destroyed by a conflagration in the house of the donee, Mahārāja Nārendra, son of Śarabha, re-granted the village from his camp at Tilakāvāra in favour of the original donee’s son Śāṅkhāsvāmin for the merit of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, since it was established by official investigation (ādhikaraṇañcudākṣaraṇaṇaḥ) that the village was continuously in the possession of the Brāhmaṇas. As Nārendra’s father Śarabha is apparently identical with the homonymous maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died in fighting on behalf of the Gupta monarch Bhāṇugupta at Eran in the Saṅgor District of Madhya Pradesh in the Gupta year 191-310 A.D., Śarabha and his son Nārendra may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. If Nārendra re-granted the village in question to Śāṅkhāsvāmin about the first quarter of the sixth century, the latter’s father (apparently dead at the time of the present charter) should have originally received it from the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda about quarter of a century earlier, i.e. sometime about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Dr. Dikshit identifies the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, who originally made the grant, with Mahārāja Nārendra’s father. This is, however, not supported by the language of the inscription, the word ‘father’ being conspicuous by its absence from the context. Moreover the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda seems to have had his headquarters in the neighbourhood of the river Gaṅgā far away from the Raipur District where Nārendra and apparently also his father Śarabha were ruling. Then again the imperial title Paramabhaṭṭāraka, along with Mahārājaśiviraja Paramēśvara, is known to have been popularised by the Imperial Guptas since the fourth century A.D. and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Mahārāja Nārendra’s father Śarabha enjoyed the title Paramabhaṭṭāraka (and presumably also Mahārājaśiviraja Paramēśvara), side by side with the Imperial Guptas, about the end of the fifth century. We know that Śarabha’s daughter’s son Goparāja was a feudatory of the Guptas and it seems quite likely that Śarabha himself also owed allegiance to the same imperial house. Since the Guptas had their capital at Pājāliputra on the Gaṅgā, the grant being made by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda while taking a bath in the holy waters of that river is easily explained. As the Gupta power was fast declining since the closing years of the fifth century, it is intelligible how Śarabha’s son Mahārāja Nārendra, ruling considerably away from the centre of the Gupta empire, issued his charters as an independent monarch without referring to his allegiance to the Gupta emperor. But his respectful mention of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, to whom Nārendra’s family must have owed complete allegiance originally, shows that he still considered himself, however nominally, a subordinate of the Imperial Guptas. It has to be noted that Nārendra confirmed the earlier grant for the merit of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda and not of himself or of his parents. It has, however, also to be noticed that he was powerful enough not to describe himself even vaguely as Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-dvandvāyaśe like such nominal
feudatories of the Guptas as the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa and Bhulūnda. At the same time he also does not use the Gupta era like some other erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, who did so with or without some kind of reference to their former overlords.

As we have elsewhere observed, the influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and the use of their era noticed in South Kōśala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining area) suggest that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Again in connection with the discovery of the coins of a South Kōśala king named Mahendrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (414-55 A.D.), we observed that Gupta suzerainty was probably acknowledged by the rulers of South Kōśala. The Kurud copper-plate inscription of Narēndra seems to support the above observations inasmuch as it shows that South Kōśala formed an integral part of the Gupta empire as late as the close of the fifth century when the charter, confirmed by Narēndra, was originally granted by a Gupta monarch in favour of a Brahmana of the Raipur region of that country. It is of course impossible to identify this Gupta emperor without further evidence; but the manner in which he is twice mentioned by Narēndra in the present charter seems to indicate that Gupta political influence was not totally absent from South Kōśala even about the beginning of the sixth century.

2 Ch. Select Inscriptions, pp. 370 ff.; 374 ff.; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1190, etc.
4 Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 83.
No. 37—HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2

(Plate 1)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAN, MADRAS

The text of this inscription has already been published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 553. It is taken up here for detailed study in view of the fresh light it throws on the history of its period. The record is incised on two faces of a pillar found at HEMAVATI in the Madakaera Taluk of the Anantapur District, Andhra State.1

The inscription under discussion is in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha characters for words of Sanskrit origin. It is couched in chaste language and incised fairly correctly. There is no orthographical peculiarity requiring special mention. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

The object of the record is to register the gift of some land to the temple of god MAHGEEVARADHA at Perunjeru in Shri-nadu, a sub-division of Nirarilisola-mandalam, by one Sikkadaiya-kattiyar who is described as Vaddha-vyakari and diteimukhya; the gift was made with the permission of Mahamandalaivara Uragiyurpuras-thakura Shri-Mahideva Tribhuvanamalla Mallidiva Chola-maharaja in the month of Avani in the cyclic year Vyaya, which was the second regnal year of Tribhuvana-chakkavartin Kulottungacholadv. It is further stated that the gift was placed in the hands of Isinaiva, the sthapanati of the temple of Tirumahisvaram-nadaiyvar with the libation of water by the illustrious hand of the king.

It is not clear from the record to which of the reigns of the three Chola kings bearing the name of Kulottunga it belongs. The cyclic year Vyaya corresponded with 1046-47, 1106-07, 1166-67 and 1236-37 A.D. In no case did any of these years coincide with the 2nd year of the reign of any of the Chola kings bearing the name Kulottunga. While the other dates did not fall in the reign of any Kulottunga at all, the first one coincided with the 37th year of the reign of Kulottunga I. But the palaeography, the difference in the regnal years 2 and 37 and the mention of Tribhuvanamalla Mallidiva Chola-maharaja make it impossible to assign this record to the time of that monarch.

Tribhuvanamalla Mallidiva Chola-maharaja mentioned in this inscription as ruling over the Sira-nadu, a sub-division of Nirarilisola-mandalam, with Perunjeru as his capital figures also in other epigraphs found in that locality. A record engraved on a stone set up at the southern entrance of the Oddappa (Siva temple) at the same place, dated in Saka 1084, Vrishna, Pulaya,

---

1 The other two faces of the pillar contain two separate records. The third face bears an undated inscription (SII, Vol. VI, No. 554) in the Tamil language and script registering the gift of two pees of gold placed in the hands of Ishana-jyar by Devaratandan Tanganaial Utamadival Vajavadhyayan of Sreyvar in Tongai-mandalam (i.e. modern Cheyyur in the Madhurantakam Taluk of the Chingleput District), from the interest of which was to be maintained the worship and a Bandi-vijukku in the temple for the merits of his father and mother in the shrine of Sivayambhutadaiva alias Tiruviramisvaramudalaiya-mahideva consecrated by him. The fourth face of the pillar contains an incomplete and undated inscription (ibid., No. 555), in Kannada, of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jagareshamalla containing a portion of the prastuti of a person who is described therein as the son of Urugeola Chola-maharaja.

2 Nirarilisola-mandalam was the same as Nojambavadi renamed as such by the Chola king Rajaraja I after his conquest of the region and was a 'Thirty-two Thousand country' comprising portions of the Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Andhra and parts of the Kolur and Tumkur Districts of Mysore.

SII, Vol. IX, No. 268.

(360)
Uttarayana-sankramaṇa, corresponding probably to 1162 A.D., December 25, Monday, mentions the chief as ruling over Śiṅgānṭī (same as the Śiṅgānṭi of the Tamil record) from his capital at Ṣaṇḍhaṇ, which is only another form of Ṣaṇḍhun, as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin Vikrama (i.e. Taila III). There is also another inscription¹ incised on a pillar at the same place, dated in Śaka 1090, Sarvajit, corresponding to 1165 A.D., mentioning this chief as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin. He was the son of Irucigōta Chōja-mahārāja of the Nīḍugaul family.² Tribhubanamalla Mallidēva Chōja-mahārāja mentioned in the record under review is evidently the Nīḍugaul Chōja chief and his known dates range from 1162 to 1179 A.D. Then the cyclic year Vṛṣṭi mentioned in the record should be the one coinciding with Śaka 1088 corresponding to 1160-61 A.D. This being the 2nd year of the reign of Kulottuṅga-hadēva, he should have ascended the throne in 1165-66 A.D. It has already been pointed out that none of the three kings bearing the name of Kulottuṅga-hadēva ascended the throne on this date. But curiously enough we find another Chōja king of the imperial family of Taḷḷavēr, Rajādhirāja II, counting his regnal years in some of his inscriptions with this year as the starting point,³ and it is also known that he did not succeed to the Chōja throne as direct heir in the male line. The Pallavāravamāṭṭi inscription⁴ states that Rajāraja II chose as his successor on the throne of Rajādhirāja II as there was no regular and proper heir in the male line available then. Pallavāravāyar (whose full name was Tirumūru-chipakalegu-udaiyāri Perumāpumāmbi), who was the trusted chief minister of Rajāraja II and was responsible for this selection, is stated to have made after the coronation of Rajādhirāja II, the uḷḷaṇikṣaṭam and the nāgaḥ act with the king in unison and also to have suppressed [the hostile elements] from doing [any] high-handed action.⁵ The actual expression mīqai keṇyadapāṭ [kum] parṣaṅgadāta used in the inscription is significant. It is clear therefrom that the accession of Rajādhirāja II to the Chōja throne was not unanimously accepted by the officials and the public and that there was some opposition to the choice, but that Pallavāravāyar overcame the opposition and compelled it to surrender and accept the selection. Who were those that opposed the selection and how they were subdued are not explicit from the inscription. But it is stated therein that Pallavāravāyar was successful in his attempt only 'to some extent (orupadā) and even that possibly with very great difficulty.⁶ For making this selection, Pallavāravāyar, according to the record, brought some princes from GaṅgākōṇḌaḷaḷapuṛam (GaṅgākōṇḌaḷaḷaḷapuṛa ddaruru śrāvēka pīḷāṇgaḷai ... yam ponaḥ ...). The use of the word pīḷāṇgaḷai in plural denotes more than one prince, although only one person⁷ was selected from among them and crowned as Rajādhirāja. It is quite possible that the other prince or princes who were brought to the capital

¹ Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 567.
² Ibid., Vol. IX, Nos. 268 and 273. See also note 1 at p. 269 above.
³ The inscription being in the Tamil language and script, it is not possible to take him as one of the Telugu-Chōjas. In fact, no Telugu-Chōja prince is known to have borne the name of Kulottuṅga. He can be only a prince belonging to the imperial Chōja family of Taḷḷavēr.
⁶ The translation given above, Vol. XXI, p. 192., has not brought out the full force of the original text and at places conveys a wrong meaning not borne out by the text. The word mīqai literally means 'up-lifted arm'. If the word is taken as mīqai with a short i, then it would mean 'excess'. Even then, it will convey more or less the same idea.
⁷ That Pallavāravāyar was successful only partially has not been brought out in the translation of the record, referred to above. It runs as follows: "and made the uḷḷaṇikṣaṭam (assembly) and the nāgaḥ (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus (he) brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions".
⁸ The authors have obviously taken the word ineroi occurring in the text (line 12) to mean one of the princes (pīḷāṇgaḷai) brought from GaṅgākōṇḌaḷaḷapuṛam. But the word ineroi cannot mean ineroi or inerai. See above, p. 224, n. 1.—Ed.]
from Gaṅgaikondacholapuram but not selected were the hostile elements alluded to in the Pallava-varamgārahṛṣṭa record. Then Kulottungachaladēva of the inscription now being edited was probably a rival of Rājādhēra II. A study of the course of events in the reign of this king would also lead us to such a conclusion.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhēra II is 16. We know that two sets of dates are found in his inscriptions, one counting some date between the 29th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other, as already indicated above, suggesting some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. Thus the latest regnal year of 16 would correspond to 1178 A.D. or 1181 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 A.D. for the commencement of his reign. Even though we have his records up to his 16th regnal year, it is to be noted that only inscriptions up to his 14th regnal year are numerous while those of the last two years are very few. A record from Pungapūr refers to the same regnal year of this king as padināla-vuddha-pamāna-pāṇḍava, i.e., 'the 12th which is the same as the 14th year', and this is probably due to there being two different dates for the commencement of his reign. In the light of the above, we may not be far wrong in taking the 16th regnal year of his inscriptions as having been reckoned from the earlier of the above two dates of accession. It will thus be seen that the records of Rājādhēra II are found in the Tamil country only up to about 1178 A.D. He was succeeded on the throne by Kulottunga III whose inscriptions show that his rule commenced between the 6th and 8th of July, 1178 A.D. The circumstances under which Kulottunga III came to occupy the Chola throne are not clear; but one thing seems to be certain. Rājādhēra II was not dead when Kulottunga III ascended the throne and began to rule the country in his own name. A large number of Rājādhēra's inscriptions are found in the Bhimāvara temple at Drākṣahāma in the Godavari District extending for a period of more than 30 years thereafter, thus practically covering the reign of Kulottunga III till its very end. The following is a list of such inscriptions recording gifts to the temple published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, in which both the Śaka and regnal years of Trībhuvanashakravartin Rājādhēra addēva are quoted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1223</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>1193-4</td>
<td>Mentions some Setṭia of Sakkarakkōṭṭam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1331</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>1194-5</td>
<td>Text not available. A.R. Ep., 1833, is the only evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1332</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>1195-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1379</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1387</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>1205-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1118</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1912-3</td>
<td>Mentions some Setṭia of Sakkarakkōṭṭam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following inscriptions found in the same temple and published in the same volume recording similar transactions quote the Śaka years and the regnal years of a king whose name is not

---

1 A. R. Ep., No. 359 of 1921.
2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
mentioned therein but who can be no other than Rājādhīrāja II, as these dates work out correctly only for him and not for any other king known so far.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1218</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>1198-7</td>
<td>Mentions Gōkka of Vēṇṭi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1092</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1197-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1223</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1117</td>
<td>(4)0</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1212-3</td>
<td>Mentions the aśvamāda of a chief of the Kākepi kingdom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, there is also an inscription dated in the 31st year of the reign of Tribhuvanashakravarti Rājādhīrāja, without mentioning the equivalent Śaka year and recording the gift of a lamp in the time of the Vejanāpi chief Kūlūṭṭuṅga Prithvīvāra whose inscriptions are found to range from 1186 to 1199 A.D.

But a close study of these inscriptions as well as the history of Vēṇṭi in this period will show that the suzerainty of Rājādhīrāja there was only in name and that the country was ruled by the local chiefs who were practically independent, owing only nominal allegiance to Rājādhīrāja. It can be surmised from the above that this king was practically driven out of the Chōla kingdom in 1178 A.D. by his rival Kūlūṭṭuṅga III and that he found an asylum in Vēṇṭi as a refugee where he was probably treated with all the honours due to a king but nothing more. It would thus appear that Kūlūṭṭuṅga, though he failed in his attempt in 1165 A.D. to get the Chōla throne, finally succeeded in the attempt made subsequently in 1178 A.D.

To have made an attempt to assert his right and to capture the Chōla throne in 1165 A.D., even while Rājārāja was alive, Kūlūṭṭuṅga must have had at least some chance to succeed. Otherwise he would not have daredly ventured on the project. The troublous condition then prevailing in the Tamil country was probably propitious for him to launch the scheme. About this time a civil war broke out between two Pāṇḍya princes, Kulaśēkhara and Paranārāma, for the throne of Madurai. Paranārāma obtained the help of the Ceylonese while Kulaśēkhara was helped by the Chōlas. This war, which seems to have dragged on for some five or six years, did considerable havoc to the entire Tamil country and struck terror into the hearts of the people. Pallavarāyār who was responsible for the selection of Rājādhīrāja to the Chōla throne was the officer entrusted by the Chōla king Rājārāja II with the task of restoring Kulaśēkhara to the Pāṇḍya throne. From the Pallavarāyānapūṭai record, it may even be surmised that the installation of Rājādhīrāja as co-regent was hastened by the quick movement of events in the Pāṇḍya country. The Koṅgu king Kūlūṭṭuṅga I was the uncle of the Pāṇḍya prince Kulaśēkhara, the candidate supported by the Chōlas of the main line, and he also took an effective part in the war as suggested by the Ceylon chronicle. A record from Nērūr in the Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 17th regnal year of the Koṅgu king Kūlūṭṭuṅga, registers the gift of a village to his puruṣāta as gōṭrāḍāna before starting out on an expedition

1 *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 110 (No. 247 of 1893).
2 Above, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithvīvāra, Śaka 1108).
3 *A. R. Ēp.* 1909, App. B, No. 97; see also pars. 70.
5 *A. R. Ēp.*, 1925, App. B, No. 336. The name of the Pāṇḍya prince is partially lost and only karadāna is now available. The Mackenzie transcript of this record (*South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 716), where also the name is partially lost, has, however, the letter ‘ś’ at the beginning and so the name can be restored only as Kulāśēkharadāva.
to Madui to get the kingdom for his nephew (marumagapār) Kalaśikha. This Kōngu Kulottungā came to the throne in Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.) as evidenced by an inscription of his from Vijayamāgala in the Coimbatore District giving the year 13+1 of his reign as corresponding to Śaka 1085. Thus the Pāṇḍya civil war had already commenced and probably reached the second stage before his 17th year, i.e. 1166 A.D. The time was thus favourable for the pretender Kulottungā of the inscription now being edited to embark on his attempt to get the Chōla throne.

In this inscription, the Nidugal Chōla chief Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja figures as a subordinate or rather as acknowledging the overlordship, in a way, of the pretender Kulottungā. This chief had been the loyal feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Kālaśa who were the invertebrate enemies of the Imperial Chōlas of Tājāvūr. Thus, in the two inscriptions of this chief found at Hēmāvati itself, dated respectively 1162 and 1168 A.D. in the years immediately preceding and following the date of the present record, he mentions himself as the feudatory of the Western Chālukyas.

There must have been some special reason for Mallidēva-chōla to adopt this course in the intervening period. He being only a feudatory would not and could not have adopted this course unless it had the backing of his overlords, first the Western Chālukyas and later Kalaśchuri Bijaḷa.

A verse in the Tamil Nāvalar Charitṛ refers to the victory of the Chōla king Rājārāja II over Kālaśaṇapura. It states that the gates of the cities Kapāṣapuram (i.e. Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas), Lāṅkāpuram (the capital of Ceylon) and Kālaśapura (the capital of the Western Chālukyan kingdom) were always open to him. Another verse in the final benedictory portion of the Takka-yaga pparaṇē states that Rājagamabhira, i.e. Rājārāja II, removed the crown of the imposter (braviṣṭa) and crowned the Raṭṭa to rule over the great 'seven and a half lakh country'. This incident though mentioned in literature is not referred to in his meykkārtiyai. The omission of any reference to this incident in the meykkārtiyai of his Tamil inscriptions which extend upto his 18th regnal year shows that the king had not undertaken the campaign against Kūntala upto that year and that consequently the campaign must have taken place on some subsequent date. An inscription from Drākāhārama dated in Śaka 1085 and the 18th regnal year of Rājārāja II (1163 A.D.) registering the gift of a lamp by Pāṇḍāṃbhika, queen of the Vēlanāṭi Chōla chief Rājāpurudrāchādaya, contains a panegyric of this feudatory in which it is stated that he conquered Kūntala and the Kālaśa kingdoms and that the rulers of those countries ran away as soon as they heard the news of his starting on an invasion. That being the first year of his rule his conquest of Kūntala must have been achieved only then (i.e. 1163 A.D.). Kūntala in those days referred only to the kingdoms with Kālaśa as its capital where Kalaśchuri Bijaḷa was then the reigning monarch who had by then usurped the throne of his erstwhile overlord, the Western Chālukya king Tailapa III, but had not yet completely brought the entire kingdom under his control. In 1163-63 A.D., while 'in the course of a state progress undertaken with a view to secure the possession of the southern provinces', he was encamped at Bāḷḷiyānve in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. The Western Chālukyas, deprived of their throne and capital, were then

---

1 A. R. Ep., 1903, No. 698.
2 (This date has been taken by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar as that of the commencement of the war (above, Vol. XXV, p. 83).--Ed.)
3 Karattu-rājātṛgu-kālittu-rājāvāddai-kāḷpuratū-vavaṇṇa
   irāṭṭu-nū-kapāṭtām u infringē pāṇḍ-ivaṇ-asaṇṇē
   u rāṭṭu-nū-kapāṭtām-ūrūnditaṇḍu-nū-kāḷpuratū-Kāḷpuratū
   pūrattānai-Kāḷpuratū-pūrattām-Kāḷpuratū-puuṇum (verse 128).
   [The claim might have been an empty boast.—Ed.]
   Pīrāṭṭaṇāyai paṭṭaṇa-gaṭṭa-viṭṭha Iraṇghambhirāṇai vajjīram (verse 774).
   BII, Vol. IV, No. 1113.
holding some outlying provinces with the help of some loyal feudatories. Just about this time Tailapa III died. And we find Jagadēkāmalla III styling himself as the Western Chākulaṁya monarch some time in 1163 A.D. Tailapa III seems to have had other sons also. It was possibly to install Jagadēkaṁalla on the throne that Chōja Rājarāja II had to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to definitely postulate the course of events that took place and identify the king installed on the throne by the Chōja. But this much seems certain that Rājarāja II intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa and installed one of the claimants on the throne. Naturally this would have been resented by the other candidate for the throne as also by the Kālcihūri king Bījjiśa who had by that time usurped the Kalyāṇa throne. This is evident from the title Rājaṇa-kula-mahārāja assumed in 1171 A.D. by the Uchhāgaṇi Pāṇḍya chief Vījaya-pāṇḍya who was then ruling over Nāḷaṃbuvaṇḍi as a feudatory of the Kālcihūri. The setting up in 1185 A.D. of Kulöttunāga as a pretender to the imperial Chōja throne was probably the outcome of the above.

The donor, Sikkali-udājya-Śeṣṭiyāk, who had the grant given away by the hands of the king, i.e. Kulöttunāga, is described in the record as Viddha-puṇavaṇi-dātiṇamuṣaya which may be translated as 'the senior merchant and leader of the dāti community'. In some of the later inscriptions, this is expressed as Śrīman-mahāpuṇavaṇi-pāṇḍi Ubbaya-rāṇa-dātiṇamuṣaya in Tamil and Śrīmaṇ-mahāpuṇavaṇi-pāṇḍi ubbaya-rāṇa-dātiṇamuṣaya mahāprabha muṇiya apar in Kannada. It would thus appear that Sikkali-udājya-Śeṣṭiyāk was also a member of the merchant-guild known as Nāṇḍeśi and as '500 valiant men', which had its head-quarters at Aiyyavali, the modern Aikoḷa. An undated inscription from Pirājmalai in the Ramanathapuram District contains a panegyric of this body from which it will be evident that it had something to do with another organisation known as Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru. Another undated inscription from Tirukkaṇṭai in the South Arcot District recording the transactions of the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru contains substantial portions of the above proseāst. A record from Pillaiyagudi in the South Arcot District dated in the 4th year of the reign of Rājarāja II registers the benefactions to the temple made jointly by the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭu of the 70 sādus and the dāti dātiṇu dātaḷaṇu. Probably the two bodies Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru and the Dāsiyā śrīṭtu-nāṭṭṭavaru were two branches of the same parental organisation of the Nāṇḍeśi.11 The organisation Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru which came into being about this time very soon

---

2 Ep. Car., Vol. XI, Dg. 41. (This inscription is dated in 1154 A.D.) The earlier part of the record praises a king named Jagadēkāmalla whose indentification is problematical.—Ed.)
3 The same title is found assumed by one of his predecessors, viz. Tribhuvanamallā-Ṇāṇḍya who was a sub-ordinate of the Western Chākulaṁya king Vikramāditya VI, to commemorate the frustration of the designs of Rāja, i.e. Kulöttunāga (I. Ep. Car., Vol. XI, El. 68). But this does not seem to be a family title and it does not also appear to have been borne by the intervening members. The title was probably reused now in view of the appropriateness of the situation. Rāja here probably stands for Rājarāja II.
5 It would be interesting to note in this connection that the Kulöttunāga-Kōrai (K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī, The Osset. Vol. II, p. 116) mentions Satgavaṇaṇḍa and Nāḷaṇa as the names respectively of the father and the elder brother of this Kulöttunāga (III). These names sound more as of Telugu-Kannada origin.
7 Ibid., Nos. 72, 73.
8 ŚII, Vol. VIII, No. 442.
9 Ibid., No. 129.
10 Ibid., No. 201. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru in Tamil inscriptions. The record from Jambai in the South Arcot District (A. R. Ep., 1906, No. 67) of the 3rd year of Tribhuvanachakravarthin Kulöttunāga mentioning the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyaṉṭṭavaru of 70 sādus has to be assigned to Kulöttunāga III, taking Rājarāja II as a mistake for Parakāra.
11 The expression ubbaya-rāṇa-nāṇḍeśi of the above inscriptions probably denotes these two branches.
obtained a firm footing in the Tamil country and was very influential throughout the reign of Kulottunga III. We may not therefore be wrong in supposing that this organisation paved the way for the ultimate success of Kulottunga in getting the Chola throne.\(^1\)

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanaya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records and also suggested the possibility of the identification.

**TEXT**

**First Face**

1 Harāḥ (\(^1\)) Svasti Śriḥ (\(^1\)) Tribhuva-

2 nacohakravarti Kulottun-

3 ga-śaḍadāvara maniyādī-iran

4  \(\text{ṭ}\) = śvadāna Vyaya-samvatsarati(tu)

5 Āvaṇi-māsattu Nigarilī(ṭ)ī-

6 la-mandalattu=Chohirai-nāṭṭu-

7 p-Perunjēru-il tiru-virājyam pa-

8 ni=yaruḷugiga Śrīman-mahāma-

9 ūḍalēva(śva)raṇ=Uraiyur-ppura-

10 varādēvaṭaṇ Śrīmāhēvāra-

11 ṇ Tribhuvanamallā Malli-

12 dēva-śaḍamahārājaśa Vadjha-vaṭavah-

13 āri dēṭi-[mu]khyar Śikkaḷuṇḍaiya-.

14 āṭṭiyār īndra Śrinaga-

15 riyil Maḥiṇgēvaradēvaṛku=t-

16 tiruv-amudupadikkam=ddānam

17 panna vāṇḍi-kkon-

18 ḍu Mōrvēykkku vaḍaḍkki

19 Vaiṣiyakkkurikkukk-kki-

\(^1\) There seems to be no evidence in favour of this conjecture.—Ed.

\(^2\) The loop and ca are clear. Only the ū symbol is indistinct.

\(^3\) The letter  \(\text{ṭ}\) in the Grantha script is in this line: the symbol for  \(\text{ṭ}\) is engraved in the previous line.

\(^4\) The syllables raṭārū are inscribed above the line.
TRANSLATION

(Observance to) Hara (Śiva). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Āvani of the cyclic year Viṣva, corresponding to the 2nd year (of the reign) of Tribhuvarahakravitya Kulottungachāḍā, Vadvāna-vanakāri dēśi-mukhyam Śikkal-uḍaiya-ṣekṣiyār having got the approval of the illustrious Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalaśvaran Uraiyaś-puramāḥ śauśikarvan Śrīmāttāśvan Tribhuvana-malla Mallidēva Chōja-mahārāja who is pleased to rule (his country with the capital) at Perukēru in Śrīrai-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Nigarilōṇa-māndalam, for a gift (of land to provide) for the sacred food offerings to the god Maṅgāvadēvar in this illustrious city (Śrivāgarī), had the spring (Śrīvārī) including the garden (kollai) land comprised in it, to the north of Mōrvēy and east of Vaijāya-kēralai, placed in the hands of Śaṅkāśiva, the śhānarpati of the temple of the god Tiruviṁśevaṁ-uḍaiyaṛ, with libation of water by the illustrious hands of the king. Those destroying this charity will go to the hell to which those who commit the murder of Brāhmaṇas and cows in the auspiciō of (the god) Viśvēvarādēva at Vairāqas on the banks of the Gaṅgā (go). Let there be peace!
No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR
(2 Plates)

D. C. SINGH, OOTACUMUND

As noticed by A. Führer in his Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891, p. 46, there are four inscribed copper plates preserved in the temple of Yōga-badari (one of the Pańcha-badari) at Pāṇḍukēśvar (lat. 30° 19' 55" N., long. 79° 35' 30" E.), 54 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, in the Garhwal District of the Kumaun Division of Uttar Pradesh. A tentative translation of the inscriptions was published in 1875 by E. T. Atkinson in a collection of inscriptions from the temples of Kumaun and Garhwal and circulated with a view to securing information about the identification of the places and personages mentioned in them. The text of only one of these records was later edited by R. L. Mitra in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, pp. 71 ff., with a photolithograph. As, however, the work was not done quite satisfactorily, P. Kielhorn afterwards re-edited the inscription in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXV, 1896, pp. 177 ff. A detailed analysis of six records from Kumaun and Garhwal including the above inscriptions was also published by Atkinson in The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.-W.P.), 1884, pp. 469-85. But the analysis was based on inaccurate transcripts of the original records. Some years ago, information reached the Government Epigraphist for India that impressions of all the four Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate inscriptions had been secured for the Lucknow Museum. At his request, the Curator of the Lucknow Museum sent the impressions to the Government Epigraphist’s office for examination and transcription. The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.

I. Plate of Lalitaśrīradhā, Year 22

This is a single plate engraved only on one side. It measures about 24-4"×15-8" excluding a projection (with a squarish hole in it) about 4" long on the proper right side. The royal seal appears to have been originally fixed on this projection as is the case with the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the same king published by Mitra and Kielhorn. We know that the seal of this king had on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper left with a legend in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twenty-eight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each akṣara being about "4"×"4". The engraving seems to be deep and carefully executed and the writing is apparently in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of about the ninth century and are the same as those used in the published copper-plate inscription from Pāṇḍukēśvar. The use of initial ā and ī and final ṛ are noticed in the record. The upādhamāniya is employed in line 3. B has always been denoted by the sign for v. In line 25 there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 1, 2 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imperative verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of śrī or samśāna-bhāyastha. In respect of orthography, the inscription closely resembles the published record of the king, referred to above, and some other epigraphs of the period. Some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with r. The anuvṛtta is wrongly used in some cases for the final s on which, however, is usually retained before r. The dental nasal has been used for the anuvṛtta in anyāni cha in line 16. Sā has been used in place of ś in Khaśa in line 15 and ś instead of s in ṣaṭṭika in line 13, while i is found instead of i in aśṭūra in line 25. The word sahāspani is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form sahaśrāṇi in the previous line.

(277)
The charter is dated in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the Vīśāvā-saṅkrānti, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Karttika in the 22nd year of king Lalitaśūradēva’s reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti as well as to the 3rd day of the dark half of Māgha in the king’s 31st regnal year. Kiilhorn suggested that this date may be the 22nd December 853 A.D. As the date of the present record was also known to Kiilhorn through its rough translation published by Ackinson, he noticed the curious coincidence that the details work out faultlessly with the 25th September 854 A.D. He further observed, “The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśūradēva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in 853 A.D., and in the whole of the 9th century A.D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates as well as A.D. 853 and 854 do.”

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikaśagura by Paramabhaṭṭarakā Mahārāja Paramēṣvara Lalitaśūradēva who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukēśvar, was the son of P. M. P. Isthagāṇadēva and grandson of Nimbhara. The names of the mothers of Lalitaśūradēva and Isthagāṇadēva were Vēgādevi and Nārāyādevi respectively. Lalitaśūradēva’s own queen is known, from a Bāṇāvar inscription referred to below, to have been Sāyadhēvi (possibly the same as Sāmāyadhēvi mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of year 21). King Nimbhara, who is not endowed with imperial titles and may have been the founder of this royal line, is said to have been devoted to the god Dhūrjāti (Śiva) and the goddess Nandā-bhagavati, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaon Division is called Nandādevi. There is a river called Nandākini rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Trishul in Parganas Bādhān, lat. 30° 16’ 10” N., long. 79° 48’ 5” E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandādevi, which is situated near Tantārakharak above the village of Sātōl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbhara’s son and successor Isthagāṇadēva; but he is called paramabhaṭṭmarāja and a devout worshipper of Mahāvēra (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalitaśūradēva is also endowed with the same characteristics as his father.

There is an inscription at the temple of Śiva called Bāṇāvar (Vyāghrāvāra) situated at the junction of the Gomati and Saraj in Patti Katyr in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, 1833, pp. 1068-58. A note on the same record is also found in E.T. Atkinson’s The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, pp. 486-70. It was, however, not noticed that the text of the inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghrāvāradēva. The defective nature of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first of the three charters, as they are given in the absurd forms Śrī-Bhasantamadēva (read as Masantamadēva in the translation and Basantamadēva in Atkinson’s account) and Śayavārvanvaravāradēva. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as Śrī-Kharparadēva, his son Śrī-Kalyānagarāja-ēva and his son Śrī-Tribhuvanarājadēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalitaśūradēva of our record. His name has been read as Śrī-Bhūḍēvadēva, although the reading paramabhaṭṭarakā-mahārājadhīṁrāja-paramēśvar-ēpamiś-ādhyā-śrī-Bhūḍēvadēva seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalitaśūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbhara and Isthagāṇadēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalitaśūradēva’s son, in which the grant was made. Little therefore is known about the duration of his rule and about the relation of this group of rulers with those mentioned in the other two charters incorporated in the Bāṇāvar record."
The present inscription records the grant of some land which was in the possession of a person named Dānudākaka and was lying within the jurisdiction of the administrative unit called Thappalasātri forming a part of the vishaya or district of Kārttikēyapura. The name of the vishaya shows that it was the district round the city of Kārttikēyapura which was apparently the capital of Lalitaśrīdeva. For the religious merit of himself and his parents, the king made the grant in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka installed by Bhaṭṭa Śrīpurusha in a village called Garuḍāgrāma. It is interesting to note that the king, who claims to be a devout worshipper of Mahāvīra (Śiva), made the grant in favour of Nārāyaṇa or Vishnu. It is said that the temple of Nārāyaṇa should get some help from the Brahmachāris attached to the tapōvana at Badarik-āśrama. This shows that Garuḍāgrāma was probably close to Badarik-āśrama. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts (mahādēv-ākṣhapal-āṭhikṛita), whose name was Pīlaka. The same official is also mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the 21st year of Lalitaśrīdeva's reign; but the name was wrongly read there as Yājaka. The record was engraved by Gāṇghahādra from the draft of the original prepared by Āryaḥ who was in charge of the Department of War and Peace (mahāśandhivigrah-ākṣhapal-āṭhikṛita). Both these persons are also known from the published inscription of Lalitaśrīdeva.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kārttikēyapura is identified with Bājīnāth or Vaidyanāth (lat. 29° 54′ 24″ N., long. 79° 39′ 28″ E.), a village in Pārgana Ďānpur of the Ħazūr Tābaī in the Almora District. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson,1 the city was built by a Kātyāra king of the Kātyāra valley in Kumaon on the ruins of an older city named Karviapura. It is not improbable that the name Kārttikēyapura is a Sanskritized form of the aboriginal name Kātyāra. Possibly Kārtipura of the Allahabad pillar inscription2 was just another Sanskritized form of the same name. Badarik-āśrama is modern Badrināth (lat. 30° 44′ 29″ N., long. 79° 32′ 1″ E.) which is a village in Pārgana Malla-Painkhand, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, and contains the celebrated temple of Badarīnātha or Badarī-Nārāyaṇa. The tapōvana referred to as located at Badarik-āśrama may possibly be identified with modern Tapoban or Dhak-tapoban, a village on the left bank of the Dhaulī river about nine miles from Jōshīmāt. It is considerably away from Badrināth; but the Bhavishya-Badari lies near it. Thappalasātri and Garuḍāgrāma cannot be identified.

TEXT


5 Nimva(mha)ras-tasya tansyas-tat-pād-śudhyāto rājā mahādēvi śrī-Nātadēvi tasyāṃ utpannaḥ paramamāhāśevaraḥ paramavara(bra)hmasyaḥ śita-kripāṇa-dāhā-oṭkhiṣte-matī-bhā-kumbhā-kripāṇa-oṭkhiṣte-mukṭa-

6 vād-yasāḥ-patāk-śohohhrāya chandrikā-paññastita-tārā-gaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraaka-mahārāja-dhiraṣa-paramēvāra-śrīmad-śrīṣṭigāṇadēvāv-aśtas-tasyā(h) puttras-tat-pād-śudhyāto rājā mahādēvi śrī-

7 Vēgādēvi tasyāṃ utpāṇaḥ tasyāṃ paramamāhāśevaraḥ paramavara(bra)hmasya(h) [Kali]-kalākara-pānī-śatāka-magha-dharaṣy-uddhāra-śhūrī-śhūryā-śhara-Varāhā-charitaḥ sahaja-mati-
vibhava-viśviva-viśittle-

8 sthagītā-ārāti-pratīpa-dahanaḥ a[ti]-vaibhava-samāhārā-śramaṇā-[sarasaṃaṭa]-bhūmabhūtakuti-kūṭana kīṣa[rj]a-śā-ḥāras-ḥūrtā-śīhā-śramaṇa-bhaira[ha]ḥ atunga-raṇa[ti]-kripaṇ-
vā[bhā]-gana-gaṇa-

9 guna-bhaṭṭa-kripaḥ[ti]-oṭkhiṣte-sāla-saya-lakṣham-prathama-samāliṅgān-śalakānasa-śalakhashiva-
saṣṭhā-saḥsundari-viśhitā-kara-śhāla[da]d-vajalaya-[ku]juma-prakara-prakripā-aṭavathasa-
śamanva(sarva)-vīdētha-śīrītī-

paramēvāra-Śrīma-Laṁ-

11 taśṭura dhēvāḥ kuśali śrigaṃ Kṛttī[ka]śi-purva-śīrāḥ samagati[n-sarva]ṃ-
ēva niyogasthā[n-rāja]rājanaśaś-rājaputra-rājāṃsya-aṅkṣa-mahāśaṃkṣa-śikkura-
maḥāmanuṣya-maṃ-


14 ḍīkā-śhitvaramāṇaka-rājasthāṇya-śīhāpayati-bhūgopati-tarpatyā-śiva-opati-khaḷa[ra]-ra-kha-
pratiṣṭhā[kī]-kriṣṭahādiḥkīrtvā[ra[ṇ]a]-daṇḍapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghāṭapāla-khēṭapāla-pra[tanta]-


16 da-Hūn-Odra-Mād-Ān[дра]-Chāpāla-paryānt-sarva-samvā[svāva]-svan-sanc[sta]-aśa[n]a-
napa[dī]n-paḥ-ṭha[Ṭa-a]-vānāyān-ḥaḥ(ā)-śya[ḥ]-ḥaḥ-kirit[ti]-śrīśrīdhonaśaṃpat-
padā-padm-śapivinaḥ pratīvāsī-

17 a[sa]-chā Vṛ[Brāh]man-ṭtarā[ṛ]-yaḥkharāḥ māṇyati v[ō]-bō[ṃ]-bhūyati samā[jō]-payas[ta]-
vasa-samvā[svāva]dītas[ma]-upari-samvēcita-śīhāyō Ṭhappasaśā[r]-pratiṣṭvaya-[ba]-
[da]-Dūndavāka-parihūyamā-

18 na[rā]-[s]vrat-sthānano mayā mātica-pittīr-śīṭamāṣa-ḥa punya-yaśoḥ-bhūvīdyāya-pavana-
vīghāṭṭit-śvartāḥ-pattra-ḥaṣṭāla-taraṅa-jitalōkam-aṇvalōk[ya] jalla-vu(bu)dvu(du)-
d-ākāram-āsāra[ḥ]-śeṣ-ā-

1 The word is also found in the form rājānaka, the same as rūnaka of later records.
TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) May there be success | Hail! From the prosperous (city of) Kārttikāyapura; through the grace of the holy Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) who has destroyed the strength of the dense darkness that robs all discrimination, by removing it with the shower of filaments which are the abundant wide-spread pure rays of the lotuses which are his feet, red with the intoxication from imbuing the bright lustre of the lights that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the cretes of the points of the beautiful crowns and coronets on the innumerable heads of all the lords of the gods, demons and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion; (and) whose matted hair is washed by the Ganges;

1 Motto: Anuśūlakā for this and two following three verses.
* Motto: Viśvabhir. There is a design here indicating the end of the writing.


23 na paribhṛjāṣṭaḥ-Āś-aś-opari-nirādhōtaś-naṣṭaśpravāvā dharāṇa-vidhārana-paripanthe-ādik-ōpādṛvā maṇāṣaṇi na karttavyāḥ-[tō]-nyāth-ājñā-hānau mahā-dṛṇa[ḥ] svād-iti | nivāśāṃ(ah) tasya dēvasya Va[ba].


26 sudā bhukt[ā]ḥ rājāhṇa-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [+] yasaḥ yasaḥ yadda bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ (lam) | [+] Sva-dattām-para-dattāṃv(ā) vṛ(āḥ vṛ) yō harēta vasundharāṃ(rām) | ahaśāṁvā śa[ṛa]-sā[ṛa]haḥārāṃ(su)pi śa-viśhaṇyā[ḥ] jāyē kṛ-.

27 mi[ḥ] [+] [+] Śrīhaṃvavāṃṣ[tił] va[rja]-sahāsarasāpi svarge śiḥṭhati bhūmīdhaḥ | ēcohohṛttā chāśnunantā chha(cha) tāny-āva narakē vasaē[ḥ] [+] Gām-ēkā(kā)hi-cha suvarṇapena-cha bhūmēr-āpy-ēkā(m)āṅgulaṁ(lam |) hrītvā narakām-śātyā yāvaḍ-ā.

28 bhūtita(va)-saṃplavah(vam) [+] [+] Iti kamala-dal-ēmva(mbu)-vindu-kūlam śriyam-anuṣṣhutyā mana(nu)eha-jirīvitaḥ-oha | sa[ha]kalena-dāmm-udāḥrisaḥ-eha vups(bu)[ddhvā] na hi puruṣaḥ sva-ki(kū)r̥t̥ta-yō vilēyṇ(ah)pyāḥ[ḥ] [+] [+]
(Lines 3-5) (there was) the illustrious Nimbāra, whose splendour shone forth as he overcame the darkness that was his enemies by the strength acquired by his own arms through the grace of Lord Dīrghājīva; whose body was adorned with kindness, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, liberality, profundity of character, propriety of conduct, noble behaviour, wonderful achievements and a multitude of other qualities; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men (or, who was an incarnation of the seed of the great Samba tree of the blessed); whose fame was pleasant like that of the kings at the advent of the Golden Age; (and) whose person was endowed with fortune (derived) from the lotus-foot of the holy Nandā.

(Lines 6-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Nāsūdevī, (i.e. the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramāthāśvara Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Iśtagnādāvī, who eclipsed the array of stars as by the moonlight by the elevation of his banner of fame as he drew out excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, cut open with the edge of his sharp sword;

(Lines 6-11) his son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Vēgādevī, (i.e. the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramāthāśvara Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Lalitāsāradāvī, who played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Viśṇu in the boar incarnation), fit for the burden, in lifting up the earth that had sunk into the distressing mud of the sin of the Kali age; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanish before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brows when (his adversaries) begin to collect great strength; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of wreaths of flowers of the bracelets dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous (lady, viz. the) fortune of victory; as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mule, yet ringing, sword and arrows; (and) who keeps (other) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Prithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bent bow;

(Lines 11-17) (he), being in good health, pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the officials assembled in the illustrious district of Kārttikeyapura, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects, headed by the Rājas (feudatory rulers), Rājanakas (chief-tains), Rājaputras (princes), Rājāmatyas (ministers), Sāmanas (feudatories), Mahāśāmanas (great feudatories), Ṭhakkuras, Mahāmanushyas, Mahākārtalikas (possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs), Mahāpratiharas, Mahādaṇḍāyakas, Mahārājapramātāras, Śrawhanīgus, Kumārāmatyas (Amūyas or executive officers enjoying

---

3 The aśkalās-paka-grāhī is also mentioned in other records (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 12). The expression aśkalās-paka-grāhī (yāja-pāta) qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 220). The word aśkalās has been used in these cases in the sense of ‘all’; cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 320, note 4; Vol. XXX, p. 115.

4 The word ṭhakkura is believed to have derived from the Turkish title te-gin. Both ṭhakkura and mahāmanuṣyas appear to indicate noblemen or zamindars.

5 Literally the ‘great door-keeper’; but the Mahāpratihāra seems to have been the head of not only the palace-guards but also of the king’s body-guards.

6 Literally ‘the great leader of forces’. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrate.

7 Mahārājapramātāra is no doubt derived from pramātar (i.e. a person who gives evidence or proof) found in some records. He was possibly a counsellor to the king in matters judicial.

8 Śrauhāhiṣṭa literally means ‘wound and fracture’. He was probably the royal surgeon.
the status of a Kumāra), Uparikas (provincial governors), Dvāśāddhaśāddhikas, Āśāddhikas, Chaupāddharāppikas (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves), Śāulikas (superintendents of tolls), Gauleikas (superintendents of police stations), Tadoyuktakas, Vinayuktakas, Pattiākakāmpikas (officers to investigate offences against royal edicts and charters), Āśādharāppikas (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, Dīkas (envoys), Prakapikas (officers in charge of sending messengers), Dānīkas, Dāṇḍapikas (police constables), Gañamāṇas (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), Khāḍikas (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), Aṅkavamāṇakas (special messengers), Rājasthānīyas (governors or landlords), Vīhāparātikas (rulers of districts), Dvāropatīs (officers in charge of Jāgra), Taropatīs (superintendents of ferries), Śānapatīs (superintendents of cavalry), Khaṇḍārakakas, Pratiśūrikas, Stāndhikikas (Thānādēkas, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), Varīmāpālas (superintendents of roads), Kṣītapālas (superintendents of forts), Ghatāpālas (superintendents of landing places on river banks), Kshētrapālas (superintendents of cultivated lands of the Khas Mahal, Pratapāl (wardens of the Marches), Kṣatvābhūvāmāniśādharikas (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), Bhaṭtas (ministrates), Mahātama (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (and) foremen of guilds, down to the Khādas, Kūrtas, Dravīdas, Kāthikas, Gaṇas, Hūgas, Uḍrakas, Mēdas, Andhras and Chāṇḍikās, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers (probably, policemen and peons), servants and others and to other enumerated and unenumerated people living in dependence on our lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people headed by Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 17-24): Observing that the moving world of the living is as unsteady as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze and noticing that life is without substance just like a bubble of water and knowing that fortune is as vasillating as the tip of the ear of an elephant cub, for the attainment of beatitude in the next world and in order to cross the sea of mundane existence, I have assigned by the grant of a charter, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and of my own, on the auspicious day when the sun enters the (autumnal) equinox, such land as is being enjoyed by Dānduvāka (and it) within the bounds of Thappalakari in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at Garudāgriśa by Bhaṭṭa Śripurusha, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings, obligation of rice, etc., (and) dancing, singing, music, sacrifices, etc., for the repair of what may be broken or cracked and for the maintenance of servants and attendants as well as for the execution of new work; (the said land is to be) endowed with the exemptions arising out of its nature (as a free gift), not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, nothing to be accepted (as rent or tolls from it), not to be resumed, (but to belong to the doner) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as a piece taken out of the district (to which it belongs), as far as its proper boundaries and pasture lands, together with trees, gardens, springs and cascades (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the doner), enjoying (the grant) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

---

1 The Kasajita Arikāśātra says that officers purified by the fear-test should be appointed to ārama-kārya, i.e. emergency work. The Dvāśāddhaśāddhikā was probably an official of this class.

2 We know that grants were often made sa-dvāśāddhikā, i.e. together with the right to enjoy the fines for the ten offences. The Dvāśāddhikās were probably officials who dealt with the ten offences, viz. theft, murder, adultery, use of abusive language towards others, untruthfulness, slandering, incoherent conversation, covetousness, desire to do wrong, and tenacity for wrong. Cf. Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 189, note 4.

3 Tadoyuktaka and Vinayuktaka appear to be subordinate ruling officers appointed not by the crown but by the governors or viceroys. Cf. Sub. Ins. Ins. pp. 381, n. 1; 384, 387, 386, note 9.

4 Dānīka may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying Dānīpikā is apparently the same as modern Oriya Dānāpikā, i.e. a village watchman.

5 The Khaṇḍāraka (cf. Khaṇḍapāla) may have been the officer in charge of a small territorial unit, or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins.

6 The Pratiśūrika was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 286.
troubled by the above-mentioned peoples or by others in the slightest degree by seizure, restraint, robbery or in any other way. Whoever will act contrary to this will, in violation of my order, commit a great offence. Something proper may be done in regard to the dwelling of that god by the Brahmacārīs attached to the tapovanā belonging to Badarikāśrama; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the Brahmacārīs.

(I. 34-25) In the twentieth year of the increasingly victorious reign: year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttikeya. The Dītaka (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Pīśka, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (The plate has been) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gaṅgabhṛpta from the words of the document written by, or, under the order or instruction of) the illustrious Arāyaṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

(Lines 23-28) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.

II. Plate of Padmaśātṛa, Year 25

This is also a single plate inscribed on one side only. It measures about 23-1" in length and 17-2" in breadth with a projection about 4-8" long containing a squarish hole, meant for fixing up the seal, towards the proper right. Like the inscription of Lalitaśāra cited above, this plate also contains 28 lines of writing, the size of the akṣaras being similar.

The characters closely resemble those used in the inscription of Lalitaśāra; but the date of the charter, as is indicated by internal evidence to be discussed below, must be several decades later. In line 26, there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 2, 3, 4 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of only one benedictory stama at the end, the entire charter is written in prose of an ornate style. The orthography is similar to that of the records of Lalitaśāra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like nīva for nīva in line 13, kītra for kītra and ākītra for ākītra in line 16, yathāraksha for yathārakha in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that final ṃ has in a number of cases been changed to anavāra; cf. gatāṃ for gatān and sthāṃ for sthān in line 10, etc. But the anusvāra is replaced by ā in anayāstā in line 16 and ā in viśāti in line 28. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśāra’s records discussed above. Noteworthy is the retention of the final m before v in many cases and the non-observance of the rules of sandhi in a number of places.

The date of the charter is given as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year of king Padmaśātṛa who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the first half of the tenth century A.D. Line 21 refers to the uḍāṅga-saunakṛṣṇi as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikeyapura by Paramabhuṭṭaraka Mahāraja-jāśāharaja Paramāśvara Padmaśātṛa who was the son of P.M.P. Dēṣaṭadda and Mahādevi Padmaśātṛa, the grandson of P.M.P. Ichchhātaṭṛa and Mahādevi Singhūḍhā, and the great grandson of Salpāḍītya and Mahādevi Singhvahalavā. Like Nimbar, grandfather of Lalitaśāra, Padmaśātṛa is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as devoted to the god Chandraśākhara (Siva) and the goddess Nandādevi. His successors Ichchhātaṭṛa, Dēṣaṭadda and Padmaśātṛa are endowed with imperial style and are called paramaśātvata and paramabhuṭṭara just as Nimbar’s successors. Padmaśātṛa was probably named after his mother Padmaśātṛa. It will be seen that both Lalitaśāra and Padmaśātṛa ruled from Kārttikeyapura. There are, however, some indications that the latter ruled several decades later than the former. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the orthographical peculiarities of the present inscription, which have already been discussed above and appear to indicate a later date. There is also some indication in the style. It appears that the description of the
progenitor of Padma's house as dāna-dama-satya-kaurya-kauśīrya-bhārya-kham-dāg-oparimīta-guna-gan-akāśa-Sagara-Dīlpa-Mendēkāri-Dhvandhūmāra-Bhairava-Bhagiratha-Dakṣara-s-probhīt-Kriyāgura-bhūpa-la-charita-sāgara is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbara, founder of Lalitaśāra's house, as dāga-dākṣarīya-satya-sattva-dīla-monaka-kaurya-antrārya-vadhīrakta-kārya-vari-ādī-guna-gan-ākāśa-ākṣara-ākṣara. . . . Kriyāgura-bhūpula-la-labha-kṛtvā. Expressions like pūṣpa-paśa-mātta kṛtvā (i.e. having incised the charter on a heated copper plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitaśāra. It may further be noted that the list of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitaśāra. The two lists are common with the exception of Mahāśāmanuṇādhīpati (in addition to Śāmanta and Mahāśāmanuṇa), Vishayāpīrīaka (in addition to Vishayapati) and Kāṇḍapati found in the present charter and Pratīṣṭhīka mentioned in Lalitaśāra's grant. The Pratīṣṭhīka may have been the superintendent of gladiatorial combats in which pratīṣṭhīka (literally opponents), i.e. prize-fighters, took part. The function of the Kāṇḍapati cannot be determined with certainty; but, if the word kāṇḍa may have indicated different branches of such combats, possibly the Kāṇḍapati may be taken to have been the same as the Pratīṣṭhīka. Whatever that may be, the addition of the Mahāśāmanuṇādhīpati and the Vishayāpīrīaka in the list of Padma's officials seems to suggest that he flourished later than Lalitaśāra. In that case, the house of Lalitaśāra may have been overthrown shortly after his son's rule by Sākṣātītīya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at Kārttikeyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padma also ruled from that city.

According to Atkinson, a copper-plate grant of Dēṣamā, father of Padma, is preserved in the temple of Bāliśvar in eastern Kumaun. It was issued from Kārttikeyapura in the 6th year of the pravardhamāna-viśaya of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Āśala district by Dēṣaṭāda, it records the grant to Vijayaśārva of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives evidence of Sākṣātītīya and his queen Śātīrayali (or Śātīrāvalī) followed by those of their son Ichchhaṭāda and his queen Śātīrāvalī, whose son was Dēṣaṭāda. The record was subscribed by the chief military officer Bhātta Harāśarman, by the chief military officer Nandātīya, and by the scribe Bhadra. Nothing definite can be said about the details, quoted above from Atkinson's account, without examining the original plate.

The inscription records the grant of the following pieces of land situated in Drumati which formed a part of the Tādgaṇapāra viśaya as well as in Yōśi. It probably also forms a part of the same viśaya: (1) four pālīka (habitation) in the possession of four persons named Ṛṇghādītīya, Ādudākāle, Śātīrāvalī (Śātīrāvalī) and Garādītīya in Drumati; (2) fifteen bhūgas (allotments of land) belonging to Paṅgara in Drumati; (3) Togali-vṛtta (possibly a piece of land originally offered for the maintenance of a person called Togali) in Yōśi; (4) a Karamānta-vāṭikā (barn) situated in Yōśi near a ṣahākrama (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅgā and between Kālnāntara and Uliya; (5) a piece of land, measuring one Drāṇavāpa according to the measurement current in the locality, near a pāṭāl tree at Kākasthāliyā-grām in Drumati; (6) a piece of land, measuring one Drāṇavāpa according to the measurement of the land, and belonging to Dhanākā, at Randhavakar-grām in Yōśi.

In a paper entitled Kūhyāvāpa, Drāṇavāpa and Ādhaṇavāpa, published in the Bāhūrtava-Kaumudi. Part II, pp. 943-48, I have suggested that the original Drāṇavāpa as known in ancient Bengal was probably equal to 16 to 20 Bengal Bigás (between about 5½ and 6½ acres) of today. Whether the Drāṇavāpa of the present record indicates the same area of land cannot be satisfactorily determined. Literally a Drāṇavāpa signified originally an area of land that required one Drāṇa measure of seed-grams (or their seedlings) of the staple crop for sowing. It is said that the two pieces of land

1 Op. cit. p. 471. For Atkinson's note on the records of Padma and Subhiksharta, see ibid., p. 472. As p. 474 he says that the grant of Dēṣaṭāda recorded the gift of the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyaṇavarmman in favour of Vijayāvāra.
measuring one Drāpaca each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandāka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarikāśastra or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the patti, the viśālī and the karmānta were granted by the king in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka having engraved the charter on a heated copper-plate and having endowed the grant with the customary exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts, whose name seems to be Bhāṭṭa Dhanasra. The charter was written by Nārāyaṇadatta, who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace and was engraved by Nandabhādra whose name seems to associate him with Gaṅgabhādra mentioned in the records of Lalitāśāstra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Kaṁṭhikāśapura and Badarikāśrama has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitāśastra. Yūdhiṣṭhira is no doubt the modern Jūdhimath or Jūdīrorhām (lat. 38° 38' 24" N., long. 79° 36' 24" E.), famous for one of Śiva's Jūṭīrī-śilās, in the Painkhandā Pargana of the Garhwal District. I have not been able to identify the district named Taṅgagāpura and the subdivision named Drumatih, although Taṅgaṇāpura seems to be the district round modern Jūdhimath and Drumati a region not far from it. Taṅgaṇāpura is mentioned along with another viśālī, called Antaraṅga, in the inscription of Padmaśa's son Subhikṣārāja, edited below. In The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, p. 357, Atkinson suggested that the district of Taṅgaṇāpura lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of Antarāṅga in the Doab between the Bhāgil and the Alaknandā. The people of this region may be identical with the Taṅganas or Taṅgaṇas of early Indian literature.¹ The villages of Kaṁsthalikā and Raudhavaka cannot be identified; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jūdhimath. The Gaṅga or the upper course of the Ganges has also been mentioned in connection with one of the pieces of land. In describing the librariness of king Dēśaṭa, father of Padmaśa, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. Pṛaśya or the eastern, Udīṣya or the north-western, Paṁśya or the western and Dākṣiṇāṣṭya or the southern. The non-mention of Madhya-dēsa, between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and between a place in the East Punjab and another in the East U. P., is probably explained by the fact that the king's dominions were included in that land and that only distant countries required to be named. It seems that the Himalayan and Vindhyā regions, often mentioned separately in the Purāṇas as two additional divisions of India, have not been taken cognizance of. It may alternatively be suggested that by the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

TEXT²


2 t-ātita-śākta-mahāvasī bhagavata-Śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śaṅkaraḥbhagavata-śa

⁴ From impressions.
* Expressed by symbol.
* Read omni-purifible.
THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

5 ras-tai(e-trai)sky-ānanda-janānā[Na]ndādevi-charaṇa(νs)-kamale-lakshmi(ksh)thā śama-
dhīgat-ābhimata-vara-pras[da*]-dyōtīta-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-Śaṅkādityaṃ-tasya
putrastat-pād-ānu-

6 dhīyāty rājñ maḥādevi śrī-Singhūdevi śasyāṃ-uppannāḥ paramamahāvārah paramavra-(braḥ)mahāvṝgaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-dhūrṣya-paramāvara-śrīmad-iccha-bhaṭṭāravas-tasya

7 putrastat-pād-ānudhyātī rājñ maḥādevi śrī-Singhūdevi śasyāṃ-uppannāḥ paramamahā-
śrīmata paramavra(braḥ)mahāyāṃśaṃ dhānātī-kriṣṇa-āttar(a)[u]ra-sarāṅga-tatesāḥ Prāchya-
Odhya.

8 Pratīhāya-Dākśīṇaḥ-pāta-dvijavāra-mukhyāṃśaṃ-savarata-bhāma-dān-āṁrit-ādīrīkṣa-karaṃ-
samast-āśrāti-chakra-pramarcdanaḥ Kali-kalasā-mātāṅga-sūdēnāḥ Kṛitayuga-īharmā-
śrīmatatrāḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-

9 ka-mahārāja-dhūrṣya-paramāvara-śrīmad-Dēṣṭadēvas-tasya putrastat-pād-ānudhyātī
rājñ maḥādevi śrī-Padmālādevi śasyāṃ-uppannāḥ paramamahāvārah paramavra(braḥ)-
hmāyāṃśaṃ parama-

10 bhaṭṭāraka-maḥārāja-dhūrṣya-paramāvara-śrīmad-Padmātēdēvas-kusali | Taṅgaṇāpura-
vahyāṃ samupetavit(tān) sarvāṇaṃ-eva nīyogasthāḥ(thān) rāja-rājanaka-śrīputrō-
rājāmyāt świe-

11 manta-mahāmanta-mahākā(ka)rtākṛtikā-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratīthāra-mahāśaṃ-
tādhipati-mahājaprama(ma(tājrā)*-sahbhagā-kumāramāty-āparika-dusadhīyasya-

12 dhā(δn)(a)-kṣa-dāsāparādhika-chaurōdharaṇika-āulikā-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-
peṣṭākāpāchārīka(kā)jābhabhāgādhikrita-hastyaśvōṣṭra(ba)lavyāpptāka-dūta-prēhaṃ-

13 ka-dāntika-dād(δn)āpāddika-vahasyayāpptāka-ganāṃgikā-khādīgīkā-bhūtvaramānāka-rā-
jasthānīya-vahasyapati-bhūgapti-kāḍapati-tarapaty-asva(āva)pati-kha(kha)nd-
a

14 roko-va-ṭhānādhipītī-vartmapalā-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kāṭṭbrepalā-prāntapalā-ḥalākura-
mahāmanuṣya-kisō(dō)rāvadāvāgūmahīṣyadhikrita-bhaṭṭa-mahattam-āt(bīха)ra-varin-

15 śrēṣṭhi-purūgāṁ(gēn) s-aśṭāṣṭase-ṣrākiṣṭy-ūdhīṣṭhānāḥ(yān) Kṛkṣa-Kirēṣa-Draśīda-
Kalōgā-Gauta-Hūny-O(ν-O)ra(qra)-Mē-Andra(nhra)-Chāḍāla-paryantān(tān) sarvare-
ṣa(rī)*vāyāsī(mā) saranaṃ-jāmakadānān-bhaṭṭa-čaśvāv-

16 din-iñyāṣēcha(nyāṃsc), krittī-ākṣīrantān-samast-pāda-padā-pājivināḥ pratīṣṭasāṅsān-
ca Vṛk(Bra)maḥapātāravā(ṛaḥ) yādābharanam mānapati vōd(bō)dhayati maṁjāśpayaty-asu vass-
śavni(satwvi)diram-upari-sa(rī)*-

17 sīcērā-vahyā-pratīṣṭha(ba)ddhā-Drummati-pratīṣṭha(ba)ddhā[nt]+ Dirghādīti-Vu(Bu)ddhava-
(ba)-Śīdādītya-Gaṇḍītyān(byābhu)yamāna-pallikā-čhatasām tānā tānsminy-ēva

18 Drumastyān Paṅgārasya pa-

19 Beḍhadā-bhāgā-tyāṇa Yōśi(ā)-pratīṣṭha(da)ddhā-Tōgālā-vṛtti-āparī-param-āpi karma-
ṃaṭhākāśalike-sāmany-ēva Yōśi-pratīṣṭha(da)ddhā Gaṅgā-pachchī(sch)ma-kūl saṁkrama-sa(ma)-
nikriyāḥ Śrīkaṇḍō[na]rā pari(chobhīnā)* Uktā-pari-

20 chhohim-āpar[a] cā tān-marminy-ēva Drumastyān Kākasthalīkā-grāmē paṛtē(tā)vata-viṣkha-
talāma-bhāgē bhūmī tādyā-deviṣṭhāra-ṃānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā āparā cā Yōśi-pratīṣṭha(ba)-
ddhā-Raṅgādha-grāmē ḍhāṇakaśmaṃ-

21 sāka-bhūmī tādyā-deviṣṭhāra-ṃānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā [*] Etā(ah) drōṇa-dvayavāpā-
bhūmī-Nnndādkāna mūlyāṇa gra(gr)hitē B(ah)ra[va]sūkṣmarama-bhaṭṭāraṇāya pratīṣṭadē []
Mayā cā sa(rī)*vīv-sīv(ṣ)a[ljē(ah)] paḷālikā-vṛ[ti]
TRANSLATION

May there be success! Hail! From the illustrious city of Kaśī. The illustrious Sālopāditya who was established in the purifying rays that manifested over the expanse of the earth as it glittered under the sun of his valour established in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies and acquired by his own slender arms which had been purified by the dust of the feet of the host of the feet of the holy Chandrāśekha (Śiva) who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre resulting from the extirpation of the mass of darkness by the light issuing from the nails of his feet which are covered by the rays of the beautiful gems attached to the crores of crowns of all the lords of gods and demons; whose body was purified by great penance and stood above all stains of the Kali age; (the force of) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacy of the three powers (viz. the majesty of the king, the power of good counsel and the power of energy); who being endowed with a multitude of numerous qualities such as charity, self-control, truthfulness, valour, heroism, patience and forbearance, was the repository of deeds (such as those) performed by Sāgara, Dilpa, Māṇḍhātri, Dhundhumāra, Bharata, Bhagiratha, Dāsaratha and other kings of the Golden Age; who caused delight in the three worlds; who was decorated by the lotus-feet of Nandāśvī; (and) who was the sun in the whole earth that was illuminated by the brightness of the agreeable boon which he obtained (from the goddess).
THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKÉŚVAR

(Lines 5-8) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Śīṅghibaldevī, was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Icchābrāhmacārīa, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śiva); and who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 6-9) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Śīṅghibaldevī, was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Dēśāṭadēva, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śiva); who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; who was compassionate towards the poor, helpless, wretched and afflicted and the seekers of protection; whose hands were wet with the water taken for making offerings of gold continuously in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udichya, Pratīchya and Dākshinātya countries (or, from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters); who crushed the entire circle of his enemies; who destroyed the elephant that was the sin of the Kali age; and who was an incarnation of the righteousness of the Golden Age;

(Lines 9-10) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Padmumāldevī, in Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Padaṇṭadēva, who is a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śiva); and who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 10-18) (he) being in good health pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the functionaries, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of Tāṃgaṇāpura, headed by the Rājasa, Rājagacca, Rājaputra, Rājāmāgya, Sāmaṇata, Mahāśāmaṇata, Mahākāśākṣikīs, Mahāśāmāṇayākas, Mahāṣāmāṇēs, Mahāśāmāṇaghīptas, Mahārajapramūtāras, Śravahānakas, Kūmārāṅgyas, Upārikas, Dusābhagadānikas, Dēśālateṭalikas, Chavāṭṭhadānikas, Saudikas, Gāsālikas, Tāmālayuktas, Viniyuktakas, Pāṭaṭkapachārīka, Aśāsahabhaṭṭādānikas, Hastaśadāśrabhānāyāpritakas, Dātas, Prēśapuitka, Dāvidikas, Dāvapāyikas, Vāshayasāyāpritakas, Gāmāgikas, Kāśikas, Akṣikas, Rājākumāriyas, Rājajitīnīyas, Vīshayapātis, Bāgāpātis, Kāyapatīs, Tarapatīs, Āhāpatis, Khaṇḍakīs, Sīhādānikas, Vartapālās, Ḥaṭṭapāla, Kṣetrapāla, Prāntapāla, Tākhkuras, Mahāmaṇvāyikas, Kāṭavaduvāyogahādānikīs, Bhatās, Mahattamas, śāhās, Vāyikas and Śrēdaḥśivas; to all habitation (and) to all the people down to the Khaśas, Kīrātīs, Drāvīdas, Kaliṅgas, Guṇās, Hūnas, Ujīras, Modas, Audhras and Chāḍyās; to the soldiers, policemen, servants and others; and to other enumerated and unenumerated living in dependence on my lotus-feet; as well as to the neighbouring people headed by the Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 16-20) Four pallikas in the possession of Dīrghādītya, Buddhabalā, Śīrādītya (Śīvadītya) and Gaṇādītya attached to Drumati which is attached to the above-mentioned district; and also fifteen allotments of Paṅgara in Drumati in the same (district); and also the sāhās of Tōgāla attached to Yōśī; and also a Karmāntsthālikā; another (i.e. Karmāntsthālikā) in the same (district), attached to Yōśī, on the western bank of the Gaṅga, near the bridge (at) demarcated by Khaṇḍiṣṭāraka and Ulākā another (piece of) land in the region of the pavement under the Parāvata tree at Kākasthālikā-grāma in Drumati in the same (district) measuring one Drūṣṭavāpa according to the customary standard of its locality; and another (piece of) land belonging to Dhanāka at Randhavaṇa-grāma attached to Yōśī, measuring one Drūṣṭavāpa according to the customary standard of its locality. (Of all the above pieces of land), the land measuring two Drūṣṭavāpas have been obtained at a price by Nandūka and have been dedicated (by him) to Bederikarāmas-bhaṭṭāraka.

(Lines 20-26) I, too, observing the living world to be as unsteady in movement as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life is void of substance like a bubble of water, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub’s ear, have assigned by the grant of a charter and having incised it on a plate of heated copper all this (land) together with the
land covered by the "pallikā, the "sṛitti, the "karmānta, etc., on the occasion of the sun's entry upon his northern course, in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of mundane existence (and) to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, to the holy (and) illustrious Badarikāśrama-bhātāraka for providing, incense, flowers, singing, music and dancing and for worship as well as for the repair of what may be broken or damaged; (the said lands are) to be endowed with the nature and exemptions (attached to free-holdings); not to be entered by the soldiers and policemen; free from the taking of anything (as rent or tolls); not to be resumed (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure; as pieces taken out of the district (to which they belong) as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land reach; together with and including the trees, gardens, springs and cascades; along with (the right to enjoy), all future dues payable to the king, (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of the gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the donee) enjoying (this grant) in comfort shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint and robbery or in any other way. Whosoever may act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

(Lines 26-27). In the twenty-fifth year of the increasing reign of victory: year 25, the 3rd (?) day of the dark half of Māgha. The Dīkṣā in this case is the illustrious Bh. īpa Dhanasara who is the Māhādāna-tākṣapatai-ādīkṛita. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyaṇadatta who is the Māhāsudhīvaṁgra-tākṣapatai-ādīkṛita; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 27-28) (One of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

III.—Plate of Subhikṣharaṇīdeva, Regnal Year 4

This is a single plate measuring about 22-2" in length and about 19-2" in height. Its corners, especially the upper right and the lower left, are damaged with the result that a number of letters at the end of lines 1-7 and at the beginning of lines 39-42 have broken away. Fortunately, however, the lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practically the same size as those discussed above, it contains no less than forty-two lines of writing. The size of the akṣaras (about 3" × 3") is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitāṭāra and Padmaṭa.

The characters closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmaṭa whose son, as we shall presently see, is the issuer of the present charter was. The inscription contains the ordinary numerical figures for 4 and 5 (line 38) as well as the initial vowel a (lines 13, 25-26, 32, 40). ā (line 40), i (lines 26, 27, 29, 39), u (line 39) and ē (line 33) and the final form of t (lines 38, 40). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of seven verses indicating the usual imprecation and benediction at the end of the charter, it is written in prose throughout. The peculiarities of language and orthography are the same as those of the inscription of Padmaṭa. Both the visarga and the upadhmāniya have been applied in "tupanakā-paraṇa" in line 11. The anusūtra has been wrongly used for the final n in nigōsthitam in line 13 and has been further modified to n in "nīgān-khaśa" in line 17. It is substituted by n in "nīgān-khaśa" in the same line and by n in "te-vai in line 26 and in sāmāra in line 31 and by n in chapalaka in line 33. In some cases the anusūtra has been used superfluously; e.g. khaṇḍika in 35, sukhāṁ-pātra in line 37. In sīriyam (line 42) ī has been used for ī. The word upadrama has been used in the neuter (line 37) and saha (Pārskrt samaka) is employed in the sense of "belonging to". We may note also the use of traya for 3ī and dvaya for 2ī. Interesting is the use of rājaśāsi in place of rājaśāsi (line 39). Although the rules of sandhi have not been observed in the prose portion in some cases (cf. khapliṇa ashta in line 19) the last word of the second pāda of a verse has sometimes been joined in sandhi with the first word of the third pāda (cf. lines 39-40).
The grant is dated in the fourth regnal year of king Subhiksharajadēva. The date cannot be verified; but the record may be assigned to a date about the second quarter of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of Subhkshapura by king Subhiksharajadēva. There is no doubt that the city was named after the king and was his capital; but whether it was situated near the king’s ancestral capital Kartikēyapura cannot be satisfactorily determined. Subhiksharaja is said to have been the son of king Padmaṭa and Mahādevī Iśānadēvi. The description of Padmaṭa’s ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padmaṭa himself. The description of Padmaṭa is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaiśampāyana, Daṇḍicēhi and Chandragupta. This Chandragupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Rāja Vikramadītya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramadītyas appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramadītya saga, the hero of the legend has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty. This is one of the rare cases in which a royal court-poet has preferred the personal name of Chandragupta to the more popular titles Vikramadītya and Sāhasārāka. The liberality of Chandragupta-Vikramadītya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjana inscription of Amōghavasara. Unlike his predecessors who were Śaivas, king Subhikshaka was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the vishayas or districts of Jangālapāra (already known from Padmaṭa’s record) and Antaraṅga made by king Subhikshaka in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durgā-bhāṭṭārākī who is said to have been installed in a locality called Harshapura. This group contained the following pieces of land probably all of them attached to a village called Nāmaraṅga-grāma: (1) land styled Viḍmālāka belonging to Vasohshēntika lying within the jurisdiction of Nāmaraṅga-grāma and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (2) land of (or, at) Hīhūṣahīr measuring eight Nālikāvāpas; (3) land at Vāṭā-phpāla measuring four Drōṣavāpas; (4) land styled Vaiśākha, belonging to Bhēgāru and measuring three Nālikāvāpas; (5) house-site belonging to Subhāṭṭākā, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Kāhānu as well as another plot called Kaṇḍayikī; (6) land called Śaśikā, measuring two Drōṣavāpas and belonging to Prastara and others; (7) land styled Yakṣahasthāna, belonging to Gōvīr and Naṅgākā and measuring three Drōṣavāpas; (8) land called Talasāṭākā, belonging to Viṁśikā and measuring ten Nālikāvāpas; (9) land called Kāhīrakāu, belonging to Vannavāka and measuring three Drōṣavāpas; (10) land called Gāṅgēkā, belonging to the Śrīśeṭhā Jīvāka and measuring eight Drōṣavāpas; (11) land called Paivītta, belonging to Jīvāka, Siṁhādīya and Iśchhhhahala and measuring three Drōṣavāpas; (12) land called Kāṭāṣaḷika measuring two Drōṣavāpas; (13) land called Nyāyyapāṭṭāka, belonging to the people of Nāmaraṅga and measuring ten Drōṣavāpas; (14) one ṣastaka (probably a piece of land that has fallen in the possession of a person) of Panigara who is known also from Padmaṭa’s charter; (15) land called Vāṭāhala, belonging to Vasohshēntika and others and measuring six Drōṣavāpas; (16) land called Kārakṣaṭṭākā, belonging to Siṁhādīya and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (17) a paṭhikā (habitation) in the possession of Tuṅgaṭaka that measured six Nālikāvāpas and was attached to the Karmānta (barn) of Śrīshāropura (probably the same as Harshapura).

The second group of the pieces of land was granted in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭāraka installed on the bank of the Viṣṇu-gaṅgā. This group contained the following pieces: (1) land called Anūpa lying within the jurisdiction of Vaśāhikā-grāma, belonging to Nāhālākā and others and measuring nine Drōṣavāpas; (2) four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attaka and measuring one Khaṅḍāpa; (3) land called Jāṭipāṭṭāka.

---

1 Atkinson suggested that Subhkshapura was most probably another name for Kartikēyapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 483).
together with Ijjara; (4) two pieces of land at Samijjā measuring nine ḍṛṭāvārīs; (5) land called Gāvaraka lying within the jurisdiction of Paīris-grāma, belonging to the sori of Attaka and measuring twenty ḍṛṭāvārīs; (6) land called Ghaseṛukâ, belonging to the inhabitants of Yūyika-grāma and measuring two ḍṛṭāvārīs; (7) land called Śāhā measuring one ḍṛṭāvārī; (8) land called Valivardāśīla measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (9) land called Ihaṅga measuring five ḍṛṭāvārīs; (10) land called Rulaṭhi measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (11) land called Tiridhā measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (12) land called Kuṭṭanāśilā measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (13) land called Gaunūdārika measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (14) land called Yuga measuring one ḍṛṭāvārī; (15) land called Karkaṭāyāla measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (16) two hastas (the same as hastaka discussed above) of Paṅgara; (17) land called Dālimūlaka, belonging to Dhanṭaka and measuring two ḍṛṭāvārīs; (18) land at Grāmāvāraka, belonging to Śrīṣhala and measuring two ḍṛṭāvārīs; (19) land called Śrīṣhāvāmā, belonging to Ichchhāvarāhana and Śiṅḍītiya and measuring five ḍṛṭāvārīs; (20) land called Karkaṭāyaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the viśaya and measuring four ḍṛṭāvārīs; (21) land called Chidārika, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three ḍṛṭāvārīs; (22) land called Pannakōṛālika, belonging to the villages of Čhaṭavāsaka and measuring twelve ḍṛṭāvārīs; (23) land called Lōhārāsāmānā, belonging to Tuṅgādītiya and measuring six Nāṭikāvārśana attached to the Karmānta at Yōśi and measuring fifteen ḍṛṭāvārīs. These lands were granted together with a Matikā meaning a hut, cottage or cell.

The third group of the pieces of land was granted to the god Brahmāvara-bhaṅṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land: (1) Ravaṇapallikā attached to Śvāyikā lying to the west of Śaṅkakata, to the east of Anvārīgantaka, to the north of the Gaṅga and to the south of Samābaka-grāma; (2) Gīraṇḍakapāṭikā belonging to Vantāka of Śvāyikā and measuring seven Nāṭikāvārśana.

All these lands including two pallikas were dedicated by the king in favour of the three gods, viz. Durgādēvi, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmāvara, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself with the usual exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The term ḍṛṭāvārī has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. The measurement of a Nāṭikāvārśana cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word nāṭika is not recognised by them like ḍroma in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v. nāṭi, nāti (i.e. nāṭika), it is said, "According to the Abhidhānapadipīka, 484, the nāṭi measure is the same as the paṭuka (Sanskrit prastha) but from the Prātimoksha Śūtra, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil nāṭ is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Magadhese (Prāṭī, 81)." It seems therefore, that the nāṭika was originally regarded as the same as prastha which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as the one-sixteenth part of the ḍroma. A Nāṭikāvārśana of land thus appears to have been ḍroma of a ḍṛṭāvārī originally. A khāri or khāri was usually regarded as equal to sixteen ḍṛṭāvārīs. A Khāri-vārśana of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a ḍṛṭāvārī. A very interesting feature of tenancy or ownership of soil is indicated by the references to pieces of land said to have belonged to all the inhabitants of Nāmbarāṇa-grāma, to all the people of Yūyika-grāma, to all the inhabitants of a viśaya or district, to the agriculturist house-holders of a locality, and to the inhabitants of a locality called Čhaṭavāsaka.

The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift whose name was possibly Kamalaśīla. The charter was written by Jēvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandābhadrar who is also known from Padmaṭa's grant. Jēvaradatta of this record seems to have belonged to the family of Nārāyaṇadatta who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace under Padmaṭa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōśi and Tuṅgāpāṭa has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. Yōśi is modern Jāmāṣṭh and
THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKEŚVAR

TAṆṆAṆAPURA was probably the district round it. The identification of the visheśa of AntiRAṆGA
and the localities called Harashapura, Nāmbarāṇga-grāma, Varēshikā-grāma, Pari-grāma, Yōyika-
grāma, Chājāvaka, Ravvapatikā, Sīmeṣṭa, Auvāriganṭika, Samēhaka-grāma, etc., is uncertain.
The GAṆṆA or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of
land as in the case of Padma's charter. The bank of the Vishnu-gaṇgā has also been
mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to
Vishnuprayaṅg which is a halting place on the bank of the Alaknanda in Pargana Painkhand.
"The name Vishnuganga", says the Garhual District Gazetteer, 1921, p. 204, "is also given to the
river (Alaknanda) for some distance of its course above this Chatti (halting place) owing probably
to the existence of the Vishnu kund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of
rock between the Dhauli and Alaknanda rivers, one and a half miles from Joshimath."

TEXT

1 Siddham² Svasti [*] Śrīmat-Subhikṣahapuṭṭa-samasta-sur-śūra-pati-makuta-kōṭi-saṁśi-
vishṭa-vikṣa-māṇikya-kīrāṇa-vīchechhurita-chaṛaṇa-navha-mayūkha-śikṣa-timira-patāla-
[prabh-avāda]-

2 ta(ś)-tiṣṭya-sakti-mahāyaśō(bu) bhagavatā-chaṇḍrasā-śabhaṣya-chaṛaṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-
pavitra-nitra-nilu-bhuja-tīrījita-ānēka-ripu-chaṛaṇa-pratiḥti (śthi)ta-pratāpa-bhāskara-
hāraṭa-[bhuvan-ābhā-gāvīr-bu]-

3 va-pāvaka-śik-āvati-vīma-saṣa(k)ala-Kali-kalanka-saṃudbhū-t-ōdāra-topū-vadātta(ta)-dēhā⁴
   sakti-tīrāja-prabhāva-saṃvīṁsi(h)saṃvīṁsi(t)ita-hita-hēti-dāna-dama-satya-śurya-
   śauṇyā-hairiy ca-kahām-āvay-a(parimita-gun)-

4 gaṅ-ākalita-Saṅga-Dilpa-Māṇḍhāṭi-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhagiratha-Dustara-prabhāti-
   Krita-yuga-bhūpāla-chaṛaṇa-sūgaras-trāıkāy-ānanda-jananō Nandādevi-chaṛaṇa-kamala-la-
   [kaḥitaṃ sama]-

5 dhigat-ābhimar-vara(ra)-prasaśā(di)-dyotīta-nikīl-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śri-Saṁbhādiya-
   tasya puttras-tat-paḍ-āṇudhyatō rājī mahādevi śri-Siṅghava(b)acādevi tasyām-
   utpahanā parāmāmām.

6 bēväraḥ paramavra(brā)hmayāḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-hīrāja-paramāyava-
   Ārīmad-Hoebheja-tanvāns tasya puttras-tat-paḍ-āṇudhyatō rājī mahādevi śri-Siṅghu-
   dēvi tasyām-utpahanā para-

7 mamāmēvāraḥ(raḥ) paramavra(brā)hmayō dim-āṇātha-kripaś-ōtaraḥ(ra)-saṅgagata-
   vatsalaḥ Prachiya-Dūchya-Bṛhatya-Dūkhiṇātya-dujavara-muhkhyānām-anavarata-hema-
   dān-emit śrīvaṃśika-

8 kar(ar)™ samast-ārāti-chaṛaṇa-pramarddhanā Kali-kalasha-mātaṅga-sūdanaḥ Krita-yuga-
   dharma-āvatāraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahāraja-hīrāja-paramāyavār-ārīmad-Dēsaṭādēvān-
   tasya puttras-tat-paḍ-āṇudhyā-

¹ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
³ Padma's record reads here "ādiṣṭe-kāma-bhakti ".
⁴ The sign for ācāsa here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of esamārāa.
9 ṛkṣit mahādevi śrīmat-Padmāldēvi tasāyam＝utpannāḥ paramamāhāśvaram paramavara(brāhmanyaḥ svayam＝utkāṭa bhāsavad＝asī prabhā vitāṇa＝sava(brāhmanyaḥ ākṣita=vā(ba)hu=v(e)(ba)ja=vīrvarjīt＝ātēṣṭa=digṛ=ām).

10 ta-praṇām＝ōpanita=kari-turage=vibhūṣapānavastraya=pradāna=tirakṣit＝ātēṣṭe＝va(Ba)li=Vaikarttana=Ḍukēhī-Chandragupta=charitaḥ＝chātur=udadhī-parikhā＝paryantā=mēkhalā＝damāṇaḥ kaḥitēr=bhartī paramabhūṭāḥ[ṣa]*ka.

11 mahārājāhīrāja-paramśvarā-śrīmat-Padmātadēvaḥ(va)=tasāyam(sya) puttras＝tattī=pād＝śauḍhyātō rājī māhādevi śrímad(id)ī)jānadēvi tasāyam＝utpannāḥ(uma)ḥ paramavaih=naḥ paramavara(brāhmanyaḥ suvidita＝aśtra＝pradīp＝aḷōj).

12 ka＝dūr＝āpaniṣita=Kaḷītitimira＝nīkara＝hēl＝ākula＝sakala＝kalē＝kalēp＝ālaṅkita＝sara[ḥ]* bhuvana=vikhyāta=durmuḍ(arātī＝sīṃantini=vaśihavya＝dikṣā＝dāna＝dakṣa＝aika＝guruḥ prati＝pakṣa＝lakṣmi＝haṭha＝harana.

13 kṛṇḍita=prachanda＝dōrdanda＝darppa＝prasaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraṇa=mahārājāhīrāja＝paramśvarā-śrīmat=Subhikṣaḥrajasāvaḥ kuṣati | Taṇḍaṇapura＝visheṣyā Antarāṅga＝vīshayaḥ cha samapagatāḥ(ta)ṁ sarvāṇaṁ eva niyogasa(ethāṁ(ethā) rāja).

14 rājanaka＝rājaputtara＝rājaṁatiya＝samante=mahāsūmata＝mahāka＝kārttikā＝mahādānajānaya=maḥāpratihāra＝mahāsūmataḥ(hipati=mahārājatmātara=saarabhaṅga=kumāramātī＝ōparika＝duḥkṣadhyaya(sājñhaṇika＝dā[sa])pa).

15 rāhika＝chaurōḍharaṇika＝gaunika＝gautika＝tadāyuktaka＝(vvi)niyuktaka＝paṭṭakāpāhaṭārik＝āati(sā)haḥbhakti＝bhikṣa＝vīṭṣa＝(ahu)va(ba)lavyāpītaka＝dūtra＝prāsa(eha)＝nīka＝dāṇḍika＝da＝(tā)ṇḍapaṇīka＝gamagamika＝khyāgik＝ābhīva.

16 ramāṇaka＝rājasthāniya＝vīshayapati＝bhūgapati＝kāṇḍapati＝taraṇaya＝asvapati＝khaṇḍarakaḥ＝sthānēdīhīrya＝vartapāla＝kōṭṭapāla＝ghatṭapāla＝khettrapāla＝prāntapāla＝ṭhakura＝mahāmaṇeṣṭhāya＝kīsa(u)(a)ramadāvāyogamahābhūṭahīrya＝bhūṭa＝ma.

17 [ha]ttama(m)ā(a)hi(ba)ra＝vanīk＝chohṛṣṭhi＝purōgūn＝uṣṭhāda＝apakritya＝adhiḥṣiḥ(aḥṣiḥ). niyōṇa＝Kaśa＝Kīraṭa＝Draśīḍha＝Kalīga＝cāva＝Hūm＝Oṃdra(i)d(i)ra＝Mēd＝Andhra＝Cāṇḍa＝paryantarā=sarvāsamv(a)ṣa＝sāṃ＝samastra＝jānapadāḥ=bhāṣa＝ōṣṭi＝sāvaka＝ādina＝anyāṁ(cha) kṛttikī.

18 rūτaṁ＝āsamat＝pāḍa＝padm＝ōṣajvināḥ pratīvāsinaḥ＝eke Vṛ(Brāhman)＝gṛta＝yadāṛha＝[n]* mānasati vō(ba)dyati samājīkāpayati＝asuto vas＝samv(a)ṣa＝ṣa＝eke＝ṣa＝jānapadā＝bhāṣa＝ōṣṭi＝sāvaka＝ādina＝anyāṁ(cha) kṛttikī.

19 Viḍīmālā＝nāma＝bhūmiḥ shaṇāḥ nālīkānāḥ vāpā*[n] tathā Hīṁsāryā(m)* bhūkhāṇḍa＝(ṣa)ṁ＝ashta＝nālīka＝kā＝vāpa[m]* tathā Vaiḍīpālaḥ bhūkhāṇḍaḥ cha＝tūpāḥ drōpāṇāṁ vāpa*[n] tathā Bhūgar＝saṭkā＝Vaṇolāk＝ahādhiṇa＝bhūkhaṇḍa＝[m]*[n].

Note: The text is in Sanskrit script and contains classical Sanskrit grammar and poetry.

* Read ṭimīra.
* Read yṣa Khaṭa.
* Read ‘niyogasvācha.
* Read ‘vaṣṭikāvāpa.
* The aśāhara raṣṭ is in context on an omission.
* Read cōṭhātāhīṭa-vāpa.
* We may also suggest bhūkhāṇḍa-vāpaḥ and similar corrections in the other cases below, but the corrections shown in the text are preferable. 
Three plates from Pandukésvar


22 kā-nāmā bhūmi[h\*] saṣṭā-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Jīvāka-Siṁhāditya-ś-Cṛdhīkha-(ba)janā(nī)| satka-Paivaṇī-nāmā bhūmi[h\*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Khaṭṭālī-śaṭṭōka-bhūmi[h\*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Nāmaṁ(ma)-raṅgīva-samasta-ja[jānapadāna(nāṁ)]

23 satka-Nyāyapāṭaka-nāmā bhūmi[h\*] dāa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Paṅgara-hastakaṁ-ēkaṁ tathā [Vachbohja(ba)-Vaiśvāma]-Kama-Dārjīya-Pratham-Ādityānaṁ satka-Śrīvinda(ba)-abhīdhana-bhūmi[h\*] satārod̲(i)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Śīlāditya-satka-


26 yaṁ khūri-vāpaṁ tathā [Jājāṭpaṭaka-nāmā bhū(h\* Ijara-samanavitaṁ(tā|) tathā Samijjāyāṁ bhūkhaṇḍa-dvayaṁ nava-drōṇa-vāpaṁ tathā Attaka-puṭṭraṇāṁ satka-Paṇḍra-grāma-pratīva(ba)ddha-Gōvarak-abhīdhana-bhūmīrvaṁ(r=vvihāati)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Yoiy-

27 ka-grāma-nivāsinānāṁ satka-Ghaṃsīrakā-nāmā bhūmi[h\*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Śiṅgara-nāmā bhū(h)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Valavardha[nā]-nāmā bhū(h\* ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Luṅgana-nāmā bhū[h\*] paṅcha-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Vulaśhi-nāmā bhū(h\* [trī].

28 yā(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|), tathā Tirīṇa-nāmā bhū(h\* ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Kūṭṭaṭhīla[nā]-nāmā bhū(h) ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Ganaḍārīka[nā]-nāmā bhū(h\*) ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Yuga-nāmā bhū[h]* drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Karkaṭṭyāla[nā]-nāmā bhū[h\*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-

29 vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Paṅgara-hastē(ṣta)-dvayaṁ tathā Dhanaka-satka-Dālimūkha-nāmā bhū(h) dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Śiṁva(ha)-saṭṭa-Grāmīḍarākē bhū-khaḍa[jīn\*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā|) tathā Toḥavardhaṇa-Śūlādityayūś-satka-Sūkaṭvaṁśi-bhūḥ paṅcha-drōṇa-

1 The intended reading may also have been Bhāṣādām or trayaḥṣṭā
2 Read *Śaṁhāna.
3 Read *nālikā-vāpa.
4 The rules of Sandhi have been ignored here.
5 Read *naṁ-bhīdhibhūpāp.
6 Read *mādībhūtām.
7 It is difficult to determine if *ṛma is a mistake for nāma.
30 viśam(pāḥ) tathā viśayinām[1] satka-Karkṣaṭaka-bhūḥ chaṭāṛṇām drōḍāṁḥ vāpa[m] [*] tathā kuṭapu(m)bhijinām satka-Ridhārkā-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōḍā-vāpaḥ(pāḥ) tathā Chaṣaṇaka-grāmāṇām satka-Pannakor[n]a(kā)nām-bhūḥ dvāda-[drōḍā]-vāpaḥ(pāḥ) tathā


33 sapta-śāmikā-vāpā bhagavaṭā Śrī-Vra[Bra]ma[n]Śv-ra-bhaṭṭārakāya [*] Śto(tō) bhūmayaḥ(yaḥ) pallikē dvē cha mayaḥ mātā-pūḍrō-śatmanāḥ cha pūnyya-yaṁ-bhuvvīyddhayā pavāna-vighaṭā-śavattva-patraḥ-eṣat(ḥ)a-lasṛṣṭa-jīvalokyā(k)]m-a


35 Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Vra(Bra)māśvarabhaṭṭārakabhyāḥ ganda-dhūpa-dipa-puṣhophalāpana-samnā(m)ṣr̥jana-gita-vādya-nṛṣṭya-va[b]ri-ḥaḥ-sattra-pravartan-āṛtha(m[*]) khaṇ(a[k]haṇḍa-sphuṭita-punaḥ[*]jaṁśa[k]a(e)ka(ṛ)a[ṛ]ra[ṇ]-āṛthaḥ-ḥaḥ prati-


38 vyam-atō-nysthā[1] śēṣa-vyatikramē mahā-brūḥa syād-īti [[*]] Pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-rāja-saṅvatsaraḥ caṭurṭha Samva(Samva)t Āj(Jy)ṣṭha-vadā 5 [[*]] Dūta-kṣaṭṭha mahādānākheṣapalādbhikṣa-Śrī-Kama[la]-

---

1 Read viśayinām.
2 Read chūtra-droḍā-vāpā.
3 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Lōhārasmā-nā[mā].
4 Read śeṣa-nāśiḥ-ṛṣṭāḥ.
5 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Gāmīya-Raṅgā-nā[mā].
6 The intended word may be samādhyā, 'a sacred locality', or samābheda, 'a confusenon'.
7 Read 'śimāḥ or śimāḥ.
8 Better read Gaṅgāyām uttarataḥ.
9 Read māṇḍap-ṛṣṭāḥ.
10 Read 'drōḍā na.
11 Read karṭṭārya-nṛṣṭaḥ.
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success! Hail! From the illustrious city of Subhikshapura;

(Line 1-8) (Similar to lines 1-9 of Padmäta's charter.)

(Lines 8-13) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Padmalakṣādevi, (i.e.) Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajanādhīrīja Paramāvarta, the illustrious Padmāta
deva who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śiva); who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; who surpassed all the activities of Bali, Vaikarttana, Dadhihi and Chandragupta by continuously making offerings of elephants, horses and ornaments presented (to him by various kings) with obeisance from the end of the countries of all the directions that were rendered by himself devoid of prowess of the arms and were divided into various parts by the expansion of the radiance of his unseathed shining sword; who was the lord of the earth which has the girdle on the hip extending as far as the most of the four oceans;

his son, who meditates on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Isānādevī, is Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajanādhīrīja Paramāvarta, the illustrious Subhiksharājādeva; who is a devout worshipper of Vishnu; who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; whose body is adorned with all the groups of arms acquired with ease and who has removed far away the collection of the darkness of ignorance due to the Kali age by the instre of the light of the scriptures completely mastered (by him); who is the unique preceptor, expert in imparting initiation into widowhood to the women of the ferocious enemies who are famous in the world; who destroyed the expansion of the arrogance of the strong staff-like arms of the enemies by forcibly carrying away their fortune;

(Lines 13-18) (List of officials, similar to that in Padmāta-deva's record.)

* The remnants of the last akṣara suggest la. The intended reading may therefore have been Kamalaśīla-

[^*]

* Read "ā śivaṃ".

* Read rajabhiṣaṇāvyaṃ.

* Read "dabhiḥ" yaśya.

* Metro: Anushtubha for this and the following two verses.

* Metro: Śatśatm. There is a design here to indicate the end of the writing.

[^*]
(Lines 18-53) The various pieces of gift land dedicated to three deities as detailed in the introductory discussion above.

(Lines 33-38) The purpose of the grant and the privileges going with rent-free holdings as in the corresponding sections of the records of Lalitaśura and Padmaśa.

(Lines 38-39) In the fourth year of the increasing reign of victory: year 4, the 5th day of the dark half of Āṣāśṭha. The Dūtaka in this case is the illustrious Kamalaṭa who is the Mahāāṣṭhaśapatapādāśkṛta. It is written by the illustrious Īśvaradatta who is the Mahāśoḍhinaśhapādāśkṛta and is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 39-42) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.
No. 39—TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

(3 Plates)

A. S. GADHE, BARODA

The two copper-plate grants which are being published now were brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao, the then Assistant to the Director of Archaeology, Baroda, in January 1953 when he was conducting trial excavations at Mota Machiala which is a small village about seven miles to the north-east of Amreli, the headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay State. The information regarding the plates was supplied by Shri Jani, a pottery-marksmen employed during the excavations. Shri Rao brought the inscribed plates to me when I was camping at Amreli. I examined them on the spot and purchased them from their owners for the Archaeological Department, Baroda. My thanks are due to Shri Rao and Shri Jani for bringing these records to my notice.

The grants belong to the Maithra rulers of Valabhi, A to Dhruvaśena I and B to Dhruvaśena II. Grant B had a thick coating of rust and many scratches on it. Both the plates were chemically treated by Shri Mathur, an Assistant of the Archaeological Chemist in India, who was working on the preservation of the wall paintings in the Tambekar Wada at Baroda. This made it possible for me to photograph the plates. I am highly indebted to him.

The characters of the records belong to the Southern Class of alphabet. Noteworthy are the forms of the jīvnāṃśa and upaśṛvāṃśa occurring in Grant B (line 16 and 18). The final consonants are represented with a horizontal bar on the top (cf. in line 23 and in lines 24-25 of A). As regards orthography, the consonant following in a conjunct is doubled. The doubling is resorted to before (cf. pād-āntuṣṭa in line 11 of A). Among the instances of wrong spelling may be mentioned the use of rī for ri. The language of both the records is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is as usual in verse, the rest being in prose. Both the charters purport to make gifts to Brahmans. Many of the villages and areas mentioned in them could not be identified. But these seem to have been situated, around Mota Machiala where the plates were found.

A. Grant of Dhruvaśena I, Year 206

The two plates of this grant, which are engraved on their inner sides only, have two holes at the top for rings with which they were originally secured. Both the rings are now missing. The plates measure 11½ × 6½ each. They were found in a very good state of preservation.1

The charter was issued from Valabhi by the Maithra king Dhruvaśena I. It bears the date: Sarn 206, Āvayuṣa śu. 5 and purports to record the grant of a piece of cultivated land (ṅāda) known as Thunṣarakolika in the eastern part of the village of Suwarṣṭiṇī (or, less probably Kasuvarṣaktiṇī) included in Śinaṇarṣṭaka-sthali. The land was 100 padāvara (Bighā) in area. The gift was made to the Brahmans Gaṅgasarma, Gaṅgadeva and Chuñika of the Śiṅḍilya gotra, who were students of the Vājasanēya school of the Sāka-Yajurveda.

1 The plates were purchased for Re. 20 from Shrimati Narji of Mota Machiala. Mota Machiala is generally spelt Mochiala.

2 [The inscription reads Thunṣakolika which seems to be the name of a person of the Kolīka community. This person seems to have been the possessor of the land.—Ed.]

3 See Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, part i, pp. 77-78, note 8. [The exact area of a padāvara is unknown.—Ed.]

4 [See below.—Ed.]

(200)
The Dikaka who executed this grant was Prasādha Mammaka and the scribe was Kikkaka.

Dhruvasena I succeeded his brother Drōpasimha. Including the present grant, seventeen of his charters are known so far. His earliest known grants are those of year 206 (525 A.D.) and the latest of year 226 (545 A.D.). Taking into consideration the latest known grant of his predecessor and the earliest known record of his successor, a reign of about 30 years from 519 A.D. to 549 A.D. may be attributed to him.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Sinabarastaka-sthali seems to have been a small revenue sub-division and may correspond to a modern Thānā. Dr. H. G. Sastri has identified Sinabarastaka with Simarana, 7 miles north of Kundala in Saurashtra. I do not agree with this identification. The donees resided at Kāsahrada which is of course Kāsandrā, 12 miles north-west of Ahmedabad.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Svasti [nit] Valabhitaḥ prasabh-prasāta-śānārāṇaḥ Maitrakānena(ṇa)m-ṣatula-bala-sapatna- maṇḍala-ābhoga-

2 sanmaka-samprahāra-śata-labhiḥ-pratapaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-ādana-śānārāṇa- ārjau-ārjuk-ānu- rāgo-nu-

3 rakta-maṇḍala-bhritya-mitra-śrī넷-bal-āvāpta-rājya-ārīḥ(ārīḥ) paramamābhēvarah ārī 
śeṇāpati-Bhaṭakkaḥ tasya su-

4 tēṣ-tēṣṇa-maṇḍala-śreyat-ōpāya-sūkta-saṃyut-kriyā-śū(śū) māḷaḥ ārīṇa-vaṇata-satru-čhūḍa-maṇi-prabhā- 
vichohurita-pāda-nakha-

5 pānkti-dīdhiṭhī dī(ṭī) su-śāṇētha-jan-ōpāja-vyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamābhēvarah śeṇāpati- 
Dharmasthalaṁ-tasya-ānujaḥ-

6. tēṣ-pāda-abhipraṇāma-prasāsta-vimala-maṇi-maṇiḥ Manv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmma-
Dharmarāja uva vihi-

7 ta-vinayav-yvyastāḥ-paddhatir-ahkha-bhuvana-maṇḍala-ābhoga-svāminā paramasvāminā 
svayam-upahita-rājya-a-

8 bhīṣēka-mahā-vigrāt(a)ṭa-āṇa-āvāpata-rāja-ārīḥ paramamābhēvaro maḥārāja-Drōpasimhaḥ 
śiṁha uva tasy-ānu-

9 jah eva-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-rāṣṭram(ā)nānām-eśa-vijayi(yī) āraṇā-sāhīpyām āraṇām- 
avābuddhiḥ śastra-ārththā-tattvāt(ttvā) nām-

10 Kalpaturu-iva suhāupt-praṇayāṁ yatha-śīhīlakshā(ṣṭha)ṣṭha-phal-ōpāhaḥ dharmavatāḥ 
paramahāṭrākara-

11 pāda-anuddhyātī maṁrāja-Dhruvasenaḥ kuśali sarvvaṇ-eva svan-āyuktaka-mahātara- 
drāṅgika-chāta-bhaṭa-dhruva-thā-

12 nādhikaraṇa-daṇḍapāsik-ād(ī)ḥ-ansaṁśa-cha yathā-sambhadhyāṇa-kān-anudarśayate- 
nau vas-saṁviditāṁ yathā ma-

---

1 Maitrak-Kālā Gujmā, Part II, Appendix 5, p. 23.

2 (Dhruvasena acknowleded the suzerainty of a Paramahāṭrākara whose identity is difficult to determine although originally the Maitrakas must have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas.—Ed.).
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA — PLATE I

A. Grant of Dhruvasena I, Year 206

Scale: Nine-tenths
No. 39] TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA 301

13 ya Śivasarātaka-athalyantargatasaka-Suvallapakṣa-grāma-purva-si(a)mnī Thun̄taka-kūlika-prajñāyāmāna-si(a)ttā pādāva-

14 ragga(rīta)-ēṣa-parīkarā ā-ōpārīkarā sa-dītya2-dāna-karanā sah-anvai-cha kirthitā-kiṭṭhit-ādānāih

Second Plate

15 sarva-svad2-dhast-āpara-kṛshṇa[pa](a)m[ya] Kāśahraṇa-vāstavya-Brāhmaṇa-Gaṅgāsarmma-

16 Śaṇḍilśa-sagātra-Vājīja[sa]nēya-sahabhāmāribhīyo mātā-pitrōḥ punyāpyāyanāy-ātmata2-

17 thābhūṣcitā-paśā-svāpti-nimittam-ā-chandr-ārkkāprāna-kāhi-sarī-śārvata-sthitā-samā-

18 ya-ploṣya balī-chau-vaiśaved-vyāyāmām kriyāṇaṃ-utsarpanā-ārtthām bhūmi-ekohīdīra-

19 ta śāhām-ohitaya bhramadāya-sthityā bhumjatāṁ kṛishatām prādītāmānāṁ na kaśchīhit

20 nā vā kāryā ā samad-vadhāsajāi-śāmki-nipatābhīṣceḥ-sānītyāyaiśvāryyāyasi-thiraih

21 mi-dāna-phalaṃ-svagocchhadbhītrayam-asmad-dūrō-numantavyaḥ [[*]] yaśaḥ-ṣa-eh-

22 sa pūrṇaḥbhārīr-mukhā-pātakaiḥ ā-ōpātakaiḥ sahynuktaḥ sah-ṣa-paḥ-ōtra Vyāsa-

23 Bhāṣaṭhīn varaha-sahasrāpi svarggā mōdayi bhūmidāḥ [[*]] svābhātāt ch-ānumantā chā
tānī-ṣeva nārakā vasēt [[*]]

24 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō haretā vasundharam [[*]] gavām ēṣa-sahasrasya hantuḥ

25 Baḥubhir-vrasamā bhuktā rājabhīṣ-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [[*]] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya
tasya taddā pa(pha)lam [[*]]

26 sva-hastō maha-mahiṣa-Dhruvavesṇaṣya | dūkṣṇaḥ prathāra-Mamakṣa-likhitāṃ

27 Satt 200 6 Āśrayuṣa—suddha 5 [[*]]

B. Grant of Dharaśīna II, Year 252

This charter consists of two plates written on the inner sides. They are secured with rings passing through two holes made at the top of the plates. The plates measure each 12½"×8½". When the plates were received for examination, the right side ring was missing but the left side

---

1 [The reading of this name is 7hāṣajaka.—Ed.].
2 [This may be a modification of daṇḍa.—Ed.].
3 [The reading of the name is Sarva-sūmrām.—Ed.].
4 [The reading is "Chandaśūṅkha."—Ed.].
ring with the seal held the plates together. The extant ring has an oval seal which bears in relief the usual bull emblem of the Maitrakas with the legend Śrī-Bhaṣṭrīkālaḥ in relief.¹

The charter, dated sattu 262 Vaśākha-ba 15, was issued from Vañabh by Dharasena II who succeeded his father Guhasena. The last known date of Guhasena is the year 248 (567 A.D.) and the earliest known date of Dharasena’s successor Śūlāḍīya I is the year 286 (605 A.D.). Hence Dharasena II may be assigned a reign of about 30 years, i.e. from 570 to 600 A.D. The gift recorded in the charter was made by the king for the merit of his parents as well as of himself. The document was written by Skandabhāṣa and the executor of the grant was Chhibbira.

The charter purports to record the gift of the following plots of land and irrigation wells to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudra who was a student of the Maitrāyaṇīya-Vārāhaka sākha of the Yajurveda and belonged to the Lāmākāyaṇa gotra:

(a) a piece of land 800 pāḍāvarita in area on the northern border of the village Bhaṭṭīvaṭa, as also a step-well irrigating thirtytwo pāḍāvarita of land on the eastern border of the same village;

(b) a step-well irrigating 20 pāḍāvarita of land in the southern border of Śavarnipadakaraka, and

(c) a plot of tilled land known as Pēraka³ in the northern border of the village of Bahudhanaka as also a piece of 100 pāḍāvarit of land in the western border of Bhabhala-pajaka.

These places cannot be identified. Dr. H. G. Sastri, however, has tried to identify Bhaṭṭīvaṭa with Bhaṭṭabhāṣya, a village some 2 miles to the south-west of Hāthab.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [¹] Vaḷa[bhitaḥ] prasabha-panṣat-śāmīṛapāṇī Maṭrakāṇāṃ-atula-bala-sapta-mañḍal-ābhōga-samsakta-sataprabha-śata-labha-pratapāḥ pratap-śpanata-

2 dānā-mān-arjauv-ōpārjīt-śūrṇārṣi=maṅka-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrīni-bal-śvāpta-raja-śrīḥ śrīḥ paramamāhēśvarah śrī śenapi-Śaṭṭhārīkās-tasya sutas-ta-


4 vaḥ paramamāhēśvarah śrī śenapi-Dharasēnas-tasya-anjus-tat-pād-ābhīṣhaṇa[ra] praṇāma-prastattra-vima[la]-mauli-manipri-viṣṇu-viṣṇu-hānā-dharmā Dha-

rmaraṇa īva

5 viṣhita-vinayā-vyaṣvasthā-pa[ḥ]d[h]āḥ satija-bhuvana-manḍal-ābhōga-alia-śvāminī parama-

6 śvāminī śvayam-upahita-rāja-śāhīsēkō mahā-śārṇāyāvāpta-raja-śrīḥ śrīḥ paramamā-

7 hēvāraḥ śrī-mahāraja-[a]-Dṛṣṭā śaṁcitah śīnha īva tasya-ānuja[h] ava-bhūva-bala-parīkramaṇa para-ga[a]-gata-[a]-ni[k]ānām-eṣa-vaiṣṇo yāra-ṇaśiṁāṁ ṇaṇam-ava-bādha dhānā āṣṭrā-

1 The plates were purchased for Rs. 23 from Koli Amba Soma of Maṭhā Māchhiyā.
² [The reference is to the area covered by the step-well.—Ed.]
³ [Pēraka seems to be the name of a person who was enjoying the income of the land.—Ed.]
⁴ Mātrīket-Aṣṭika Gṛhyā, Part II, Appendix 6, p. 36.
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA — PLATE II

B. Grant of Dharasena II, Year 252

Scale: Three-fourths
8 päti-pravidhaut-sásha-kalasahā su-viśudhā(dha)-sva-[čarit-tō]daka-kahālita-sakala-bali-
kala-tōka[h\*] prasa-ha-nirjīt-tāri-pakha-prathīta-mahima(mā) param[a]dītyabhaktāb
āśī-āsī-
9 hāraja-Dharapattasm-sasya-anīja-tāt-pāda-sa-paary-śvāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[h\*] ān[ai]\*sārāt-
prabhṛiti khaḍga-drī[ti]ya-bhūm-śva sa-ma-da-par-gaja-gaḥṣṭā-śphoṭana-prakāśi-
10 ta-satva(tvva)-nigaṇaḥ tāt-prabhāva-praṇa-ārati-chudā-ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-svasa-pāda-
nakha-rasmi-saṁhati[h\*] sakala-smi(smrīti)-praṇa(nī)ta-mārgga-saṁyak-paripālaṇa-pra-
11 jā-frīdaya-ra[m\*]janāc-anvartta-raja-jābāru ru[rūpt-pe-kanti-stha[rīya]*]-gāmbhṛīya-buddhi-
sahajapadbhi[h\*] śvara-sāsā[suk-ś\*]dīrāj-ōdaddhi-Trī[Trī]da-guru-Dhanēśan-atīsāya[h\*]
śarañ-āga-
12 t-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tr(a)ṣṇayad-apāśāt-śeṣeṣa-sava-kṛṣya-pahal pāda-čhari(r-ī)
sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-bhūga-pramōdaḥ paramamāhēvāraḥ mahā-
13 rāja-[ārī]-Guhaśēnas-tasa[vut-ta]-pāda-nakha-mayū[kha]-santāna-n[r\*]ṛīta(tta)-
Jāhnavi(sa)-ja-ra-svaḥ-vikāḥ-saṁśe-kalamaḥ praya-śa-sahā-sahā-
14 fiyā-bhūga-śampratru(pad-rūp)-lōbhād-śvā-śtra[ti]ta[h\*] sarasmābhīgīnakār-gaṇpāi[h\*]
śahajā-sakti-śikṣīa-śeṣeṣa-viśeṣām-pākāha-dhanurddharā bhṛathama-narapati-saṁatītī-
[śhā]-
16 nām-saṁpālayita dharmya-dāya-ām-āpākāta[ṛttā] pṛāj-ōpabhāta-kārīām-upa[pā]-
vānām darayita Śrī[Śrī]-Sarasvatīyā-ek-ādhibāsaya saṁhat-ārati-pakha-lakṣhmi-
parikho-
16 bha-dakha-vikramaḥ kram-ōpasampṛṣṭa-vimula-pārthīva-[iṣṭī] paramamāhēśa(śva)raḥ
mahāraja-[Śrī]-Dharas[ma]l[ku]Śal[li](Ś)t sarvāṃ-śvāyukta-viśnuktā-vedjakā-drāṅgika-

Second Plate

17 mahattara-ōhāta-bhūta-dhruvādikāraṇa-śaṅkika-vartta(rtma)pāla-pratīṣṭhāraka-rājaśthānīya-
kumārāmātiś-ādi(dī)n-anāyā-eha yathā-sambhadhyāmānān samā-
18 jāśrayaty-anu va[h\*] samviditaḥ yathā mayā mātā-pitr(h)ḥ-rū-puṇy-śāpyayācoh-
śtmanāsoh-sihikā-
19 grāme uttara-ain[ai]nmi pādāvārta-śaṭṭa-dvayam(yam) || pūrva-simhi dvātipiśati-pādāvarta-
parisaṃ vāpi tathā śrāvindraka-grāme dakhini-sī[si]nmi viśka(viśka)-pāda-
tathā Bhaṁbha-pataśe sārvi-simhi pādāvarta-tetem(tam) || s-ōdra-dā-gā-
21 a-e-śparikanaḥ sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādāyaṃ a-ōṭpadyamāna-viśeṣīkā(śnu) samasta-
rājaśayānām-a-hasta-prakīrti[h\*]n[ai]m bhūmi-śhōhīdra-nyāyena Mai-
22 trāyani[ti]ya-Vārāhaka-śamākṣaṇa-śrāvīṭam-Bṛāhmana-Rudra[yā ba-li-śarvadēv-
āgnīhērā-tīthi-pañha-mahāyēīkāśa[h\*] kṛ[ki]rīyānān samu-

¹ [Read kau[si]yamaj].—Ed.
² Read "vriṣṭa".
³ [The reading is prototypic].—Ed.
⁴ The letters Śnḥ appear before this स. Read s-śhratraya-s-śpari.
28 dvijātihāṃ yātnād- rakṣā- Yuddhīsthira | mahāṁ mahimamāṃ śrēṣṭhā dānāḥ- chhrēyāṁ- nupālanaṁ(nam) ṣaṁ[7] Bahubhi-

tadā phā- 

30 lam-iti || likhitam samādhīvīgrataram āhādbhirukṣya- Skandabhāṣṣāna || Dvita Chhibbhirah Sarh 200 80 2 Vatsākha-be 10 8[7]

31 [sva]-hastō mama mahā[rāja]-ṣṭī- Dharasāṇasya || |
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROMMOTA MACHIALA

SEAL OF DHARASENA II

(from a Photograph)
No. 40—PEDDABAMMIPLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This set of four copper plates was found at Peddabammidi in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. They were forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit the grant from a set of excellent castamps kindly supplied by the latter. The plates are now in the possession of the Andhra University, Waltair.

Each of the plates is 8" long and slightly less wide in the middle (3") than at the ends (3.5"). They are held by a circular ring with a diameter of 3.5". The seal soldered to the ring has on its surface the emblems of a bull, a conch, the moon, a gandha, a fly-whisk, a flag and a tortoise. The plates and the ring with the seal weigh respectively 94 and 54 tolas. The outer side of the first plate has no writing. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the second and third plates have eight lines of writing each. The fourth plate has seven lines of writing on the first side. The second side of this plate has traces of writing; but, though individual letters can be read here and there, no sense of this part can be made out; hence no attempt has been made to read it. There are thus altogether 47 lines of legible writing which are in a good state of preservation.

The alphabet belongs to the same type of the Gauḍiya script as is used in the Nadagam, Madras Museum and Narasapatam plates and many other Eastern Gauḍa grants. Interest are the forms of ṛ and ṛḥ. The sign for ṛ has been used to indicate ṝ.

The language is Sanskrit and the legible portion of the inscription is written in prose with the same twelve verses in the introductory portion, which are found in several other copper-plate grants of the king who issued the charter. As a matter of fact, the whole of the introduction (lines 1-41) is a verbatim reproduction of that in the Nadagam and Madras Museum plates and varies very slightly from that in the Narasapatam plates.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the s is nasal is used instead of akṣara, although there are few exceptions. Many of the consonants are doubled after ṛ. ṛ is sometimes doubled before ṛ; but usually we have the form ṛa. There are many mistakes in the text of the document. Often one letter is put for another and the vowel signs are omitted or wrongly put. Sometimes letters and even words are omitted while the visarga sign is frequently omitted.

The grant was issued from a place, the name of which begins with ṛa and ends in ṛṣa. The second letter is doubtful, and there is no room for a third letter before ṛṣa. The name may be a mistake for Kaligamagama.

The grant was issued by Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājaśīvarāja Vajrahasta (III), the overlord of the three Kalingas and a devout worshipper of Mahēvara, and records the grant of the village of Santarama (line 42) in favour of Pallaya, son of Dādērāvāna and his wife Dalēmāvā (lines 45-46). The village was situated in the district (vīkhayya) of Koliuvartani, a name which also occurs in the Nadagam plates (line 57). The epithet svapaurusha-vaṇīkāḥ, applied to the donee,
perhaps alludes to some deeds of valour performed by him, and the grant may be a reward for that. The illegible portion presumably contained the boundaries of the land granted together with the imperative verses.  

The grant was made in the Saka year 982 (line 44) on Thursday the fifth of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara. The date regularly corresponds to the 28th December, 1080 A.D. The donor is said to belong to the Vēṣyā family (line 45). Vēṣyā may be taken as an error for vēṣīya (prostitute), for the interchange of ś with s frequently occurs in this record. But it is hardly likely that a man’s ancestry should be traced to a prostitute in a public document. So it may be suggested that the word stands for Vaiṣya.  

TEXT

[Metres: verses 2, 6, 12 Anusṭūṭha; verses 7, 8 Gṛtī; verses 5, 9 Mālīṇī; verses 1, 3, 11 Śāndīvikrīṣṭa; verse 4 Vaiśeṣika; verse 10 Vasantaśikā.]

First Plate


4 sāttāya sa-char-āchāra-gurūḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmān-aiśa-śūtra-dhāra-

5 sāya śādānka-clūḍāman-cīrbbhaṛ(ṛ-bbhaṛ)gavatō Gōkoroṇavāmināḥ prasāḍā[ī]*

6 samāśādāt-aikasana(ūkha)bhūri-pañchhamahāsavada(bda)-dhavaleschhatta-hēmchā-

7 māra-varavijahahalūchchhana-samujā(ṛ)(jja)la-samasta-sāmājya-mahimnām-anā-

8 ka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-samupalavika(bda)-vijaya-lakṣmi-samāhoot-ōtan(ttuḥ)ga-bhu-

Second Plate, First Side

9 ja-dāṇḍa-maṇḍitānāma Trīkaliṅga-mahābhujāma Gaṅgānām-ānvaṇa-śalaiṣka-

10 rishnīḥ[*] Vishṇūr-iva vibrām-ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Gunamahārūṇa-maha(hā)-

11 rājasya putraḥ || 0 || Pūrvvam bhūpātibhir-vvibhaḍa vasudhā yā paṁchabhōja pa-

12 caḥa-hūri-bhūri-pañchhamē bhuja-va(bha)lāt-tām-ēka eva svaya(m)(am )  &-

13 kṛśnīya vijitya sa(sā)trā-nivāhāṃ śrī-Vaiṣṇavastāsa-chatuschāvatvāri-

14 niśkma(ta)*maṇḍ-udāra-charitaḥ sarvaṃ-urakṣhit-samāh || [1*] Taśya tanayō Gupṭa-ma-

ra[ṛi]-

[See below.—Ed.]

[*] I am indebted for this calculation to Prof. V.V. Mirabhi.


[*] From a set of impressions.

[*] Expressed by symbol.
Scale: Three-fourths
15 jā(j3) [ha(va)][r] ha-treyam-sūlayata mahlīṃ(hlm) || tad-anuṣaḥ Kāmārṇava-śvāṇaḥ pāṇi-cha-
16 trīṁśatam-avda(bda)kāṃ || tasy-āṇujō Vinayādītya[ō] samāś-tīrṇ[ā] || tataḥ Kā-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 mārṇavājį-jātō jagati-Kalpabhūrahāḥ || yō-rāṣud-rājītaḥ(ta)-chobbhayā Va-
18 jrahaṣṭā-vanīt-patiḥ || 2[ā] prāṣṭṛ-vṛddha(ta) māda-gandha-lvudha(bda)-madhupa-
vāḷīdhya-gaṇḍā-
19 n-gājān-arththībhyaś-samadāt-sahāram-atulō yas-tvāgaṇām-agraṇ[h] *[sa(h)] ātri-mā-
20 n-Aniyahakabhi(bhi)ma-nripatir-Ggang-ānvay-ōttarāsakāḥ pāṇchatrīṁśatam-a-
21 vda(bda)kāṃ-samabhunakti(k-pri)pṛthvīṁ stutāḥ pārthivaiḥ || 3[ś] Tad-agra-sūṇah Surara-
22 sūnunā [samah] samāstām sa(ā)ma(m)it-ārī-mandalaḥ [*] smā pāti Kāmārṇava-
bhūpatisrī-bhuvah-sa-
23 mṛddhim(mān)ma-rdha-samām samujva(jjva)laḥ || 4[*] Tad-anu tad-anu jāmā Chit-
ttajnam-ōpa(mā)-
24 no guṇa-nilhir-an(a-na)vadyā(dyō) Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahīsa(ā)ṣ[ī][*] sakalam-idam-a-

Third Plate, First Side

25 khaṭ-trīm śva-vahāni dhātrī-valayam-alaghu-jē(ṭē)jō-nirjīt-ārūti-chakrāh || 5[*] Tatō
26 dvē(dvai)māturas-tata(sya) Madhukā(mā)nṛṣavī nripaḥ [*] ā(ajvati sm-āvanīm=
ētām-avda(bda)mā(n-ā)-
27 kāṇa(n-na)-vimśatin(tim) || 0|| 6[*] Atha Vajrahasta-nripatār-agra-sutad-akhila-guṇi-jan-
āgre-
|| 7[*] Śrīya iva Vaidumva(mb-ā)-
29 nvaya-payar-payōnidi-samudbhavayās-cha [*] yah samajani Vinaya-mahādā-
30 vṛś Vajrahaṣṭa iti tanā(ṇa)yaḥ || 8[*] Vyaḍ-ṛṇa-nilidi-samkhyaṁ yatī Šāk-avda(bda)-sa-
31 ngeś dinakriṭ Vrishabha-sthē tē Rāhīṇ-bhē su-lagnē [*] Dhanusha cha cita-pakṣē Śaṭrū-
32 vēṛ tṛṣṭyaṁ(yā)-yuji sakala-dhāritiri(trī)m rakṣituṁ yō-bhishiktakaḥ || 9[*] Nyāy(yyē)ma

Third Plate, Second Side

33 yatra samam-ścharitum tri-vṛṣagga(vṛṣaggam) ma(mā)rṛggōṇa rakṣati mahlīṃ mahīta-
pratāp[*] nirvyā-
34 dhyanē-cha[*] nirāpada-cha śaḥaḥcha-ḥṛṣṭa-prajā bhūvi bhavanti vibhu(bhū)timattyāḥ || 10[*]
Vyāptē Ga-

* The Nārāmaṇatam plates read mahl*.  
* This shēkām is redundant.  
* After this, read nirāgapā-cha as in other inscriptions.  
* Read ādhaḥ-ḥṛṣṭa.
36 āgā-kul-ōttamasya yasa(ta)ś(a) dik-ch[a][kra*]ya(vā)jala(la) śachi(śi)-pradyōta(t-ā)malinēna yasyā(ya) bhuvanī(śa)-prahlā
dā-sampādinā [1*] sa(sai)ndūra-pāri-sīndra-paṅka-paṭalē(laih) kumbha-sthāl-paṭṭakēśa-
(shva†) limpanti
dunāḥ punaścha haritēm-ādhu(dhō)ramā vāmanān || [11*] Ā(A)nura(rā)gēnē(ṇa) guoṁiḥ
yaya
vakhī-mukh-āvja(bhaj)yoḥ [1*] āś(śai)ṇē Śrī-Sarasvatīyāv-anukālē virājata[h*] [0] [12*]
Ka(s)n-
nagārāparamamābhēsva(sva)-paramabhaṭṭārakā-mahārājādhīrāja-Trikalingādhī-
pati-śrīmadva[Vajra]hastadēva[h*] kuśali samast-āmātya-pramukha-jana-

Fourth Plate, First Side

41 padān-sam[ābū]ya samājñāpayati viditaṃ=asti bhavā(va)taṁ Kēluvattanī-vi-
42 shayō Santaram-ākhyā-grāmāḥ-chatukūsim-āvachchhinna-sa-jala-sthala[h*] [ea*]-
[rvva]-pī
43 ā-vivarijjتمā-ā-chandr-ārkka-kṣa(ksh)i-sama-kālam yāvan-mātē-pitrē-ātmanāḥ
44 puṇya-yaśā-bhīviddhayē kara-vasu-mīdiḥ-Śaṅkāvē(bdē) Makara-māsa-śv-
45 kla-paṅka-parimāmyāṃ Guru-vārē || Vēyā(Vaśya)-vaṁśi-ōdbhavah [1* Dūḍērva-
46 na-tasyaḥ bhāryya Daḷēmāvā | tayōḥ putrāya Pallāyāya chira-kālam=ārā-
47 dhya sva-pauruṣa-parītōṣhitāya datta iti ||

---

1 The intended reading is Kūtaṭa-nagarā. The Namanapatam plates have sa dhēn || before this.
2 Read śrīmad-Vāraṇā.
3 The danda is superfluous.
4 There are traces of eight letters after this. [The entire passage from Vēyā to iti was incised after having
erased what had been previously engraved. The name of the donor’s father in lines 45-46 is written as Drāddērva
rā as the subscript r in the first akṣaras and the ś in the third appear to be traces of the original engraving.
The actual name may have been Dūḍē-Rētāna. In chāḍākā (for chāḍāka) in line 46, the ś-mātra of rī similarly belongs to the original writing.
Traces of the eighth akṣaras after the end of the re-engraved record in line 47 read tābbhāyām Pōyā-Pāyā* which is followed on the reverse of the plate (in lines 48-49 of the original record, which were erased) by “tābbhāyām purvavān (purvavani) tāmā-nāmaṇī kṛiṇā pradattām = amabhīr=
mbhīr= bhāyādā. . . . This shows that the grant of the village of Santaram (possibly not Santaram) had
originally been made in favour of Kēyā and Pōyā but that later it was transferred to Pallāyā and the sentence
mentioning him as the donor was re-engraved after having erased the original writing. The word tābbhāyām at
the beginning of this sentence shows that the previous sentence, on which Vēyā . . . iti was later incised, contained a
description of Pōyā and Kēyā, the original donces of the charter. Pallāyā pleased the king by his valour
(pauruṣa) and the latter gave him the village after having honoured him for a considerable time (chirakālam=
drāddāyā). For sva-pauruṣa-parītōṣhitāya read “parītōṣhitāya or “parītōṣhitāya, Cf. above, vol. XXIII, p. 72,
text, line 53.— Ed.]
Scale: Three-fourths

From Photographs
No. 41—BHARAT KALA BHAVAN PLATE OF HARIRAJA, V. S. 1040

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTÇAMUND

About the middle of 1936, I received from Rai Krishnasaji, Founder and Honorary Curator of the Bhārat Kala Bhavan now attached to the Hindu University, Banaras, a pencil-rubbing of this inscription for examination. As the inscription was found to be interesting, I requested Rai Krishnasaji to secure the plate for the Kalā Bhavan and let me have an opportunity to examine and publish the inscription. Accordingly I received the plate for examination about the end of 1936. My sincere thanks are due to Rai Krishnasaji for the kindness shown to me. The find-spot of the plate and the story of its discovery are unknown. But it is stated that the plates were purchased from a resident of Tikamgarh in the former Orchha State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

This is a single copper plate measuring 13-3" in length and 6-6" in height. The plate is thin (about 6" in thickness) without either any seal affixed to it or any emblem incised on it. There is, however, a small hole (about 15" in diameter) at the centre of the top margin, apparently meant for hanging the plate from some suspender. There are altogether thirteen lines of writing on the obverse of the plate, the reverse being blank. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The weight of the plate is 69 tolas.

The characters are early Nāgarī of the tenth century A. D. and closely resemble some of the contemporary inscriptions of the region such as those of the early Chandellas. As regards the palaeography of the record, it may be pointed out that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood by the engraver. The letter ṣ has been endowed with a top Ṣāḷa. In a few cases, the letters m and s have the same form (cf. samast-ā in line 4 and rāhuṣṣṭā ... mlā in line 6) although the usual forms of these akṣaras have been employed elsewhere. The letter ṛ has two different forms, one of them being undistinguishable from ṝ (cf. rīkara-ruchira-chamara in line 3 and samara .... tara-tapasirī-ṭa in line 4). The ṛ-like form of ṛ has, however, been used only in a few cases. The akṣara ṛ looks like ṝ in some cases (cf. ṝeka in line 5). The form of kā in kālaha in line 9 is interesting. The daṇḍa has often been put so close to the akṣaras that it looks like the ṣā-mātrā of the preceding or the ṣ-mātrā of the following consonant. It may be observed that medial ṣ of both the śrīrā-mātrā and prśrīkha-mātrā types has been used in the inscription.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in an admixture of prose and verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the representation of the class nasal by the anusvāra generally. Final ā has often been changed to anusvāra wrongly. The influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the use of s for ṣ in many cases and of t for ṭ in āṭ in line 12. There is one case, where ṭ has been used for s (cf. ṭrūbhā in line 10). The inscription is dated in V.S. 1040. There are no details regarding the day when the grant was issued excepting the fact that it was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in V.S. 1040 if the year is regarded as expired and Kārttikādi. This eclipse occurred on the 30th July 984 A.D.

It may be noticed that some contemporary records like the Nanyasura plate (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp 201-04 and Plate) of Chandellas Dēhāga, dated V.S. 1055 (998 A.D.) were similarly issued without any seal or representation of any royal emblem. The copper-plate grants of the Later Chandellas generally bear the representation of Lakshmi or Gajalakshmi which was the emblem of the family but no seal of the usual type.

* Cf. the Nanyakura plate referred to above.

(309)
The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by two stanzas in the Upajñā metre. Verse 1 speaks of the bhupālīkṣa (king of kings) Nilakaṇṭha, who belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty. Verse 2 mentions the adbhirāja Harirājadēva who was the son of Nilakaṇṭha and defeated many enemies. These two stanzas are followed in lines 23-5 by a passage in prose, which describes Harirāja’s achievements in vague terms. Then comes the date referred to above and this is followed by the grant portion of the document (lines 6 ff.). It is stated that Mahārāja-dhirāja Harirāja, while he was staying at Śyāḍloki, took his bath in the waters of the Vetravati on the occasion of a solar eclipse and granted two sala measures of land in the village of Tānuḍā-grāma (or Katauṇḍā-grāma) attached to Lalitapuraṇāla together with a site for no less than ten houses in the village of Tīṣṭhaśāvanti-grāma. The grant was made in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Dēda who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, the three prāyūrūs and the Vaiśānaka śākhā. The donee was the son of Sānti and grandson of Dharma. In lines 12-13, there are some of the ordinary imprecatory and beneficiatory stanzas. The document ends with the representation of king Harirāja’s signature (trī-Harirāja-dēsaya). This type of authentication of a document is often found in its copy engraved on the copper plates. But in the present case the above passage is preceded by the passage kakārā saha, the meaning of which is not clear. We know that the akhara trī or the expression sahī is found in many records in the place of the kings’ full signature. Similarly some documents show the representation of a spear-head instead of the royal sign-manual. Can it be suggested that Harirāja’s practice was to write the akhara ka instead of his full name? The passage, however, suggests that the letter ka was written by Harirāja in addition to his name.

The Pratihāra king Nilakaṇṭha and his son Harirāja are both already known from an inscription from Chandelleri in the Guna District (in the former Gwalior State) of Madhya Bārāt. This epigraph has not yet been published; but it has been noticed in Bhandarkar’s List, No. 2107, and has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The inscription belongs to the reign of Pratihāra Jaitravarman and mentions Nilakaṇṭha who was followed in succession by Harirāja, Bhāmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarṇapāla, Kārttipāla, Abhayapāla, Gōvindarāja, Rājādēva, Vītarāja and Jaitravarman.

The record under study shows that Harirāja was ruling independently over the area around Śyāḍloki, modern Siron Khurd about ten miles to the north-north-west of Lalitpur the headquarters of the Sub-division of that name in the Jhansi District of U.P., while the Chandelleri area, which is in the same neighbourhood and where his descendant Jaitravarman is known to have ruled, may also have formed a part of his dominions. An inscription from Siron Khurd itself shows how that area formed an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kānauj, at least down to V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.). In a Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.), Chandella Dhanīga, who ruled over the territory to the east of the kingdom of the contemporary Pratihāra ruler Harirāja, acknowledges the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Viśṇukapāla as his overlord. Some records of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛiṣṇa III, such as the Karhad plate8 of Śaka 880 (939 A.D.), refer to the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānauj on the forts of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor in Rājasthān) and Kālaṇījara (in the Bandha District of U.P.) which soon came to be a stronghold of the Chandellas. But the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors over these southern areas of their empire gradually declined under Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure. Although the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves disappeared from this scene with the death of Kṛiṣṇa III about 967 A.D., the Gurjara-Pratihāras appear to have failed to re-establish their hold in the Gwalior-Bundelkhand region. The Mānu stone inscription9 of Madanavarman shows that, before his death about 1002 A.D., Chandella Dhanīga

---
2 Ibid., pp. 157 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 384 (verse 30).
 Obtained exalted sovereignty (i.e., became an independent monarch) after having defeated on the battle-field the king of Kanyakubja (i.e., the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor). The Pratiharas of the Jhansi-Guna region must have been originally, like the Chandellas, feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj and they may have actually represented a branch of the imperial family. Pratihara Nilakantha, who may have been originally a viceroy of the Jhansi-Guna area under the emperor of Kanauj, seems to have assumed independence, like his Chandella contemporary Dhaṅga, in the second half of the tenth century when the Gurjara-Pratihara power was declining.

In Dhaṅga's Khajuraho inscription,1 his father Yaśovarman is described as 'a scorching fever to the Gurjaras'. These Gurjaras have been usually indentified with the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj,2 since in another verse3 of the record Yaśovarman is stated to have easily conquered the Kalāñjara-ādri (i.e., the hill-fortress of Kalāñjara) which is known to have been formerly an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratiharas.4 This suggestion, however, seems to be unwarranted in view of Dhaṅga's acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor Vināyakapāla in the same record. The suggestion that Yaśovarman captured Kalāñjara from the Rāṇḍhakūṭas5 is equally unlikely as in that case the name of the Rāṇḍhakūtas should have been included in the long list of Yaśovarman's adversaries as given in verse 23 of the record. This list (which is apparently exaggerated but no doubt points to some genuine successes of the Chandella monarch) includes the Gaṇas, Khasas, Kósilas, Kaśmiras, Mālawas, Chedic, Kurus and Gurjaras, and Kalāñjara seems really to have been conquered by him from one of these powers. The inscription under study shows that the Pratihara house represented by Nilakantha and Harirāja ruled in the immediate neighborhood of the territory of the Chandellas in the Khajuraho-Mahoba region. It is therefore possible that the Gurjara adversaries of Yaśovarman were no other than these Pratiharas. It is also not unlikely that Kalāñjara may have been conquered from this branch of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. Soon afterwards, however, these Pratiharas appear to have become feudatories or subordinate allies of the Chandellas. According to the Khajuraho inscription of 954 A.D., Dhaṅga's dominions extended in the west up to Gupagiri (Gwalior) and Bhāsvat on the Mālawad (possibly Bhilsa on the Betwa).6 This claim may be somewhat exaggerated; but during the rule of Dhaṅga's grandson Vidyādharas, the Kaśchhypagbātas of Dubkund in the Sheopur District of the former Gwalior State are known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chandellas,7 although that area originally formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire.8 The Muslim historians seem to include the fort of Gwalior in the dominions of the same Chandella ruler who was the contemporary of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghausā.9 Epigraphic records of the Later Chandellas, such as the Deogarh rock inscription10 (V.S. 1154-1198 A.D.) of Kṛitvirāman, the Augasī plate11 (V.S. 1190-1134 A.D.) and Munia plate12 of Madanavarman and the Somā plate13 (V.S. 1233-1167 A.D.) of Paramadurg show that at least the valley of the Betwa formed an integral part of their kingdom.

---
4 The Bāhū plate of Gurjara-Pratihara Bhūja I records the revival of a grant of an ayakha in the Udaybāguna (Udaybāguna); the Chandella inscription in the Kanyakubja Bākṣi (above, Vol. XIX, p. 15).
5 Ray, op. cit., p. 674.
9 Ray, op. cit., p. 692.
11 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207-209. The grant was issued when the king was staying at Bhalaśānumī (Bhilsa).
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śrīśākapūra has already been discussed. Whether Harīraja had his headquarters at this place or was merely camping there temporarily cannot be determined. The river Vētravaśī is the modern Betwa. Taking a bath and making grants on the occasion of an eclipse are highly meritorious according to Hindu scriptures. The gift was situated in Tāndā-grawma (or, Katanḍā-grawma) and Tithāśavani-grawma, the first of which is clearly stated to have been attached to Lalitpuravāla. Lalitapura is no doubt modern Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P. But whether ραίς is the designation of an administrative unit like visāya or the name of another locality like Lalitapura (the two forming a composite geographical name) is difficult to determine. I am not sure about the location of the villages:

**TEXT**

2 jani prāpiṭha-jana śānuṛgaḥ sūtā-dhārājī Harīrājadīvaḥ | mahāśāvaye śāntam-apīśa
gviyāya saṁyām dvīhatāṁ jaya-sūrī || [2]* Kalyāṇa-ka- 
3 māsā-kāṭīti(ṃti)-kamaṇya-kāmīnt-kara-kamala-kalīt-saśādha-kara-nikara-ruchira-chamara- 
mīṛa-śa-taraśpiva(vat)ā-samast-ā- 
5 rāti-vargaḥ | Mācana iva taruṣ-jaṇa-nayan-śaṅkha-jañānaḥ | saṁ- prabh-āvahāsaite- 
sakala-kālāvīka-kausma(mu)di-karaḥ || Sarn- 
6 vaṁ(σat) 1040 a[dy]-gha[7] Śrīvyapathyam mahārājadāhirāja-aśi(ṃti)-Harīrājadīvaḥśa- 
Vētravasiṁ saṁvān śāntvā[8] rāhu-gras(ṣṭe) dīvākara śānt(vā) ṣa[9-10]-pi- 
 | ṭri(ṃti)-pravāryā | Dharmma-paurushah(ya) Śa(Sāj)nti-pu-
8 ṭraya | Vṛṣṇi(ṃti)maṇa-Ḍādāya | Lalitpuravāla-saṁvān(ṃ)dhyanāka-Taṇḍā- 
grawma[12] ha-la-deva-prakṣiptā bhūmih pradattā Tithāśavā- 
9 ni-grawma gīha-dasi(ṃ)nām śaṅkhamā[13] aghāṣaḥ | pūrva-dig-ḥāsa śrūpita-paśāman- 
(yaḥ) || saṁhīśaṁs taddāgam[14] | paśchima-duṣṣaṃ[15]-

---

1 See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.
2 From the original plate and impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read “śrūṇaś”. Originally ma had been engraved and the superscript m (instead of the subscript n) was later modified so as to make it look like s.
5 This śaṅkha and some others below are superfusible.
6 Read ста́дам.
7 Originally theā had been engraved and ρ was later somehow transformed into ρy.
8 The superscript m here looks more like the sign of medial n.
9 The superscript t here looks more like the sign of medial k.
10 Read ρupra-ṭaḥ.
11 Read Vājisaṇaya-śākhtā.
12 Or, “mīśa-Kaṇḍā-vaṃśa.”
13 Read stākham. The kosa is stākham ̣a pradattam.
14 Read taṭāgam.
10 yāṁ śrōtaṁ | uṣṭaṁ prāñjākāṁ cha | tāvataṁ| svaṁ prāñjākyāṁ pradattam | yāvaṁ chandrarākaṁ tāṁraṁ


12 bhaktā rājāhīṁ ṭaṁgār-ādibhiḥ ||||| yasya yasya yada bhūmis-tenaṁ tasya tadā phalaṁ- (lam) || [4°] Sv-aditām para-datāṁ (tāṁ) vā jyeṣṭhā haratun (ta) vasu-

13 tdhaṁ dhāraṁ |||| | asaṁtr-maṁsa-sahapraṁ (ra)viśvaṁ āsṛ (yāṁ) jayati (tā) krimiḥ || [6°] yakṣām ahaṁ sahaḥ | āś-Harirājakādāvaseya"||

*The intended reading seems to be prāñjākyāṁ which may indicate a boundary mark such as a pillar.
*The idea is satiṁ satyakshaṁ bhadrā̄sānavāvāvā.
*This refers to āś-Harirājakādāvaseya.
*Read "mādhyogah vṛṣaṁ.
*These two aksharas look like yagra in the original.
*Read "stotraṁ. Originally akṝṣ was engraved for āś. The real meaning of the expression is doubtful.
*This is the representation of the king's signature on the original document copied on the plate.
No. 42—KAUVATAL PLATES OF SUDEVA, YEAR 7

A. N. LAKHIRI, OOTACUMUND

These copper plates were received from Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Secretary, Mahakosal Historical Society, Raigarh, who seems to have secured them from a gentleman residing at Kauvatal in the old Sarangarh State.

The set consists of three rectangular plates, each measuring about 7-4" × 4-2". They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the thickness and diameter of which are 5" and 3-375" respectively. The ring passes through a square hole bored in the middle of the left margin at a distance of about 1-5" from the left edge. The square hole measures 5" on one of its sides. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether 25 lines. Each of the first four inscribed faces of the plates has six lines of writing, while the fifth has only one line. The seal soldered to the ring is 5" in diameter. It has a circular border and is divided in almost equal halves by two straight lines. In the upper half Laksahal stands facing front on a lotus with her right hand bent upwards and the left hand hanging downwards; on her two sides are two elephants pouring water over her; and in the left and right fields are a chakra and aṃbha respectively. In the lower half is the legend in two lines, below which there is the representation of what looks like a pūrṇa-kumāka. The three plates weigh 75 tolas, while the seal together with its ring weighs 25 tolas.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls the 'Central India Alphabet'. The average size of the letters is about 3". Medial i is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting i as in the Thakuriya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja. The final form of i occurs in lines 18 and 30 and the jivaṃśam in line 18. The numerical signs for 7 and 10 occur in line 24. Of orthographical interest is the spelling of words like ādhanīta for ādamīta, tridaka for tridaka, tāmbra for tāmra, singha for simgha, etc. Consonants are generally doubled in conjunction with r, although there are a few exceptions.

This is one of the six known records of Mahā-Sudāvarāja (i.e. Sudāva-mahārāja) of the Sarabhapura family and bears the date: year 7, Mārgaśīrṣha-di 10. The charter was issued from Sirpur. The object of the record is to grant the village of Sumāka situated in Hāptī-śhāga to Bhāṭa Purandaravāmin of the Pāraśara gōtra and Vājasaṇya āṭhī. The wording of the grant are almost identical with those of the other records of Sudāva. The name of the gift village and that of the division in which it was situated are written on an erasure in line 4 while the name of the donor's gōtra in line 6 and the latter part of his own name in line 10 are similarly written on erasures. This may be due to the scribe who had at first committed an error but later noticed and corrected it.

---

1 The inscribed faces of the plates and the seal attached to the record have been illustrated in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, Plate facing p. 12.—Ed.

2 The inscription was first noticed by Pandit Pandeya in *IHC* , 1945, pp. 294-96, and discussed by Dr. D. C. Siroar in the same journal, 1946, pp. 62-63. They were also noticed in *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 48, and in *A.R.Ep.,* 1946-47, p. 12, No. 43 of App. A., and Plate.


4 Above, Vol. XXII, Pates between pp. 22 and 23.

5 The five published records are: (1) Khairi plates, year 2 (above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.); (2) Sarangarh plates (ibid., pp. 281 ff.); (3) Arang plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 22 ff.); (4) Sirpur plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.); and (5) Raipur plates, year 10 (CII, Vol. III, pp. 197 ff.).
Unlike Sudēva’s other records, issued from Sarabhapura, the present grant was issued from Śripura. Śripura seems to have been the new capital of Sudēva. King Sudēva, the donor, is mentioned as the son of Mahā-Durgārāja (i.e., Durga-mahārāja). Mānāmātra was so far known to be the father’s name of both Sudēva and Pravara of the Thakurdiya plates. Mānāmātra was therefore another name of Mahā-Durgārāja. The dātaka was Mahāśrīmanta Indrabalārāja who was the sarvādikārādikārīta (Chief Minister) of Sudēva. This Indrabalārāja has been identified by some scholars with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi king of that name. It is interesting to note that the powers of the Sarabhapurya kings were soon afterwards usurped by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi. For it was from Śripura that Mahāśiva Tivara, grandson of Indrabala, issued his charters. The engraver of the record was Gōlasimma, already known from the Thakurdiya plates, also issued from Śripura.

Of the geographical names occurring in this inscription Śripura is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of the Madhya Pradesh. The location of Sunikā and Hakirt-bhūga is unknown.

TEXT

Seal

Kram-dhimasa-rājyaśa vikram-ōtkhāta-vikrīdṛa[ḥ] [[*]
śrīmat-Sudēvarājasya sthirah jagati śāasanam(nam ||)

First Plate

1 Ōṁ svasti [[*] Śrīpurād-ḥikram-ōpan(p)ānata-sāman(ma)nāt-mahā-chuḍā-maṇi-prabhā-
prasaṭ-[ā]-
2 mnu-dhauta-pāda-yugalā ripu-vilāsinī-smān(ma)nāt-śuddharaṇa-hētur-vasu-vasudhā-
3 gō-pradaḥ paramabhaḥavatō mātā-pitṛ-pād-śānuddhyātāḥ śrī-Mahā-Durgārāja-putra-
4 śrī-Mahā-Sudēvaraḥ Hakirt-bhūga-Sunikārāyaḥ pratiṇāsī-
5 nāsa-samājāpayati | Viditam-astu vō yath-śānābhir-ayam grāmaḥ Tri(Tri)daś-
6 pati-sadana-[u]jhay-pratiaḥkārāḥ yāvad-[c]avi-dāśi-tārā-kirṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

7 gōr-āndhakāraḥ jagad-vaṭaṁśhata tāvad-upabhāgaḥ sa-nidhiḥ(dhi)s-śāpanidhi-
8 rā-chaṭa-bhāṭa-pravāyaḥ sarvva-kara-viśairja(rjj)itaḥ mātā-pitrō-rātmane-cha
9 pūna-śhrīvṛiddhāya Pārāṣe(ta)ra-gōṭrāya Vajasaneyin Bhāṭṭa-Pura[m]*
10 darasvāminś tāmb[ra](ma)-śāsanen-śtiser(es)jeḥtāḥ [[*] tō yāyam-śvam-upa-
11 labhyāḥ(bhya) ājāt-śavana-viḍhāya bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhūga-bhāgam-upaśaya-
12 ntaḥ sukha[ṃ]* pratiṇāvayathā [[*] bhavij[bhya]tē-sa cha bhūnipālān-suṇdāryayati [[*]

* IHQ, 1945, p. 275; 1946, p. 63.
* Above, Vol. XXII, No. 6.
* From impressions.
* Expressed by symbol.
* The passage Hakirt-bhūga-Sunakāpatē is engraved on an erasure.
* The inscription above ya seems to have been cancelled. The letters Pārāṣa are written on an erasure.
* The letters ānu are incised on an erasure.
Second Plate, Second Side

13 Dānāḍ-viśiṣṭaṁ-anupālamajaṁ purāṇa dharmamśehu nīshita-dhiyaṁ
14 pravadantī dharmmaṁ[n]varnmaṁ] tasaṁ[d]-dvijāya svuṣīṁ[ū]ddha-kula-srutāya dattā-
15 bhuvan bhavatu vo matir-śva gopum[ptum ||] Tad-bhavadbhir-asya-stā[ahā] dattir-anupā-
layi-
16 tasyā || Vyāsa-gtāmāḥ-eh-āstra[tra] ēlokān-udāharanti || Agnir-apatiyaṁ
17 prakāramah suvarṇam bhūr-vraja-viśvāvi sūrya-sutāṁ-cha gāvaḥ || dattās-trayeṁ-tē-
18 na bhavaml[va]nti lōkā yaṁ-kāśīchānaṁ[naṁ] gāna-cha mahī[ḥ-cha] dadyāt || Shasāṭi-
(ahā)-vahāra-

Third Plate, First Side

19 sahaṁśiṣī śvargaṁ m[ō]dati bhūmidhā || āchohhēttā oh-anumantā ohā tāny-śva
20 narakē vasēt || Bahu[bbhir-vvasudāḥ dattā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ ||] yasa ya-
21 sya yada bhunī̃-tasya tadā phalam[am]|] Svadattā[m] parātthā[m] vā yastā-
22 d-vahāya Yudhaśthira || mahī[ḥ] mahī[] mahimastāṁ arāṣṭhā dānāḥ-ehhrūy-ānupālam-
23 m-iti[m] iti || sarvādiḥkāraḥ kriyām-śrī-mahāsāman[ma]nta Indrabhurāja-;*
24 ś-ehārāstra dūtakāḥ || pravardhamāna-vijaya-saṇvamsaṁ] 7 Mārgag[ag]aṭṭeha-ḥi 10 ||

Third Plate, Second Side

25 U[t]kṛṇṭaṁ Gōlaśīṅghaścinbhe[ma]|]
No. 43—KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA,
GANGA YEAR 383

(I Plate)

P. BANERJEE, NEW DELHI

This set of three copper plates belongs to the Maharaja of Kalahandi in Orissa. The plates were published by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-27. According to Mr. Rajaguru, they were originally found in a village called Chhipurupalli about sixteen miles to the east of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, Orissa. The plates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India from the Maharaja of Kalahandi in 1952-53. I edit them from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates measure 7½" × 2½" each. They were strung originally on a ring with a seal; but the ring had already been cut open before the inscription reached the Government Epigraphist for India. The seal attached thereto is very much obliterated. Of the three plates, the first and third are written on their inner side only, while the second contains writing on both sides. There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the inscription. The last line contains only three aksharas.

The characters belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. and resemble those of the Alamanda plates1 of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 304), Indian Museum plates of Dēvendravarman (Gaṅga year 308), Chicaco plates of Satyavarman (Gaṅga year 351), Tekkali plates2 of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358), etc. Some of the letters show varying forms; cf.  in in line 1, sakala in line 3, and in line 4;  in line 1, Mahēndrā in line 3, Bhūpēndravarman in line 11,  in line 17, and Mahāvārāma in line 23;  in gurū in line 3,  and  in line 7 and  in line 16, etc. The script is a curious admixture of northern and southern forms. The letters  and  are denoted throughout by the same sign. The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit. The whole of it has been composed in prose. As regards orthography, the nāsa and asanga have very frequently been omitted. There are mistakes such as the use of  in the place of , of  in the place of  of  in the place of  etc.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of some land to a Brahmana called Nāraśyaṇa Jātyālakṣētra, son of Nārāyaṇa probably belonging to the village of Mahāvārāma. The donor was Anantavarman Vajrahasta, son of Bhūpēndravarman of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. The charter is dated in the year 383 of the augmenting and victorious reign of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era. But several scholars now hold that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 494 and 498 A.D. If this view is accepted, the date of the present inscription would fall in the period 877-81 A.D.

No other inscription of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, the donor of the present grant, has come to light as yet, nor is his name mentioned in any other grants known so far. Regarding his

---

2 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 73 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff.
5 [See below, p. 323, note 2.—Ed.]
According to the present record, the ancestors of the Gaṅga dynasty beyond that he was a son of Bhūpīḍravarmarman. Fortunately, however, the name of Bhūpīḍravarmarman is found in other inscriptions, e.g., the Chidivalasa plates and Nāpīṭavāṭaka grant. The first of these records is dated in Gaṅga year 397 and the second, though undated, has been assigned to the same age. These two grants were issued by Dēvēndravarmarman, son of Bhūpīḍravarmarman who is apparently identical with his namesake of the present record. The identification is supported by the dates of the records as well as the close similarity in the phraseology of their introductory portions. Thus Bhūpīḍravarmarman appears to have had two sons, viz. Anāntavarmarman Vajrahasta and Dēvēndravarmarman. The latter, as the date of the Chidivalasa plates would show, was the younger brother and successor of Anāntavarmarman Vajrahasta of the present charter.

From the Chidivalasa plates we learn that Bhūpīḍravarmarman was called also Mārasimha and his father's name was Vajrin. In the opinion of Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, Bhūpīḍravarmarman was identical with Rājēndravarmarman of the Mandasa plates of the Gaṅga year 342 as the names Rājēndra and Bhūpīḍra are synonymous. Mr. Sarma identifies Vajrin with Vajrahasta of the Parākṣikmeda plates. He further observes that this Vajrahasta was none other than Anāntavarmarman of the Alamanthala plates of the Gaṅga year 304 as the style and phraseology of these inscriptions would tend to show. Mr. Sarma proposes the following genealogy:

Rājēndravarmarman

Anāntavarmarman (Alamantha plates, Gaṅga year 304) alias Vajrahasta or Vajrin

Rājēndravarmarman (Gaṅga year 314; Mandasa plates, Gaṅga year 342) alias Bhūpīḍravarmarman

Dēvēndravarmarman (Indian Museum plates, Gaṅga year 308; Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 310)

Satyavarmarman (Chicacoole plates, Gaṅga year 351)

Anāntavarmarman Vajrahasta (the present record of Gaṅga year 333)

Dēvēndravarmarman (Chidivalasa plates, Gaṅga year 397; Nāpīṭavāṭaka grant); may be the same as his namesake of the Nirakarpur plates discussed below

Anāntavarmarman (Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 356).

---

3. Loo. cit.
8. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff.
In the absence of any definite proof, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma can only be regarded as tentative. Though Bhūpėndra and Rājēndra are synonymous, it cannot be held as certain on that ground that they were one and the same person. As noted above, the Chidivalasa plates mention Mārasimha as the second name of Bhūpēndravarman. But nowhere in the inscriptions discovered so far has he been called Rājēndra. Again, though it is quite possible that Vajrin was identical with Vajrahasta of the Paralakmedhi plate as suggested by Mr. Sarma, it is difficult to agree with his suggestion that he is identical also with Anantavarman of the Alamanḍa plates. It is equally plausible that Vajrin or Vajrahasta and his son Bhūpēndravarman reigned somewhere between the date of Anantavarman of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 and that of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present record of the Gaṅga year 383. This will not go against the question of phraseological affinities between the Paralakmedhi plates of Vajrahasta and those of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 388) or of the present grant. Nothing definite, however, can be said until further evidence comes to our aid. It may be noted that the Nirakarpur plates1 mention one Ṛṣivindravarman and his father Bhūpēndravarman. The prakasati portion of the inscription shows similarity to that of the present record as well as of the Chidivalasa plates mentioned above. This would suggest that they were identical with their namesakes of the Chidivalasa plates and the Nāpītavāṭaka grant.

The donor of the Nirakarpur plates was Udayakēdi, son of Ugrakēdi and grandson of Dharmaṅkēdi of the Kadamba family of Kaliṅga, which owed allegiance to the Gaṅga rulers. Besides the Nirakarpur plates, the Kadambas are mentioned also in several other inscriptions. The Paralakmedhi plates2 of Vajrahasta mention one Ugrakēdi who is described as the ornament of the Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidussanti. This Ugrakēdi was the governor of an area including a village called Ṛṣivayudha3 which was given to one Rājaputra śrī Kāmādi4 by Dārāpāraja, son of Chūla Kāmādirāja, in the reign of king Vajrahasta of Kaliṅga. The Paralakmedhi plates are not dated. But, as shown above, the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta mentioned therein was perhaps identical with Vajrin, father of Bhūpēndravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Ṛṣivindravarman. If this is accepted, Ugrakēdi of the Paralakmedhi plate was probably identical with the Kadamba chief of the same name mentioned in the Nirakarpur plates5 of Ṛṣivindravarman. Again, the Nirakarpur plates show that Udayakēdi, son of Ugrakēdi and grandson of Dharmaṅkēdi, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpēndravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the present grant) and the latter’s brother Ṛṣivindravarman.6

1 JERS, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
3 [The correct reading of the name is Ṛṣimātā which was wrongly deciphered by Kellner. It is given as Ṛṣimātā in an endorsement on the outer side of Plate III of the grant. Cf. JAS, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]
4 [The correct reading of the name seems to be Kāmādi. Apparently the same name is given as Kāmādi in the endorsement, according to which he received the village of Vaparaḍa (spelt Vaparaḍa in the main charter) attached to Ṛṣimātā from Bāsaka Udayakēdiśika who was the son and successor of Ugrakēdi of the main charter according to the Nirakarpur plates.—Ed.]
5 JERS, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
6 It may be mentioned in this connection that one Dharmaṅkēdi and his father Bhūmikēdi are mentioned in the Saṭṭa-Bommala plates (JAHRS, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.) of the Gaṅga year 620 and the Mandaḍa plates (A.R. Ep., 1918, pp. 138 ff.; JERS, Vol. XVII, p. 184) of the Śaka year 978. A Kadamba chieftain of the name of Dharmaṅkēdi is also mentioned in the Visagapatam plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff.) of Ṛṣivindravarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 294. The Kambalakṣa plates (A.R. Ep., 1927-28, App. No. 9; Journ. Bombay Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, pp. 27-28; JAHRS, Vol. X, pp. 196 ff.) of Śaka 1103 also refer to the Kadamba chieftain named Dharmaṅkēdi and Udayakēdiśa. From the widely separated dates of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to hold that, though some of these Kadamba chieftains bear the same names, they are not to be considered as identical because of the identity of their names alone but should be placed in different periods. [There is difference of opinion among scholars about the dates of the Mandaḍa and Kambalakṣa plates.—Ed.]
The writer of the charter was Sarvadēva. The name of one Sarvadēva occurs as the engraver of the Chioacole plates of Devendravarman (Gaṅga year 251) also. Mr. Rajaguru thinks that the date of the Chioacole plates should be construed as 351 and the two Sarvadēvas are to be treated as one and the same person. But there is a difficulty in accepting this suggestion. We know that Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman of the Indian Museum and Tekkali plates dated respectively in the Gaṅga years 308 and 310, issued his charter in the Gaṅga year 351. Thus it is difficult to place Devendravarman of the Chioacole plates in the year when Satyavarman was ruling.

The names of the localities mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified. It is interesting to note that to the names of the donor and his father are also attached the names of the localities to which they belonged. These names are given as Nārāyaṇa Jādyākālaṇa and Mahāvīra-grāma-gōtra Nārāyaṇa. Jādyāla as the name of a village is mentioned in the text of the present inscription (line 13). The practice of affixing the name of a village or locality to its resident is even now prevalent in different parts of India and outside.

**TEXT**

First Plate

1. Öhi Śvasty-Amarapur-ānukārin[āḥ] sarv-stya-sukha-rāmaṇi(pī)ya(yā)d-vijaya-
2. vata[āḥ] Kalīṅga(Agra)māgar-ā[āḥ]dvāsaka(kāṭ) Mahēndr-āchal-āmaśa-s(a)khara-prati-
3. aṣṭha(aṣṭha)stasya sa-[o]chara-gurū[ē] sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhāraṣya
4. saśānta-chu(aḥ)duṣṭeṣa(pē)abhagavato Gōkaraṇasvavājāma[n]-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-pra-
5. nāmād-vigata-kali-kalaikōnābha-sāhaya-samkshobha-jā[je]nita-jaya-svada(bdaḥ)

Second Plate, First Side

6. pratāp-vanamata-samastā-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-maṇjari-
9. rāti-kul-āchalō nāya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākurinyab[a]ya[n]-ā[sa]-[a]y-andāryya-
10. satya-tyāg-tādhā(ṣa)guna-sampad-āchāra-bhūtō Gaṅga-āśa(m)[a]laka-kula-

---

3. [See below, p. 255, note 2.—Ed.]
4. From letter impressions.
5. Denoted by symbol. Rajaguru does not read this symbol. The minor errors in his transcript of the inscription have not been noted in every case.
Scale: Nine-tenths
11 tilaka-trei(ma)ha(hā)rāja-Bhūpendra-varmaī-siṃuna ānanta-varmaṇa
12 hārājiṣṭhāra-tri-Vajrahasta-dvāna(na) idāni(ni) siṃa-liṅgāni likhyantō
14 lita-sīmāyaṁ tataḥ Pūrvvasyaṁ daīi halahādu-vrikṣaḥ(kaḥ)-tata(tō) bhātakī-
15 smaḍ-ananta-saṁ dhanamija-vrikṣaṁ-tata[n]1 tintri(ntri)nikā [[*]] A(ā)gañyā[yāṁ] diīi
16 Dakshīṇaśayā[n]1 diīi nāṇa-vrikṣa-ākula-śārtā gartā-āstāṁ tintri(ntri)nika(kā)-tarnā,
tasmād-a-

Third Plate

17 py-anantarān vā(va)ṃlā(mā)kaṣ-tatō nimbā(mba)-vrikṣaḥ-tasīmād-apy-anantarān .�ี่-
18 tō-anantarām-śūkāla-mula[m]1 Na[r]ītya[n]1 diīi sa[r]ōpita-pa(pā)ḥ(ṛha)ṣṭaḥ [[*]]
Pashchimāyā[n](māyāṁ) diś[i]2
19 vā(va)ṃlā(mā)kaḥ(ka)-tasmād-anantarān tīmira-nimbā(mbaḥ) pashchima-dīś-ṣeṣita-vṛṣa-
wāvyaśva diīi u-
20 bhaya-grāma-sa[r]īni[m]1 miliita-sīmā-āri(tī)pā(ta)-rāja-śāsan-āroṣitā-sīla-sīva | Uta(ṛta)pasyā[n]1
21 sa(sha)-vrikṣaḥ tasmā[d]ṣa-dhanamija[yā[n]1 | vā(va)ṃlā(mā)ka-halaṇdu-tintri(ntri)
22 ngāya-vaṃs(a)-vatītah-dhamāma-vījya-rājaḥ sāṃvatsara-sātā-tini1 sāṃvatschharī(ṁ)(sāṃvatsarī) karah2 [Phāguna-pratīṣṭhā].

[[*]] Read 'saṃvarṇaś tarya.
[[*]] Sundāśi has not been observed here.
[[*]] [The sentence remains incomplete. The mention of the donor and the gift land, found in lines 21-23 below, should have been made here.—Ed.]
[[*]] [Better read 'ākula-śārtā-ṣeṣita-vṛṣa—Ed.]
[[*]] Read 'śiīrṣa-Pāyaṇām. [Or, 'ṭīka śvi | Pāyaṇāḥ.—Ed.]
[[*]] Read sāṃvatsara-sātā-ṛṣṭi tṛya-śūkālasārī.
[[*]] Its meaning is not clear to me. [The reading intended is apparently sāṃvatsara-karnā meaning 'annual rent' (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115.).—Ed.]
23 [kha(v)]-pāṇcha-dēṣāḥ Mahāvā-grāma-gōtra(tra)-Nārāyaṇa-su(su)nu-Nārāyaṇa-Jad Yelpāla-khātā-
trāyaḥ [*] Pālana dharma-sēnuḥ [*] Sarvādeva

24 likhite[m*] |
No. 44—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

(D Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OTTAMUND

Several stone inscriptions of the Yajvapala or Jajapella king Asala (or Asala), his son Gopal and grandson Ganapati, all of whom had their headquarters at the hill-fort of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivarpi District of the old Gwalior State now in Madhya Prades), are known to scholars, although none of them has been properly edited. Most of these records were noticed by M.B. Garde in a small article on this dynasty of rulers published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVII, pp. 342 ff. They have also been enlisted in D. R. Bhandarkar’s Inscriptions of Northern India as Nos. 562, 576, 587, 603, 628, 635, and 642. While Bhandarkar’s No. 562 (from Bhimpur in the Shivarpi District, dated V. S. 1319=1262 A.D.) and No. 576 (from Rāi in the same District, dated V. S. 1327=1270 A.D.) belong to Asala (son of Nivaran, grandson of Chāhada and great-grandson of Paramadh), No. 587 (from Başandī in the same District), dated V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.), and No. 603 (from Narwar), dated V. S. 1339, Jyēṣṭha-sudi 8, Wednesday (9th May 1283 A.D.), belong to the reign of Gopal and the second of the two records speaks of Jayapala, who was the legendary founder of the dynasty and was popularly known as Jajapella, and of Chāhada (Chāhada) who was an ancestor of Gopal and was responsible for the capture of Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura-durga or the hill-fort of Narwar). No. 628 of Bhandarkar’s List, dated V. S. 1348, Chaitra-sudi 8; Thursday (27th March 1292 A.D.) comes from Surawaya (Shivarpi District) and belongs to the reign of Ganapati, while No. 636 (in the Gwalior Museum) is dated in V. S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) falling in the reign of Gopal and refers to Rāṇa Chāhigaddeva (wrongly read as Adhigaddeva) who was a feudatory of Gopal. Bhandarkar’s No. 642 (from Narwar) is dated V. S. 1355, Kṛṣṭi-vadī 5, Friday (36th September 1298 A.D.), and represents king Ganapati as the son of Gopal, grandson of Asala, great-grandson of Nivaran (Naravarman) and great-great-grandson of Chāhada.

Some other records bearing dates in the later years of Gopal’s reign have been noticed in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, as well as in H. N. Dwivedi’s Gwalior Rājanakte Abbhiṣek (Hindi), Gwalior, 1947. These are Dwivedi’s No. 149 (from Narwar, dated V. S. 1341=1284 A.D.), No. 152 (from Bālārpur in the Shivarpi District, dated V. S. 1342, Jyēṣṭha-vadī 3, Monday-23rd April 1285 A.D.) and No. 154 (from Pathrai in the same District, dated V. S. 1345, Vaiśākha-vadī 2, Saturday-9th April 1289 A.D.). Cf. also his No. 140 from Narwar and No. 158 from Bālārpur in the same District.

Similarly Dwivedi’s No. 175 (from Bālārpur, dated V. S. 1356=1299 A.D.) and No. 177 (from the same place, dated V. S. 1357=1300 A.D.) belong to the later years of Ganapati.

The above records will show that Gopal’s dates range between V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and 1346 (1289 A.D.) while Ganapati’s dates fall between V. S. 1345 (1292 A.D.) and 1357 (1300 A.D.). A number of coins issued by Chāhada and Asala were discovered by Cunningham. The dates on the coins of the two kings range respectively between V. S. 1294 (? and 1311 (i.e. 1237-38 A.D.) and between V. S. 1311 and 1336 (i.e. 1254-79 A.D.) respectively. Chāhada is no doubt the same as

1 This suggestion that the name of the family was Chāhamsana (Ray, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 834, note 1 and pp. 1103-04) is clearly wrong. The family name was really Jajapella which was Sanskritised as Yajvapala and associated with a mythical progenitor named Yajvapala or Jajapella.

2 Some of these Annual Reports were not printed.


(323)
Jahir Deo of Firishta and Châhâr-i-Ajâr of Minhâjud-din. He was a contemporary of Sultan Nâşiruddîn (1246-66 A.D.) of Delhi and has been described by Minhâjud-din as 'the greatest of all the Râsîs' in the tract comprising Gwâlîâr, Chândîrî, Nurwâr and Mâlîwâh and as having 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command. In A.H. 649 (1251 A.D.) he is stated to have been defeated by Ghiyâshâd-din Bâbân on behalf of the Sultan and the fortress (at Nurwâr according to Firishta), 'which was constructed by him among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered.' But the said subjugation of Châhâça of Narwar was apparently nominal as Châhâça and his son Ñâslá could not have issued coins of their own if they were really subordinates of the Sultan.

We have now also some coins of Ganapati. It is well known that the Muslims considered the issue of coins to be a monopoly of independent monarchs. After Ganapati nothing is known about the Yajjavâlâ or Jajârelâ dynasty which may have been overthrown by Sultan 'Alâuddîn Khalîjî (1296-1316 A.D.). On this point we have no information in the Muslim chronicles. The statement that Châhâça was the builder of the fortress of Narwar seems to be wrong. We have a copper-plate grant issued from Nâlpur-mahâdurga in V.S. 1177 (1130 A.D.) by an independent Kachchhanapâhâta king named Virâsînâ who was the son of Ñârâdaiinâ and grandson of Ganâsînâ. We have also seen how Châhâça claimed only to have captured Nâlâgî, i.e. the hill-fort of Narwar.

About the beginning of 1855, I camped for a few days at Shwâpuri, headquarters of the District of that name in the present Madhya Prâadesh, and copied a number of inscriptions of the reign of king Gâpâlî in the said area, one at Sesaî and fifteen at Bânlâ. These records were found on stone pillars commemorating warriors killed in fighting and often bearing representations of footmen, horsemen and elephant-riders engaged in battle and of fallen warriors worshipping the Śiva-lînga or enjoying the company of celestial damsels in heaven. In some cases, the persons are represented as worshipping the Śiva-lînga jointly with their wives, implying thereby that the ladies committed Saû on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Generally only one face of the pillar bears such a representation above an inscription; but in some cases all the faces have carvings although only one of the faces bears an inscription. Many of the pillars have their head fluted and crowned with a pinnacle.

The inscriptions exhibit considerable carelessness of the scribes. The characters are Nâgârî of the ordinary type and do not call for any special remark. It may, however, be pointed out that, in respect of calligraphy, these inscriptions cannot be compared with the beautifully engraved Yajjavâlâ (Jajârelâ) prâkatîs preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The writing on many of the pillars is more or less damaged. The language of the records is corrupt Sanskrit, although the corruption of the language is more remarkable in some epigraphs than in others. A few of them are couched in verse. The orthography and grammar of the inscriptions are greatly influenced by the local dialect. The root yadh has been used to indicate 'to die in fighting,' and the word yâdhi has been used with reference to a person who had fought in a battle and died in the course of the fight or as a result of it. All the pillars bearing the inscriptions published below were raised to perpetuate the memory of certain warriors who died this kind of herioc death which was extolled in ancient India as highly meritorious. It is also apparent that the wives of some of the warriors commited Saû on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. Unfortunately the language of the record is generally defective and does not bring out the intended meaning quite clearly. This characteristic of leaving the meaning intended by the scribe in many cases to be guessed by the reader is generally noticed in the private medieval records of the Malwa-Rajasthan region and has already been referred to above.

1 Târîkh-i-Firishtâ, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 239; Tabâqât-i-Nâgârî, Raviery's trans., Vol. II, pp. 699-91 and note; cf. also p. 175. Châhâça ascended the throne earlier than 1281 A.D. as in that year he is stated to have defeated Malik Nâsrûl-dîn Tâvârî, a general of Sultan Ñâlâmî, on the bank of the Kali Sîndh.

AJOS, Vol. VI, p. 542; Bhadarkar's List, No. 290.


See Vol. XXX, pp. 102-93.
No. 44] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA
325

1.—Inscription from Sessai, V. S. 1341

Sessai is a village about nine miles from Shivarupur, the headquarters of the District of that name. An inscription on a memorial stone-pillar in this village was noticed in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for Sаñvat 1971 (No. 21), and in Dvivedi's Gwalior Rajyaksa Abhibhukta, No. 141. Unfortunately the Report does not appear to have been published, while Dvivedi fails to notice that the inscription belongs to the reign of the Yajvapala (Jajapalla) king Gopala.

The epigraph contains twelve lines of writing and covers an area about 12" by 9". The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The record bears the date: V. S. 1341, Pausha-vadtri 1, Monday. The details of the date are irregular, but may refer to the 25th of December 1284 A.D.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham, followed by the word svasti. King Gopala-deva is then introduced with a string of epithets including Paramahatjaraka Maharak każdy dhira-pramahatra and Paramamahatra. Then it speaks of the vajra or rule of Jaitujahmadeva, 'the slave of the servants of cows and Brāhmaṇas'. Although his relations with Gopala is not specifically indicated, he was undoubtedly a subordinate ruler under the Yajvapala (Jajapalla) monarch. He seems to be the same as Mahakumara or Kumbara Jaitravarna called Jaitavrahamdeva, Jayatvrahamdeva or Jayatvrahamdeva in the Banga inscriptions (Nos. 3-5; cf. No. 15) edited below. He probably enjoyed the status of a sub-king or Yuvaraja. His mention in these records may be compared with that of a feudatory in some medieval inscriptions of Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan.1

The object of the record is found in lines 5 ff. It has been stated that Ra Malaya-deva of the family called Dumgot was jukha (i.e. gudhita in the sense of 'dead as the result of fighting in a battle') in connection with a case of cattle-lifting at the pratibi (i.e. a street or ward) of Sessai-gra. It is further stated that his elder wife named Mahiñi (i.e. Mahiñi-devi) and younger wife named Nāvula (i.e. Nāvula-devi) also became jukha. It is clear that Malaya-deva lost his life while resisting the operations of certain cattle-lifters at the village of Sessai. His two wives were probably killed by the enemies who appear to have invaded Malaya-deva's residence at the village.2 The sentence that follows says how the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was caused to be made by Ra Hima and Ra Himaraja who were respectively the elder and younger sons of Malaya-deva. The contraction rā, used in connection with the names of Malaya-deva and his sons, stands for ṛata which was derived from Sanskrit rājapatra and was commonly used as a title of subordinate chiefs.

Sessai-gra is no doubt the village where the inscription has been found.

TEXT

1 Siddham svasti śrī [h] | *[Prakhri kri]vā-virajamāna-|| sakalā-vira(ru)d-ū-
2 vāla-sāmānkrāte- | *[paramahatjaraka-maharājādhirāja-
3 pramahatra(āva) ra-paramahatjaraka-maharājā-śri-prithvi(thvi)pa-

1 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 192, 193 and note 1.
2 The language of the record may of course also suggest that the two wives of Malaya-deva took part in the fighting with the cattle-lifters.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 The dōṣa are superfluous. The expression prakhri-virajamāna seems to mean 'favourishing in the exalted position'. One may also suggest prakṛiti for prakṛtya.
6 The dōṣa is unnecessary.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

4 ti-sakalarējya1 || śrimanta-Gopāladēva2 || gau(g8)-Vra(Bṛā)-
5 ḍhama-ād-asu-dēśaḥ śrimat-Ja(t)ñauh-ma-dēva[h8] || ta-
6 sya rāja-samāya || Sēsa-grāma Darāgrōt-kula-rākār-Śrī-Malaya-
7 dēva[h8] pratīli-saṃgha-di-sāmāyāta-gō-graha-nimi-
8 tā[ ] judhih[ ]-au(eti) ||[*] tas[ ] bhār[ ] ṣ[ ] dvau samiti[ ][*] jēṣṭa[ ] bhār[ ] ṣ[ ] Māhi-
9 gī[/n]mā[ ]-ś[ ] la[ ]-hā[ ] ṣ[ ] Nāvula[ ]-ṃ[ ] sarasū-rāj[ ]
10 dhi[ ]-et[ ] d[ ]-ta[ ]-putra-trau- dvau samiti[ ][*] jēṣṭa[ ] rā[ ] Hīṃs[ ] la[ ]
11 sarāja[h8] kula-madhō-dhū[ ] udō(ddyōta-kā[ ]-kas[ ]-*[ ] ta[ ] kṛ[ ] kī[ ] kar[ ]
12 pita-yē[ ] Samvatu10 134[ ] Pauhau[ ] di 1 Sōma-dinā judh[ ]

2.—Inscriptions from Bāngā, V. S. 1338 or 1337

Bāngā is a small village about five miles to the east of the fort of Narwar. Near the village there is a vast stretch of rocky waste land covered with thorny shrubs. This area extends from the border of the village to the river Baras which is a small tributary of the Sindh and runs about a mile to the east of the village. It is studded with a number of memorial stone pillars, many of which are inscribed. A good many of these inscriptions refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of the Jajapāla (Jajapāla) king Gopāla against the Chandella monarch Vītravarma whose known dates range between 1261 and 1286 A.D. We have selected

1 The intended reading may have been "rāṣṭra-pati."  
2 The dhana are superfluous.
3 The intended reading is śrimad-Gopāladēva. It has to be noticed that no word has been used to indicate Gopāla's relation with the person mentioned in the following line, who was apparently the former's subordinate. This relation could have been expressed by writing Gopāladēva prabhū-patau (cf. Select inscriptions, pp. 283, 285, 324, etc.).
4 Read śrimaj-Jaya. The correct form of the name seems to be Jaiyavarma.
5 i.e., ṛṭa.
6 The language is defective, but the meaning is clear. Pradhān means a street or ward of a town or village.
Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 333-34 (verse 13), 337; Bose, History of the Chandellas, p. 160. The fight was in a pradhān of Sēsa in resisting gh-rodanas by some enemies. Sāmāyāt may stand for Sanskrit sāmāyakār, 'a battle'.
7 This is the same as yuddhihitā meaning 'died in fighting' as found in some of the Bāngā inscriptions edited below.
8 Read bārāyē deva taṅ.
9 Read jēṣṭha bhārāyē.
10 i.e., Maḥāpāla.
11 Read bhārāyē.
12 i.e., Nāvula[ ].
13 The language of the passage is defective. But the meaning seems to be that the two wives of Malayadēva lost their lives in the hands of the cattle-lifters. The intended reading of the passage may have been sāmāyāt yuddhihitā meaning that the two ladies were killed in the course of the battle violently.
14 Read taṅ.
15 Read jēṣṭha bhārāyē.
16 I.e., ṛṭa.
17 The intended reading seems to be taṅghāyād meaning Hīṃsā-Hamavartaḥkāyā. The word taṅghāyād may also mean Malayadēva[ ]a[ ]. But in that case taṅghāyād should have been added to the text. The pillar seems to have been raised in the memory of Malayadēva and his wives by his two sons.
18 This refers to the memorial stone bearing the inscription. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.
19 Read kṛitāti.
20 Read Sambhār.
21 Read yuddham.
2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

Scale: One-half
seven (Nos. 1-7) out of these records for publication, although the remaining eight records (Nos. 8-15) have also been noticed in an appendix. Seven such epigraphs were first briefly noticed in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Guzerat State, for V. S. 1931 (1934-35), 1938, pp. 8, 12, 25-26 (Nos. 7-13), and then in Dvivedi’s List, Nos. 133-39. Although these meagre notices are not free from errors, they should have attracted the attention of scholars, which they rightly deserve. Unfortunately even the authors of the recently published works on the history of the Chandellas have not taken their evidence into cognizance.¹

The date of the battle between the forces of Gopala and those of Viravarm, in which the partisans of the former lost their lives, is quoted in six of the records (Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12) as V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 28th March 1281 A.D. In one case (No. 3), the week-day, is quoted as Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, instead of Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, of the other cases (Nos. 1, 2, 4-9, 11-12; cf. also No. 10), and in five cases (Nos. 1, 7-8, 10 and 15) the year is given as V. S. 1337. The confusion about the week-day is apparently due to an error of the scribe concerned. But the reference to both V. S. 1338 and 1337 to indicate the same year may be explained away. If the year is regarded as Kārttikā, V. S. 1338 current was the same as V. S. 1337 expired.

In some cases, the warriors specifically claim to have obtained victory in the battle. It is clear that the army of Viravarm invaded the kingdom of Yajvapala (Jayapāla) Gopala and succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter’s capital Nalapura (Narwar). But the Yajvapala forces then offered battle and repulsed the invaders. The Chandella king thus seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Yajvapala after having gained some initial success. The battle referred to in the inscriptions probably lasted only for a day. A large number of soldiers on Viravarm’s side must also have lost their lives; but there is no record of that besides vague claims on behalf of the partisans of Gopala in the records under study. The battle is stated to have been fought on the banks of the river variously called Valuva, Vohuca, Valua, Valubh, Valuhka and Valuka which is no other than the modern Burna. The identity of the invading king Viravarm is made clear by his mention in one record (No. 2) as Chandella (Chandella), by another (No. 1) referring to his association with Jēṣāhutti, and by two others (Nos. 8 and 11) describing him as lord of Jēṣāhukta and the king of Jēṣāhutti respectively. Jēṣāhutti and Jēṣāhukta are variant forms of the name applied to the Chandella dominions, Jēṣaka-bhakti, Jēṣaka-dēsa and Jēṣaka-mahādala being often mentioned in the records of the Chandellas themselves.² Two of these records (Nos. 1 and 11) further say that Viravarm was accompanied by four other kings who were no doubt his allies or vassals. But no other details about these rulers are given.

The records from Bagilū throw some light on the interpretation of a passage in the Dāhi copper-plate grant of Chandella Viravarm which bears the date V. S. 1337, Vaishākha-sudi 1, Sunday.³ The inscription, which is now lost, was secured by Ellis in 1848 from Dāhi, 42 miles to the east of Bijāwar in Bundelkhand, and he supplied a note on its contents (based on a hopelessly inaccurate transcript) to Cunningham who succeeded in suggesting some corrections on the basis of a transcript (also erroneous) that was prepared by him from an impression of the record.⁴ Kielhorn equated the date with the 4th May 1281 A.D. which is just a little over one month later than the date of the

¹ See N. Bose, History of the Chandellas, Calcutta, 1908: The Struggle for the Empire, Bombay, 1927, pp. 60, 146.
³ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 606.
Bāgli inscriptions (viz. 25th March 1581 A.D.). It will be seen that the same year was regarded as V.S. 1588 in most of the Bāgli inscriptions and as V.S. 1337 in the Dāhi plate and in several epigraphs from Bāgli. According to Elini, his copper-plate inscription records the grant of the village of Dāhi in favour of a Brahmana named Balbhadra Māllaya, an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery, who has conquered the Rajas of Nalpur, Gopāl-Madhavan, Hatta, Har-raj, Gopagiri, Sardhi, the Turks, and rulers from Kashmir. Cunningham pointed out that the grant was made by Chandella Vira Varman of Kālaśā on behalf of Māllaya of the Kāyapa gōra, who conquered 'the lord of Narwā' (Samarayogāpanāyita Nalapura-pati) and the ruler of Mathura (Gopāla Madhvān-kādhipa) and Harira of Gwalior (Gopagiri). Although Cunningham’s transcript and interpretation are apparently defective, later writers (including the authors of the most recent works on the history of the Chandellas, referred to above) have generally accepted his views. But Bhandarkar rightly suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Chandella king Vira Varman mentioned in the Dāhi grant was the Yajnapāla king Gopāla of Nalapura. There is little doubt that the Dāhi grant mentions Nalapura-pati Gopāla as one of the rulers vanquished by Māllaya who was probably a general of Vira Varman. The Chandella prāśastikāra, who composed the record, seems to have given here a partisan’s reading of the results of Vira Varman’s invasion of the kingdom of Gopāla.

Inscription No. 1 is a record in five lines of prose composition beginning with the symbol for Siddham. It says how, when Paramabhūtraka Mahāraja Māllaya Gopāla was ruling from Nalapura-durga, Mahārāja Vira Varman of Jēśhūtī arrived at Nalapura together with four other kings, on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1337. It further says that Rājakula Visala, who was the husband, fought in the field near the river Valukā and that mahārāja Dhumādevi became famous. There is of course little doubt about the intended meaning of the inscription, although it has not been made quite clear by the scribe. Apparently Rājakula Visala, no doubt a feudatory of the Yajnapāla (Jajapāla) king Gopāla, died while fighting against the invading army of Vira Varman and his wife Dhumā burnt herself on his funeral pyre.

Inscription No. 2 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the word Siddhi. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The metre of the two stanzas at the beginning of the record is Amushukhī. The verses speak of the same thing as the prose part that follows. Rājraṣṭa Gajavakula-rāsta Vāndana, who was the son of Rābho Dēya and grandson of Rābho Bhōja, is stated to have fought on the bank of the river Volduka or Valukā at Nalapura in a battle against the Chandella (Chandella) Mahāraja Vira Varman on behalf of Mahāraja Gopāla on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1338. The name of the river is quoted as Volduka in the vernacular portion of the inscription and as Valukā in its prose part. Vāndana, who enjoyed the titles Rājraṣṭa and GaJa-vakula-rāsta, was no doubt a feudatory of king Gopāla. Although it has not been made clear by the language of the inscription, Vāndana must have died in the battle. In verse 2, the chief is stated to have fought (i.e. died fighting) on the back of a horse after having killed many soldiers of Vira Varman’s side.

Inscription No. 3 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date Samvat 1338 and the word svasti. It then speaks of Paramabhūtraka Paramāśvara Paramamahēśvara Gopāla-dēya, Mahākuvara Jaitavrahmadēya (i.e. Jaitavrahmadēva) and Mahāpradhāna Rā (i.e. Rābho) Dejāi without specifically mentioning the relations that must have existed among the three. There is, however, no doubt that the Mahāpradhāna (also called Pradhāna in No. 10 and 15 and Mantrin in No. 9) was serving directly under the Mahākuvara (also called Kumāra in No. 15 below) who was a subordinate of Gopāla. All three appear to be described as belonging to what has been called Jvajukullavāsam which may be a mistake for Jvajukullavānva or
No. 44] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

Jajapatilla-varna. The title Mahākumāra borne by princes is well known from the inscriptions especially of the later Paramāras.\(^1\) Jaitravarma seems to have been the eldest son of Gopāla and the de facto ruler of the Yayvapāla (Jayavapala) kingdom during the later years of his father's reign. He, however, seems to have predeceased his father as the latter's throne passed after his death to his other son Gaupapati. The title Mahāpradhāna appears to have been borne by the chief administrator or minister of the kingdom.\(^2\)

The record then speaks of Rāja (i.e. Rāuda) Haradēva who was the son of Rāja (i.e. Rāuda) Kum-varāśēha (Kumāraśīṅha) and is probably stated to have belonged to the Chaupāra-sīṅha family. Whether Chaupāra is a mistake for Chaupāna cannot be determined. The inscription next speaks of the battle fought in the field near the Vāvāvā river. It does not mention the Chaudāapa king, with whose forces the battle referred to in the record was undoubtedly fought. The inscription ends with the date: Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, which seems to be a mistake for Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.

Inscription No. 4 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date: V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. It is then said that at that time, when Mahārajā Jaiyavirāja Gopāla was ruling at Nalsura-durgā and Rāvata Jayatvārahāmadēva (i.e. Jaitravārahāmeda) and Mahāpradhāna Dēlai were running the administration, a battle was fought with king Vīravārahāmeda (i.e. Virāvaradēva) in the field near the river Vāvāvā. The title Rāvata was derived from Sanskrit Rāpakutra and seems to have been used as a variant of Rāvata. The concluding part of the inscription mentions Rājakutra Dēlaiha (i.e. Arisimha) and his son Dhaddhāha as well as Rājputra Sīhāṭī.\(^3\) These three persons must have died in the battle, although that fact has not been clearly stated. The last sentence of the inscription seems to refer to a lady who committed Sati.

The language of lines 1-8 of Inscription No. 5 is similar to that of lines 1-9 of Inscription No. 4. The concluding part of Inscription No. 5 speaks of certain persons whose names are doubtful but may be: Rājakutra Laṣāha, Vatha, Dēło, Rāja (i.e. Rāuda) Sīhāṭī (i.e. Sīhāṭī), Sīhāṭī's son Rāvy Gaughēśa, and Mamalāva. Although the word used with reference to these persons is merely yuddha, there is no doubt that they died in fighting in the battle against the invading forces of Vīravāram. The concluding words of the inscription are unintelligible.

The language of Inscription No. 6, which is indifferently engraved, is exceptionally corrupt. After the Siddham symbol followed by the word siddhi and the date: V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, there comes a metrically defective stanza referring to the battle fought on behalf of Gopāla on the bank of the river Vāvāvā. The fourth foot of the stanza is unintelligible. The following portion in prose speaks of the battle fought during the sovereignty of Mahārajā Jaiyavirāja-pati Paramākara Paramāmākara Gopāla. It seems to state further that Gōtimudana, son of Jadavā (Jayadavā ?), fought against Vīravārman and won victory in the battle after having killed ten soldiers of the other side.

Inscription No. 7 consists of five stanzas in the Anūshṭubha metre followed by the date: V. S. 1337, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. Verses 1-2 of the inscription speak of a hero. His name seems to be Gaiyaka whose father was a distinguished archer and whose sons were named Indra and Vata. Verse 3 says how there was a terrible battle between Vīravārman and king Gopāla on the bank of the river Vāvāvā. Verses 4-6 state that Gaiyaka, who was devoted to his master and taught the science of archery to his sons Indra and Vata, died in fighting (yuddhi) after having defeated the enemies in battle and offered the glory of his victory to king Gopāla.

---

1 See Ray, op. cit., pp. 882 ff. For a Mahākumāra in the Kalachuri family, see ibid., p. 800.
2 For two Mahāpradhānas appointed by a Chaullukya king, see ibid., p. 1033.
3 It is also possible to think the Sīhāṭī was a resident of a locality called Dhaddhāha.
TEXT

Inscription No. 1

1 Siddham\(\textsuperscript{1}\) Saññvat 1337 Chaitra-sud\(\textsuperscript{2}\) 7 Su(ṣu)kr\(\textsuperscript{3}\) | adزوار-Nalapur-adurgr\(\textsuperscript{4}\) | samasta-cr\(\textsuperscript{5}\)-a\-

2 li-saṃkṣaṁkṣrita\(\textsuperscript{6}\)-paramabhaṭṭārak-ṣty-ṣṭi-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Ga-

3 pāladāvā-di(vijaya-rājyā) ity-asmin kāle varṭamāne Jējāhuti-samaḥ-mahārā-

4 ja-srī(ṣrī)mad-Viravarmmadēvaḥ chaturbhi rājās\(\textsuperscript{7}\) sa[ha] Na[la]purū samāyātaḥ | Valu[v]ā-

5 nadi- kshetra | pañc-Viṣala-sat-Rāṣṭrā yuddhitaḥ\(\textsuperscript{8}\) | mahāsati [Dhū]mādevi prasiddh\(\textsuperscript{9}\) ;|

Inscription No. 2

1 Siddham\(\textsuperscript{10}\) || Siddhiḥ || kārī Gōpāla-

2 bhūpagyā Vāṃdānō raṣa-[nām]\(\textsuperscript{11}\)-

3 ditaḥ | pauroṣaṣa ēri-Bhōjādē- 

4 vasya putro Dēv-ābhidhāsya 

5 cha || [\(\textsuperscript{12}\) Vṛtuka-sarītas-tīre 

6 saṅita(grāmā) Viravarmmaṇapāḥ | yu-

7 yuddhā\(\textsuperscript{13}\) turag-ārūḍhā nihata na-

8 bhāṣāv(a-ba)hūn || 2 Saññvat 1338 

9 Chaitra-sud\(\textsuperscript{14}\) 7 Śukra-vārē | ēri-Nala-

10 purē | mahārājā-ēri-Gōpāladēva-

11 kārī Cāndālla\(\textsuperscript{15}\) mahārāja-ēri-

12 Viravarmma-sahgrāmā-yaśati-karā\(\textsuperscript{16}\) | rā-

13 uta-Bhōjādēva-puṣcro-rauta-Dēvā[ā]-

14 putro rāya-rauta-gajavāhāru-

15 ta-Vāṃdānō Valu-nadi-navē(ṭa)ē 

16 yuddhā \(\textsuperscript{17}\)

---

\(\textsuperscript{1}\) From impressions.

\(\textsuperscript{2}\) This is No. 224 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.

\(\textsuperscript{3}\) Expressed by symbol which has, however, not the usual globular sign at the end.

\(\textsuperscript{4}\) Read samāsāmavyāra or samāsāmāksara. Paramabhaṭṭārak-ṣty-ādē should better be read before samāsā.

\(\textsuperscript{5}\) This contraction may stand for samāṣī;

\(\textsuperscript{6}\) Read chaturbhā (or chaturbhā) rājābhaḥ.

\(\textsuperscript{7}\) The daṣad is superfluous.

\(\textsuperscript{8}\) Read saññ-Rāṣṭrā.

\(\textsuperscript{9}\) This word has been used to indicate Viṣala's death in fighting.

\(\textsuperscript{10}\) The intended meaning of this sentence is that Dāmatādēs committed Saññ.

\(\textsuperscript{11}\) This is No. 219 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.

\(\textsuperscript{12}\) Expressed by symbol.

\(\textsuperscript{13}\) Read yuddhā as in line 16. The word has been used to indicate Vāṃdana's death in fighting.

\(\textsuperscript{14}\) This is a variant of the family name Cāndālla.

\(\textsuperscript{15}\) The word gajabha here means either 'an incident, occurrence or affair' or 'a calamity'.

\(\textsuperscript{16}\) There is a slanting daṣad attached to the second member of the double daṣad to indicate the end of the writing.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE II

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 2

Scale: One-third
Inscriptions of the Time of Yajvapala Gopala

Inscription No. 3

3. râ[18] paragah(rem) gura(râ[19]) parmarâjâ[20] srâ(sri) mad-Gopâlà(la)dévâ(vâ[21])
7. râ- Kûmâvâsâhâ-pura[râ] Ha[râ]jâdevâ(hâ) yuddhâ Valâ[31]
8. kâ-nâyâ(hâ) kshêrâ[32] pachamapaya[kâ] yuddhâ[33] Chaîtra-su[34]
9. di 2 Sa(Sa)nau[35] dinâ[36]

Inscription No. 4

4. jyê tasmin kâle varttamâna[45] râ[vâta]
6. parighâ[49] gadani-vyaparita-samâya[50]
7. râjâ(sri)-Vira-vrahmadâva[51] saṅgrâmâ Valuva[52]

---

1. This is No. 216 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
2. Expressed by symbol.
3. The expressions paramapuru and pramâṣṭi are not generally met with in the string of royal epithets found in inscriptions.
4. The correct form of the name, given here and in No. 15 as Jaitâ, in No. 4 as Jayaâ and in No. 6 as Jâsaâ, seems to be Jaitavramadéva.
5. I. e. râûla.
6. If this may be regarded as a mistake for Yajvapala or Jayapala, king Gopala and his subordinate Jaitravarman and Dejai all belonged to the same family. As suggested above, Mahâkumâra Jaitravarman may have been a son of Gopala.
7. It is difficult to determine whether the first part of the family name is a mistake for Chaubhâna.
8. The danda is superfluous.
10. I.e. râûla.
11. The meaning of the passage is obscure. Is the intended reading pachamapaya[kâ]?
12. This word seems to have been used here in the sense of yuddhâ[â]lê found elsewhere.
13. This seems to be a mistake for di 7 Suâ[â[ê] as quoted elsewhere.
14. This is No. 220 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
15. The correct form of the name, given as Jayaâ[46] here, Jaitâ in Nos. 3 and 15, and Jâsaâ in No. 6, seems to be Jaitravarman.
16. The language of the passage is defective. But it apparently refers to the time when Jaitravarman and Dejai were conducting the affairs of administration during the reign of Gopala.
17. The correct form of this name as given in Nos. 1-2, 6-9 and 15 is Viśvarman.
Inscription No. 5

1 Siddhamā [*] Sarvāvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Śu)krē
2 adyaśa śrīma[n*-]Nalapura-dugrē[ṛgē] | mahā-
3 rājādhirāja-āri-Gopāladēva-vi-
4 jaya-rājyē tamāṅ kālē vatta[(rta)ma]-
5 na(n) | āri-Jayatvra[hmadē]va-mahāpradhāna-
6 Dējē | parigraha- | gandāi-vyāpārē(rī)-
7 te-sanyā* rājā[ja]-āri-Vitravratmadēva-12
8 saṅgrāmē Valukā-nadi-[khaṭrē]-āvīnāi-
9 [ta]-yudham(ḥdham | rājaputra-L[abha |?] Vatha[ṛ] Dējē
ta11-Śhidatt-asya[ṛ] putra[ṛ]* rana(ṛ)ā
yudham12 abē(khaṭrē) Sahārma[y]a14 [\"\"]

Inscription No.6

1 Siddhamā Siddhiḥ | Sarvāvat(vat) 1338
2 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukrē [*] Valukā-
3 saritās-tirē yudham saha Viṭra-
4 vyānmaṇaḥ14 | Gopāladēva-kā-

1 The name seems to be the same as Arisinha.
2 These persons must have lost their lives in the battle referred to.
3 This obscure passage seems to mean that a person named Vaṭīta who was a resident of Devāśa (modern Dewat?) lost his life in the battle and that his wife committed Sati. Devāśa-Vaṭīta may also mean two persons named Devāśa and Vaṭīta.
4 This is No. 231 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
5 Expressed by symbol .
6 The correct form of the name, given elsewhere (Nos. 3-4, 15) as Jaīta or Jayata, seems to be Jaibarvarman.
7 This name is elsewhere given as Dējē. The following doṣa is superfluous.
8 For this defective passage see note on the corresponding passage in No. 4 above.
9 Read "samsāya.
10 The correct form of the name is Vitravratman as given in some of the inscriptions (Nos. 1-2, 6-9, 15).
11 i.e. rāja.
12 Read "sīhādaṭē" āsaya.
13 This word has been used to indicate the fact that the persons mentioned lost their lives in fighting.
14 The passage is obscure but may mean that the persons in question died while fighting in an area belonging to a person named Sahānamsa.
15 This is No. 218 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
16 Read "saṃsāya."
Inscriptions of the Time of Yajvapala Gopala — Plate III

2. — Inscriptions from Bangla. V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 4

Scale: One-half
2. - Inscriptions from Bangla, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 5

Scale: One-half
None of the other eight inscriptions from Baiglá copied by me can be completely deciphered owing to unsatisfactory preservation and careless incision. They are briefly noticed below.

---

1 This is a metrically defective stanza, the meaning of the fourth foot of which is obscure. If a name like Eda Mangana is read here, it will not tally with the name given in line 11 below.

2 This stands for the Sanskrit word krūddha; but the preceding word, the reading of which is doubtful, is unintelligible.

3 The reading of the passage is doubtful. If the name of the hero is read here as Gōtinōduṇa, it will not tally with the one given in line 5 above. It is difficult to determine whether the reading intended is Gōtinōduṇa, (3rd case-ending) or Gōtinōduṇa (1st case-ending) or Gōtinōduṇa (6th case-ending).

4 The language of the passage is defective and its reading doubtful; but it seems to refer to ten persons of the enemy’s side, who were killed by the hero in whose memory the pillar was raised.

5 This is No. 322 of A. R. Ep., 1964-55, Appendix B.

6 There appears to be a symbol for Siddhā at the beginning of the line.

7 The name of a family quoted here is doubtful.
No. 8.—This is No. 214 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 12 lines of writing in the inscription. Of these, lines 1-8 run as follows:

1 Siddham [*] Vaghālaka-vamśa(ā) Śīnhe-śūnaṁ Bhanurdharō
2 va(ba)bhūva [*] tasya putrō Garīghōkā va(ba)bhūva | asya
3 putrau Indauva(ka)-Kauka va(ba)bhūvatuh | Nalapura[atha]-
4 rājā Gōpāldevasya kāryaṇa Jējāmu(bhu)kt-1-
5 sva(śva)rēṇa Viravarmmanā saha Vālikā nadi-
6 tīrṇa Indaukā putrā Gāmbugāna bhratrā cha
7 Kaukēna sahitō raṣe yuddhitaḥ || || ||
8 Sanskrit 1337 Chattra-sud[di] 7 Śukra-dinī ||

These lines state that Gāmbuga (son of the archer Śīnhe or Śīnha of the Vaghālaka family) died along with his two sons named Indauka and Kaukā in fighting against Viravarmman, lord of Jējābhukti, on behalf of king Gōpāla of Nalapura. The heroes appear to have claimed descent from the Chaulukya-Vaghālaka dynasty of Gujarat. The description of Viravarmman as the lord of Jējābhukti is interesting to note. This form of the name of the Chandella territory is more Sanskritic than Jējāhuti mentioned in Nos. 1 and 11. The year of the Vikrama Sāvatī is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 15 instead of 1336 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

Lines 9-10 of this inscription cannot be fully deciphered. Lines 11-12 appear to be engraved by a different hand. Their language is also very much defective. The last sentence of the record in these two lines appears to read asya Indauvaṇaṃ pachās āṇaṁ-asṇam kumāṛī namaya varaita. This may mean that eight girls committed Sati on the funeral pyre of Indauka. The word namaya seems to be a mistake for maraya[m^].

No. 9.—This is No. 215 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether eight lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:—

1 Siddham [*] siddhi[ḥ] [*] Sāvatī(vat) 1338
Chattra-sud[di] 7 Suṣa(Se)krē
2 Nalapura-durgā ār(a)-rājadhirāja-Gō-
3 pāladeva[h*] | mām(br)ī-yō(ārī)-Dejā-parigrahi-ga-
4 dani || rājaj[na*-]ār(a)-vI(vI)ravamhadeśa śalu-
5 nadi ah(ah)trē yuddhāḥ(ddhat) Kāli-Suya-Lēlā-4

1 Expressed by a symbol which has not the usual globular mark at the right end and looks slightly different from the other cases of it use in the epigraphs published here.
2 The name may have been Śīnhe or Śīnha. In the latter case, we have to suggest Śīnha-nāma or Śīnhe nāma.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The name is given as Dejā in Nos. 3-4, as Dejī in No. 5 and as Dejā in Nos. 10 and 15. He was the Madrasāna of the Vajrapāla (Jajapāla) kingdom. No. 10 calls him Praddāna. In the present epigraph he seems to be called a Māndana.
5 Read Viravarmmanāḥ.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF VAJAVAPALA GOPALA

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 6

Scale one half
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

Lines 6-7 of this record appear to contain some additional personal names. There is probably reference to a lady committing Sāti in line 8.

No. 10.—This is No. 223 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether nine lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:

1 Siddham1 [i*] Sātvatavat (vat) 1337 Chaitra sudī...#
2 Su(Su)krē Valuś-nadi-ahā(kshē)tra...
3 .ārī-rājādhirāj[aj][a]-Gō-
4 pāladēva[h*] pradhāna-Dēja*-mada-
5 ni-kārya4..............rāja Vi(Vī)ra-

The inscription speaks of the field on the bank of the river Valuś, of Rājādhirāja Gōpāla and his Pradhāna (elsewhere called Mahāpradhāna) Dēja(Dējai) as well as of Rājā Viravarman. The year of the Vikrama Sātvat is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1 and 7-8 and not as 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

No. 11.—This is No. 218 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 5 lines of writing. They read as follows:

1 ...sudī7 Su(Su)krē | ady-ēha śrīman-Nalapurē | mahā...
2 ...mad-Gōpāladēva[h*]
3 [Ja]jāhuṭi-rāj[aj][a]-[ārī]-Vira[vra]hmas[dēva][h*] chatu[rbhīḥ] rā-
4 ...saha Nalapurē samāyātaḥ | Valuś-nadi...
5 ...jēkō yuddhitab]

The text of this record is similar to that of No. 1 edited above. Most of the baunae can be filled up with the help of that inscription.

No. 12.—This is No. 217 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. In line 2, ...tac 1338 Chaitra- sudi 7 Su(Su)krē can be read. This date shows that the pillar bearing the inscription was raised in memory of a partisan (or several partisans) of Yajvapāla (Jajapēla) Gōpāla on his (or their) death in fighting with the invading forces of Chaudēla Viravarman. But the details of the record are not clear.

No. 13.—This is No. 225 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. The inscription is very much damaged.

No. 14.—This is No. 226 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. It is a fragmentary record. None of the details gathered from Nos. 1-7 can be traced in this epigraph. It seems to belong to the reign of Yajvapāla (Jajapēla) Gōpāla, as the writing closely resembles that of the other records. But it is not possible to be sure on this point.

1 Expressed by symbol.
2 The figure for 7 seems to have broken away here.
3 The name is quoted elsewhere as Dējai (Nos. 3-4), Dējē (No. 5) and Dējā (Nos. 9, 10). He is called Mahā- pradhāna in No. 3-5 and Mantrī in No. 9.
4 Madanī (of, No. 16 below) seems to be a mistake for padanī found in this context in Nos. 4-6 and 9.
5 The word lost before sudī was no doubt Chaitra. It is, however, impossible to say whether the year was quoted as 1338 or 1337.
6 The word damaged here evidently stood for Sātvat.
No. 15.—This is No. 215 of 1854-55. The inscription is in 11 lines, of which lines 1-6 read as follows:

1 Siddham 1 [**] Siddhi[**] Samvat 1337 1 Chaitra-sud 1 Syu-

2 krś . . . . Na(Na)lapura-durgē rājādhi(dhi)-

3 rāj(a)-ārī(ārī)-Gopāladēva[hē] || Kum[ā]ra-ārī(ārī)-

4 Jaitava(bra)[hra]dēva[hrē] || pradhāna-Dējā-pariga[gra][hrē]

5 madani9 . . . . jaya [ārī]-

6 rāja . . . . ārī(ārī)-Vā(Vā)vā[Vā][hra]dēva[hē] ||


---

1 Expressed by symbol.
2 The year of the date agrees with that in Nos. 1, 7-8 and 10, although in Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9 and 12 it is given as 1338.
3 This word in padasmi in Nos. 4, 5 and 9 but madasmi in No. 10.
## INDEX

BY K. V. RAMSEY, B.A. (Hons.)

(The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au.=author; ca.=capital; ch.=chief; Chron.=Chronicle; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; de.=deity; di.=district or division; do.=dio.; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epitaph; f.=family; fe.=female; fed.=feudatory; gen.=general; gr.=grant; grs.=grants; hist.=historical; ins.=inscription; inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; l.m.=linear measure; land measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; of.=office; officer; pl.=plate; plts.=plates; pr.=priest; princess; prov.=province; q.=queen; rel.=religion; ri.=river; S.=Southern; s.n.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; Tel.=Telugu; t.d.=territorial division; t.r.=title; t.w.=town; t.=taluk; vi.=village; W.=Western; w.=work; w.=weight.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Agastya, ascetic,</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>26-27</td>
<td>Ághkṣa-pattana, ra.</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ághkṣaprāga, e.a. Ákār, do.</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>31, 37, 232, 290</td>
<td>Ágni Purāṇa</td>
<td>113 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>Agra, ci.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>aprabhāra</td>
<td>2 and n, 3, 4, 5, 7, 36, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>37, 232, 290</td>
<td>aprakhaṭa-Rathakāra</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>37, 232, 290</td>
<td>Ákār, ra.</td>
<td>269-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>37, 232, 290</td>
<td>Ambardar, m.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ahmedabad, ci.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>at, initial</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>at, medial</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ahlhol, ci.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ajayvāli, e.a. Ahlu, do.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ajanta ins. of Vākṣṭha Hariḥōpa</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ajaygarh, l.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ajaygarh ins. of Bhijavarmān</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ajaygarh ins. of Vravarnā</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>ājītajit, executor</td>
<td>6 n, 130, 133-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Ākara, ci.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>aksarapadi, numerals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alapur, vi.</td>
<td>17, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alapur pl. of Narasimha II</td>
<td>112 n, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alamanda, l.</td>
<td>317-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alamanda pl. of Anantavarmān</td>
<td>317-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alapur, e.a. Alapur, vi.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alasavaṃśa, m.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>'Aloddin Khālpī, Sultan of Delhi</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Al-Bīrūnī, su.</td>
<td>327 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Alaihapadēvī, Kolchhuri ṍa.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Allahabad pillar ins. of Samudraguṭa</td>
<td>91, 105 n, 106, 173, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Allah, m.</td>
<td>85-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Allahadāsar, karṣā, off.</td>
<td>112, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Allahānāṣa, gen.</td>
<td>20, 23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Allahānāṣa, do.</td>
<td>94-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>339</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allānaṭṭhaśērmaṇaṇa, off.</td>
<td>17-18, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāṇa-nāyaṇa, m.</td>
<td>18, 21, 112n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allākapura, s. Aalāpur, l.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allākapura-rāṣuṇa, dō.</td>
<td>20, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāta, Gahā pra.</td>
<td>229-42, 234-5n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allōyisarmaṇa, dōme.</td>
<td>231, 234, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allōma, dī.</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allōmaṇa, dōme.</td>
<td>282, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allōr, dī.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraḍālaṇa, dōme.</td>
<td>58-59, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraśīkha, nēk.</td>
<td>62, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraśīkha, m.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraśīkha, l.</td>
<td>34, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraśīkha-tirṭha, dō.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaraśīkha-tirṭha, avṣaṭir.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambāpāśālaṇa, Gahā pra.</td>
<td>240-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāda, m.</td>
<td>12, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāna II, s. 1. Vījayaśēlu Viṣṇu, B. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>34-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāna-guhākālaṇaṇa, tī.</td>
<td>227 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa-guhākālaṇaṇa, Chālukya pra.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, House, gen.</td>
<td>100 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, B. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>37-38, 41-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, B. Chālukya k., Rājanātīkālaṇa, n.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, l.</td>
<td>12, 14-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, n.</td>
<td>131-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, m.</td>
<td>8, 130 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, n.</td>
<td>197 and n, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, l.</td>
<td>199-200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, B. Gāna k.</td>
<td>246, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīrāṇa, B. Gāna k., 100-112, 110-11, 115, 122, 240, 253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, E. Gāna g.</td>
<td>163, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, s. A. Anantavarnman, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, A. Anantavarnman, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>269 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, Māṭaha k.</td>
<td>90, 198 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, dōme.</td>
<td>261, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>45-50, 197-88, 199-200, 203, 317-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, Gahā pra.</td>
<td>240-41, 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, B. Chālukya k., E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>48-49, 83 and n, 64, 101, 101 n, 182, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa-rāḥutāṭaṇa, dō.</td>
<td>94, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, B. Chālukya k., Vajrāhasta, dō.</td>
<td>317-12, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, Vajrāhasta, dō.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, Ṛṣunāṭha, s. Āṇavatt, Ṛṣunāṭha te.</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, s. Āṇavatt, 'executor'</td>
<td>109, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, m.</td>
<td>290, 282, 286, 295, 298, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, people, gen.</td>
<td>1, 4 and n, 67, 68, 101, 131-32, 187, 199, 286 and n, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, dō.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, s. Āṇavatt, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, s. Āṇavatt, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>94, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, B. Chālukya k., Vajrāhasta, dō.</td>
<td>317-12, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaṃkṣaṇa, Vajrāhasta, dō.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, Ṛṣunāṭha, s. Āṇavatt, Ṛṣunāṭha te.</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, s. Āṇavatt, 'executor'</td>
<td>109, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, m.</td>
<td>290, 282, 286, 295, 298, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, people, gen.</td>
<td>1, 4 and n, 67, 68, 101, 131-32, 187, 199, 286 and n, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, dō.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇavatt, s. Āṇavatt, E. Gāna k.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Page VIII

#### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>230-34</td>
<td>Ágya-Vidhākhaṃtrika, k.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Ásala, s. a. Asala, Jajapēla k.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323-34</td>
<td>Ásala, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77, 80, 134, 134-37</td>
<td>Aṣānapura, ca.</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235 and n</td>
<td>Aṣākhita varman, Bhūja k.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Áśāt, m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280, 283, 287-88, 294</td>
<td>Áśākāyagī,</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219-21</td>
<td>Áśākāyagī, di.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-61</td>
<td>caś-mul-āśākāyagī, off.</td>
<td>60-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>áśā-tī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>áśā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Áśāka, Kāuropa k.</td>
<td>87, 88 and n, 206-08, 215,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230 n</td>
<td>Áśākarāja, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206, 206-10</td>
<td>Áśama State,</td>
<td>67-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290-88, 297, 298, 299</td>
<td>Áśamapati, off.</td>
<td>67-68, 69 and 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Áśamapati, s. a. Áśākāyagī,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Áśāt, s. a. Áśātā, balā, sa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225-252, 252-55.</td>
<td>Áśātā, khaśā, tā.</td>
<td>225-252, 252-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-89</td>
<td>Áśātā, s. a. Ándukāra, vi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Áṇaṃkha, m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>ca, initial</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>ca, medical</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163, 219</td>
<td>Ánāgāra pl. of Medanavarman,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>revi, Roman coin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>avagraha, sign</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Ávanti, ca.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ávanti, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Áyākāra, sub-tests.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28-27 and n</td>
<td>Áyākāra, s. a.</td>
<td>28-27 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 63, 65, 300, 303 n</td>
<td>Áadhika, off.</td>
<td>58, 63, 65, 300, 303 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75, 79-80</td>
<td>Áyyaṣa, m.</td>
<td>75, 79-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Áyyaṣa-maṇḍalānara, tit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Áyvanagandhāvarṣa-Chatuvarṇāṇaśûla,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226 and n</td>
<td>vi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**B**

b. 2, 11, 37, 69

b. close. type of 74

b, indicated by the sign for v. 11, 25, 31, 63, 97, 70, 89, 215, 277, 317

Bāḍāma, ca. 233 n

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Bāḍāpa, E. Chākṣuka pr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Bāḍārik-ākrama, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279, 284, 286</td>
<td>Bāḍārik-ākrama, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236, 289-90</td>
<td>Bāḍārik-ākrama-bhūṭākara, ac.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275, 286</td>
<td>Bāḍāripāra, na.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279, 288</td>
<td>Bāḍārivāsī, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 and n</td>
<td>Bāḍāyaṇi, Muslim Historian,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169-90</td>
<td>Bāḍāyaṇi-gāme, vi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Bāḍāyaṇa, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Bāḍēbā, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Bāḍēbā, dy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Bāḍēbānā, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Bāḍēbānā, vi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 169 and n</td>
<td>Bāḍēbrha, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-68</td>
<td>Bāḷagam pl. of Gupta year 125,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī, s. a. Vaidyānāth, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-68, 69 and 2</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī, di.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī, Mallaya, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-84</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī, m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Bāḷagati pl. of Priyāvibhūsa II,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 5, 7</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍśī-mahāprabhu, pricce,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍī, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍī, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, 35</td>
<td>Bāḷaṇḍīna, s. a. Sivagupta, Śomavāni k.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 169 and n</td>
<td>Bāṇacara, ca.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Bāṇacara, di.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Bāṇavārman, Bhurava-Nāraka k.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Bāṇāvala, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Bāṇāvala-Sumati, m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291, 294, 297</td>
<td>Bānī,vyāh, k.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Bālbījārta, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219-20</td>
<td>Bāleda pl. of Tvaradvāsa,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Bānapatī, l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Bāndha, di.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 22-23, 25, 27, 29</td>
<td>Bāndha, dom or highway,</td>
<td>19, 22-23, 25, 27, 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Bhāṣa**

Bāṇadhōgah, ca. 167, 169-70, 174 and n.

176 and n, 177

**Bhāṣa**

Bāṇadhōgah, ca. 167, 174, 175

Bāṇadhōgah, do. 25, 26

Bāṇāśī, 234, 236 and n, 327-28, 333

Bāṇāśī, do. 325, 326, n, 328

Bāṇāśī, pl. of Kṛṣṇa-varman, 334

Bāṇāśī, do. 141

Bāṇāśī, ca. 250

Bāṇāśī, do. 77

Bāṇāśī, do. 77

Bāṇāśī, do. 11

Bāṇāśī, do. 311 n

Bāṇāśī, vi. 63
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bāmari, l.,</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādribhi pl. of Mahāśivagupta,</td>
<td>31 n, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bānga ga ins. of Bhūtāvarman,</td>
<td>87-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bārāñā, ṭ.,</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bārāpana, ṭ.,</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bārāś, ṭ.,</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāskalādāva, c.,</td>
<td>11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bānā pla. of Vindhyākṣṭi II,</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bātta, l.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bātara, ṭ.,</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bātāravīna ins. of Paramardāva,</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāy of Bengāl,</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōvādav, ṭ.,</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōvārāna, ṭ.,</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary, ṭ.,</td>
<td>139, 211, 299 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīs, s.a. Vijayāditya V, Chāḷukya k.,</td>
<td>38-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛṇaṅkara, ṭ.,</td>
<td>140, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛtva, ṭ.,</td>
<td>311-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛvāna, ṭ.,</td>
<td>37, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛvāna pillar ins. of Yuddhamalla,</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhi, written like ṭ.,</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhābātha, mūn.,</td>
<td>170, 173, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhābāla-pañcaka, l.,</td>
<td>302-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādabhiṣajī, v.,</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūda-muṇnasa, 'wounded',</td>
<td>5, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadda, tribe,</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrabāla, Magha k.,</td>
<td>171, 176, 183-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrakāla, ṭ.,</td>
<td>171, 173 and n, 174-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgavata religion,</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgnātra, ṭ.,</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūlavāmin, l.,</td>
<td>311 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūra, s.a. Śiva, ṭ.,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūravavara-kañkās, l.,</td>
<td>111, 112, 115, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūṣavā, ṭ.,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgānak, ṭ.,</td>
<td>111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgāns, ṭ.,</td>
<td>108 n, 186 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgāna, ṭ.,</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgāna I, Ganga k.,</td>
<td>111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgāna II, ṭ.,</td>
<td>110, 114, 119, 125, 126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṅgavat, ṭ.,</td>
<td>84, 85 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūravavara, Gokhila pr.,</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārata, m.,</td>
<td>293, 298, 299, 300, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārata, m.,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārata, ṭ.,</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṣā, ṭ.,</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūṣāna, ṭ.,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūṣāna, ṭ.,</td>
<td>78, 80, 300, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṣā, Mātraka k.,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṣā, ṭ.,</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṣā, ṭ.,</td>
<td>315-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part VIII</td>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūpati, m.</td>
<td>172, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūjādālā</td>
<td>26, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūja-ñaśāga</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūjarman, Chandēla k.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūjāka, m.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmat, dvi.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūrat-dāntāthin, m.</td>
<td>20, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūvasivewar, m.</td>
<td>17, 20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūvasivewar bilinguis ins.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūbhāpallī, Bhūtambāliκā, oc.</td>
<td>12 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūdērāvēṅga, k.</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūgā, ed.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmī, feud. k.</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmīlā, Bharmi, s.a. Ghatmī, oc.</td>
<td>12 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmīlākā, Bhūtambāliκā, oc.</td>
<td>12 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmīlā-śākhīrāngīya</td>
<td>301, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūpēndravarman, E. Ganga k.</td>
<td>317-19, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūskhērī, cpy.</td>
<td>161 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūtambāliκā, s.a. Ghatmī, oc.</td>
<td>11-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūtambāliκā, do.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūtvarman, s.a. Mahābhūtivarman, Rama</td>
<td>67-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūvānēsvara, dvi.</td>
<td>20-21, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūā, d.</td>
<td>62, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bībhī, etc.</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīhar State</td>
<td>228, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bījāwar</td>
<td>327, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bījālī, Kalāchūri k.</td>
<td>273-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīlapur, d.</td>
<td>108, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būbhibi, d.</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būd Gāyā ins.</td>
<td>176 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būga, d.</td>
<td>57, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay State</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōya, community</td>
<td>75-77, 79-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōyakūjā, d.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōyodapalvē, do.</td>
<td>140, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brāhmaṇadāna</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmagrīti edict of Aśoka</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmapana, caste</td>
<td>3, 4 and n, 11-13, 15, 16-20, 22-23, 51-53, 76, 79-80, 286, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmapana-dya, gr.</td>
<td>90 and 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmapātīcā, sīnt</td>
<td>140-41, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmaputra, d.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmadārman, dvi.</td>
<td>261, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmāsvāmin, m.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmatmā-bhāgavanta, d.</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛahmāsvāra-bhāṣālakā, d.</td>
<td>292, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛha-nepātimittra, Magadha k.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhā-Kōlidāgrāma, c.</td>
<td>193-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhāśabhañya, dy.</td>
<td>2, 8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhāśvatimittra, Magadha k.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛkā-śiva, s.o. Saturday</td>
<td>100 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būdha</td>
<td>171, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būdhabala, m.</td>
<td>286, 287, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būdhabhāsa, oc.</td>
<td>88 n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhabārman, dvi.</td>
<td>251, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhi, sect</td>
<td>77, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhi, te</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhapārtha, Imperial Gupta k.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha, dvi.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundelkhand, co.</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundelkhand, k.</td>
<td>250, 251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon, co.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et al</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalukya, ch.</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālakā, c.</td>
<td>292, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālā, dy.</td>
<td>244, 236 and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālā, c.</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālā, d.</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, c.</td>
<td>158-70, 181 and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, c.</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>12, 38-39, 41-42, 77, 131-34,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>233 and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>37, 58 n, 75, 77, 102 n, 120, 130 and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>183-84, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>132 n and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>234 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>227 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>234 n, 293, 273, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>12, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>112-13, 120-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>114, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>177 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>34, 105 n, 106 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>280, 283, 287, 298, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>55, 70-72, 133-64, 206 and n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>310-11, 326, 327 and n, 328-29, 330 n, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>310, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>291, 292, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>33-34, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>91, 106, 170-174, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāndālī, d.</td>
<td>250, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Character(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Chandrakaratarman, doma,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Chandradekhara, s.a. Siva, dc,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Chandradasa, s.a. Chandella, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Chandrasa, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Chanda, Vipkarana, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Chandra, s.a. Chandana, Jajapilla, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Bengali,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Bux-headed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Brahmi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Central Indian,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Chakulayan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Deravangari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>East Indian, s.a. Gaudiya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>English,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Gupta, Eastern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 266, 275 n</td>
<td>Grantha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56, 187, 917</td>
<td>Kaliyya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129-40</td>
<td>Kainada,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kutia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>Nagari, 11, 25, 84, 110, 197, 203, 238, 309, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Nandinagari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Northern,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Oriya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Southern,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Tamil,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Telugu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129, 139, 142 n, 157-98, 190 n</td>
<td>Telugu-Kannada,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37, 129</td>
<td>Vägila,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>chari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205, 321</td>
<td>Charada, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300, 303</td>
<td>cha, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211, 111 n, 125</td>
<td>Chaukhandi-bhusan-udhipati, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n, 4 n</td>
<td>Chaukhandi, chaurejja, community,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 8 n, 9, 10 and n</td>
<td>Chaukhandi, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321 n</td>
<td>Chaukhandi, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 n and n, 34, 329 n</td>
<td>Chaukhandi-maquina, f,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Chaurardsasipol, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Chehubire, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302, 304</td>
<td>Chedi, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177, 311</td>
<td>Cheddi, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 and n</td>
<td>Cheddi-Mahamoghamvahana, f,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Chelis, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169, 176-80</td>
<td>Chellur, pl. of Kullottungachcholadava,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225, 227</td>
<td>Chhari, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Churupura, ma,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-32</td>
<td>Chupa, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 80</td>
<td>Chupa, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299 n</td>
<td>Chyur, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 15</td>
<td>Chyur-Mahamoghamvahana, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>Chyur-Mahamoghamvahana, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19, 21-22</td>
<td>Chatala, s.a. Chatol, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Chatol, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Chattisgarh, L,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chhaya, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Chhosol, pl. of Anantavarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Chhosol, pl. of Devadvarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Chhosol, pl. of Madhukarnava,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317-18</td>
<td>Chhosol, pl. of Setyavarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 191</td>
<td>Chhupa, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298, 299</td>
<td>Chhupa, L,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35, 43</td>
<td>Chhidamaryya, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189-90</td>
<td>Chhidaraa, pl. of Devadvarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Chhurupalli, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-32</td>
<td>Chhurupalli, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Chhurupalli, pl. of Kubja Vihangvardhana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172, 176, 184 and n</td>
<td>Chissadea, Moga, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249, 310</td>
<td>Chitor, Chitorghat, fort,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Chitorghat ins. of V.S. 1331,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Chitorghat, fort,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Chiya, Chivara, Chivaranvaham, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59, 95</td>
<td>Chivara, gis,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Chitsoor, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265-96</td>
<td>Chyuranga, S. Gopa, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 n and n, 54</td>
<td>Chyuranga, s.a. Anantavarman Chodanga,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 94-96, 99-100, 124 n and n, 228 and n, 227 and n, 228 n, 396 and n, 270 and n, 271-76, 319</td>
<td>Choja, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Chronogram—Koro-nya-didi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248, 256</td>
<td>Nand-aru-rasa-chandra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Naya-nasa-dipagobha-didi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Para-Nanda-didi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Ved-nya-didi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263, 266</td>
<td>Chuladatma-chhapa, kis,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299, 301</td>
<td>Chura, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Churadi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Cimbantes, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99, 140</td>
<td>Cuddapah, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21, 292</td>
<td>Outake, do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 n</td>
<td>Outake, cu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, doubled after d</td>
<td>70, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, written like d</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days of the dark fortnight—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd,</td>
<td>71, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th,</td>
<td>18, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th,</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th,</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th,</td>
<td>18, 243-44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of the month—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10th,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of the week—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of the bright fortnight—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarāti, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarāti, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf of Khuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgumāžhūka, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guze, di.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपानीके को .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपानिके, Guपालगा, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपाकालकला विजयातित्या, E. Chalukya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपामारपुर, Eastern Ganga k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपायवा, Gopā in,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gundahālanā gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपासा I, Ganges k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपासा II, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपासेर, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपद्य-वीहक्तका, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guपद्य-वीह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guśka, l.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunter, di.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gupta, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guptēśvarman, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guraṃvaya, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurance, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gursāla, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjā, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjā-Prathākha, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guṭalabhaṇam, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guṭāvādī, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwałće, s.a. Gopāgarī, fort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwałće, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hālaṃput, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāndālal pl. of Śaka 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harkirōhi, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĥālā, l.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥālā, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫāljānudā, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫāljānudā, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫalīpūr pl. of Gopālasāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫalimādi ins. of Kākasthavārman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫeś, in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫeśal, ā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫamāvīlā, Ḫamāvīlā, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫampe, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫampe ins. of Kāḍhunāyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫampepl, Guhaśā, pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫamsārāja, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫarḍē, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫeri, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫeriant, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫerhārānya, donaś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫerhārārdmā, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫerhārāṛt, s. a. Ḫeriant, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, used for i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, medial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, medial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichchhārāla, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichchhāradāvā, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichchhāradāvāhāna, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāgā, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīrāna, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikkuṟru, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikaṟvāku, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jān, ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhukak, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itumahā, Jyāltimāh, Sāṅkhāś of Delhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indaka, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Museum pl. of Deśānvarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indrabala, Paṇḍavanāki, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indralakā, feud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indraviśa, E. Chālukya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indravarman, Viṣṇuvaradā, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irukkutrum, s.a. Ikkurru, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irnagula Chōja-mahārāja, Nāgul Chōla ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayadēvā, Paṇḍavanāki, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayadēvā, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jānakījaya, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jānāśira, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēsaraṇada, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēvaramachandā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēvaramalā, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyāltimāh, s.a. Itutmahā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J, used for j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadēva, s.a. Jayadēva, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadēva, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadēvakumalla, W. Chālukya, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadāmpur, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadēvar, kālākāra, dores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagayappa, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagayappalinga, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāhār Deo, s.a. Chāhāra, Jajopeli, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāhavī, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jālā II, Sūndhara, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jain, cē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajatvarmanādēva, s.a. Jajatvarman, Jajopeli, pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajatvarman, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajatvarman, Pushtōk, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajatvarmanādēva, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jājakathī, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jājakathī, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāthā, Pottuvāla, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225, 226 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-59, 61, 62 and n, 54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523, 3288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332, 3288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339, 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277-283, 284-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310, 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 n, 33, 142, 166 n, 227 n, 284 n, 226 n, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 and n, 19-20, 111-12, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 13, 64, 126, 198-99, 176, 211-12, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 94, 237 n, 260 and n, 270 and n, 274 and n, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169-70, 173, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299, 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 14 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239, 287, 290-294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325, 329-39, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329, 329-39, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239-40, 245 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269, 276-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288, 288, 287, 290-294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 111, 264 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328, 329 and n, 331 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104-05, 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 6 and n, 7-10, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162-22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Part VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mākki odīc of Aṭāka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānśa, 'collage';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭhāra, f.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṇḍala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭhūṭa, c.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭjīckara, engr.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭjiṭa, Guhī ṣr.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭka, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māvya, ṣv.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau ins. of Madanavarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māyādevī pl. of Sivakandaivarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurhanj, ḍ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māsā, ṣr.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇipāṭe, s.a. Mewar, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megathēnes, anu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēlāmha, Mēkāmē, E. Chālukya g.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>months—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amuṣṭhūḥ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 n, 85, 90, 107 n, 108 n, 115, 149, 143, 145 n, 165, 190 n, 194, 195, 201 n, 238, 245,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283, 284 n, 297 n, 302, 328-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇāya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṇāyaṇa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēsāka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indranāya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēliṅṭ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandārāṅṭh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōkajhāṭhāṭīṣṭh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probaṭhāṭīṣṭh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasahūḍāya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śālānī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvaśravēṣṭhī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sṛṣṭhīrāṁśa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varteṣṭhā, Varteṣṭhāvānī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewar, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72, 110, 228-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor rock edict I of Aṭāka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor rock edict II of Aṭāka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭh, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭhī, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭh, ṣv.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭrayaṇa, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭhchhā-dēśa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>months—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśāhāya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśāyaja,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśvina,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāḍrapada,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍuḥā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārtika,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaṛṣṭha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēṣu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paun,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaṭugama,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāj,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawāli,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravāṇa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākṣha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛṣṭhīṣṭh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>months, lunar—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amuṣṭhūḥ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśāhāya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśāyaja,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāḍrapada,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhā, s.a. Chaitra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṛṣṭhī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇendu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākṣha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>months, solar—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīna,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaṭugama,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravāṇa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōṭhchhā-dēśa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṁśa, ins. of V.S. 1342,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūḍha, 'royal order',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART VIII</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PAGE | Nārāyana-Jagūrālā-nukhētra, | 317, 329, 322 |
| --- | Nārāyana, do., | 260, 261 |
| --- | Nārāyanaśarman, dones., | 220, 261 |
| --- | Nārāyanaśarman, m., | 103 |
| --- | Nārāyana Upādhyāya, do., | 219, 221 |
| --- | Nārāyanaśarman, Bhūrama-Nārāyaṇa k., | 45 |
| --- | Nārāyanaśarman, m., | 236 n |
| --- | Narānāra, Sarakiperu k., | 18-106, 293-95, 297-98 |
| --- | Narada, Vākahāsaka k., | 106 |
| --- | Narānāra-Vijayaśitī, E. Chālukya k., | 41 |
| --- | Narwar, fort. | 323-24, 328-33 |
| --- | Narwar, l. | 175 |
| --- | Nāṣigūrādā, Sūlān of Dāki, | 324 |
| --- | Nāśādevī, q. | 278, 290 |
| --- | Nāța, off. | 78, 80 |
| --- | Nāṭavādī, l., | 38, 40 |
| --- | Nāṭavādī-vishaya, do., | 38, 42 |
| --- | Nāppasena, off. | 71, 73 |
| --- | Navavarsea, N., | 11 |
| --- | Navargar State. | |
| --- | Nava-Surēshtra, s.a. Nava-Surēshtra, l., | 11 |
| --- | Nava-Surēshtra-manṭala, do., | 11, 15, 15 |
| --- | Nāvulaḍ, Nāvulaḍeśī, fe. | 325, 326 and n |
| --- | Nāvulaḍ-vishaya, l.d. | 32, 34-35 |
| --- | Nāyaka, off. | 71, 78, 80 |
| --- | Nejīvān-Nākaṇḍi, v. | 225 |
| --- | Nejōre, B., | 4 n, 99 |
| --- | Nānā, m. | 84-85, 85 and n |
| --- | Nāpāl, co. | 101, 231 |
| --- | Nātūr, l. | 272 |
| --- | Nērēr pl. of Māhāgalēs, | 233 |
| --- | Nērērāduḷūkējōlē Mūvērēvāḷāḷ, off. | 227 n |
| --- | Nērērāduḷūkējōlē Pāllaṅvāḷāy, do. | 297 |
| --- | Nērērāduḷūkējōlē Pāllaṅvāḷāy, do. | 223, 224 and n |
| --- | 227-28 |
| --- | Nāvē, l. | 175 |
| --- | Nībhayasura, l. | 19, 22 |
| --- | Nībhaya, n. | 285 |
| --- | Nīdheru gr. of Jayaśimha. | 134 |
| --- | Nīdheru Chōla, l. | 273 |
| --- | Nīdheru gr. | 74 |
| --- | Nīdhanāsi, Kaṭāmba k. | 319 |
| --- | Nīgaliṭḷa-nāṇḍalam, s.a. Nāḷambavāḍī, co. | 299 and n. |
| --- | 299-76 |
| --- | Nīlāchāl, hill | 67 |
| --- | Nīlākṣaṇa, s.a. Śiva, de. | 193 and n. 194-95 |
| --- | Nīlākṣaṇa te. | 193 |
| --- | Nīlākṣaṇa, Pratihāra k. | 310-12 |
| --- | Nīmbaḷa, k. | 278, 290, 292, 294-95 |
| --- | Nīningi gr. of Prabhuśjanaśarman, sēm-prītra, 'warter-house', | 42 |
| --- | Nīrukapom pl. of Dēvērēdarvarman, sēpān-kuru, | 318, 319 and n |
| --- | sēpān-kuru, | 19, 22-23 |
| --- | sēpān-kuru, | 19, 22-23 |
| --- | sēk, | 29 n |
| --- | sēm-prītra, l.m. | 155 apd m. 138 |
| --- | sēm-prītra, off. | 78, 90 |

---

| PAGE | Nāḷambavāḍī, co., | 299 n. 274 |
| --- | Nīvārman, s.a. Nāvārman, Gahḍa pr. | 241 n |
| --- | Nīvārman, Jājōpēlā k. | 333 |

---

Nāṭavādī-sūtra

1, | 9 n. 58 |
--- | --- |
2, | 9 n. 58 |
3, | 5 n. 9 n |
4, | 5 n. 9 n |
5, | 5 n. 9 n |
6, | 6 n. 10 n |
7, | 5 n. |
8, | 6 n |
9, | 58 |
100, | 58 |
Nāṅkaṇṭēkā-grāmā, vi., | 188-90 |
Nār-ule, s.n. | 81 |
Nānur, s.a. Nārwar, l. | 324 |
Nārwar-ud-din Tāhāt, Muslim gen. | 72 |
Naṇyapaṭṭāka, l. | 291, 296 |

---

O

O, medial, | 163 |
--- | --- |
Oḍiampati gr. of Kṛṣṇapādaśvārāya, | 142 |
Oḍiappā (Śiva) te. | 269 |
Oṛgaṇa State | 70 |
Oṛīsa State | 17, 18, 70, 92, 94 and n. 106 n. |
| 100-10, 249, 282, 317 |
Oṭṭakāṭṭhikā, pool, | 225 |

---

P

P, | 74 |
--- | --- |
P, | 70 |
P, doubled after r, | 110 |
P, | 199 |
P, | 29 |
Pāṇaṭṭāṭṭā, l.d. | 120 |
Pāḷaṛā, l. | 323 |
Pāṇḍagaṇ, l. | 227 |
Pāṇḍāṅka, l.m. | 299, 301-05 |
Pāṇḍāṭṭāṭṭā, l.m. | 82-84 |
Pāṇḍāṭṭāṭṭā, l.m. | 251, 261 |
Pāṇḍāṭṭī, q. | 284, 287, 288, 294, 297 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, dones. | 282, 281 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, k. | 284, 285 and n. 286-87 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, k. | 289-82, 89 and n. 294, 297-98 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, co. | 175 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, pl. | 39 n |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, pl. | 57, 60, 77 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, pl. | 39 n |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, pl. | 65 |
PāṇḍāṬṭāṭṭā, pl. | 65 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Parakṣaya,</th>
<th>19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parakrama, Paṇḍyan pr.,</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramabhaṭṭaputra,</td>
<td>104, 300, 302, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramahāsaṭṭha, do.,</td>
<td>43, 45, 56, 71-72, 91, 95-97, 183, 190, 193, 199, 244, 245, 257, 275, 278, 280, 282, 284, 287, 289, 293-94, 297, 300 and n, 305, 306, 326, 328, 330 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramakṣaya,</td>
<td>280, 287, 293-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāḍī, Jagatīla b.,</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāṭhe,</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramakṣaya, do.,</td>
<td>32, 45, 61, 71-72, 196, 293-94, 302-03, 308, 329, 326, 328-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāṭhe,</td>
<td>331, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāra, dy.,</td>
<td>25 and n, 29, 52, 85, 111, 242-43, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāra, ep.,</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramārīḍā, Chandaḷa k.,</td>
<td>71-72, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramarāṣṭrapuṇḍarākha, ep.,</td>
<td>32, 94, 98-97, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāṭhe, sā. Śiva, do.,</td>
<td>32, 35, 42, 45, 55, 71-72, 78, 130, 133, 139, 190, 192, 208, 244, 257, 278, 280, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa,</td>
<td>284, 287, 299, 323-94, 297, 300, 326, 328-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramāṇa,</td>
<td>247 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pārāmāyana,</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramānyaprādha,</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pararadga,</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pararatiche,</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parameṣṭha,</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pārī ṛṣi, sā. Pārī ṛṣi,</td>
<td>12 and n, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīcāgara,</td>
<td>78, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīcāgara, off.,</td>
<td>12n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīvēṭha,</td>
<td>292-93, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīkṣhaka,</td>
<td>12 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīkṣhaka,</td>
<td>196, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīkṣhaka, sā. prīhata, do.,</td>
<td>318-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>32, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>114, 126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>79-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parmāṇa, sā. Anahilapura, do.,</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paramahāsaṭṭha,</td>
<td>280, 283, 287, 288, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pattikonda,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pattikonda,</td>
<td>211-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART VIII</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Y</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pages</strong></td>
<td><strong>v</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, doubling before</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, subscript,</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādava, dy.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>284 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādavā-Sātvata-Vrishali clan,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaga, ceremony,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāgānanda, m.,</td>
<td>20, 24</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yātrapādā, l.,</td>
<td>20, 23</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājasūrman, m.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>90, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājñavalkya-śurīk, uk.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājñavatā-tirtra, l.,</td>
<td>11, 14-15</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājñapāla, dy.,</td>
<td>322 and n, 324-29, 331 n</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāka-Kimpurusha, symbol of Śaṅkunītha,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>84 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāka-śasthāna, l.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>291, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamunā, vi.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamuna, vi.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>235 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yannadi-rājā, enpr.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavvachāpatigrāma, vi.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>18-19, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādārāma-dārma, m.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>63 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatlāndāga, ep.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>32, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhādhanu, record-keeper,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>55, 62-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhagupta, m.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhāvarman, Chandēla k.,</td>
<td>71, 240, 241 and n, 311</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhāvahana, m.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>62-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatsirāja, r. a. Vyūkṣatārtha, saint,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yama</strong></td>
<td>18, 21</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years, cyclic</strong></td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years, cyclic—cont.</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakrājita,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>141, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśambī,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśūddha,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>100 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛāpa,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāsa,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>269-70, 375-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years, religious—</td>
<td>3, 7-10, 19, 80, 89, 93-94, 96-98, 100-10,</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104, 108, 110, 264, 269-73, 274 and n,</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>276, 278-79, 284-85, 291</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōgu, r. a. Yūgu, l.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yālamanṣhila, uk.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeṣa, Ye-tha-i-li-to, Epithalite, tribe,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye-tha-i-li-to, Epithalite, do.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoga-badari, l.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoga-Narasimha, do.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōgaraja, Guhā-pr.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>240-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōgarāma, m.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōki, l.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>285-87, 289, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōuki-grāma, vi.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>292-93, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōuki-grāma, vi.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhamallā, E. Chālukya k.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>57-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhamalāla I, do.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>27-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhamalāla II, do.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>37-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuga, l.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>292, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukta, off.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarāja, 'prince',</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>36, 38, 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarāja I, Kalachuri k.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarājāda, do.,</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Z</strong></td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuddat-ul-Taudhīkh, uk.,</strong></td>
<td>_</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Qutb ud-din Aibak, Debi Sahān

r, varying forms of
Dravidian

139

Rādhā, co.

110, 115

Rādgalapure, l.

10, 22-23

Rāghava, E. Ganga k.

246, 257

Rāghava, engra.

83-84

Regolu pl. of Māhāra Saktīvarman.

90

Rāhānaka, off.

189

Rahari-niyukta, do.

189

Rahasa, do.

189

Rahayakārēru, do.

189

Rahudēva, do.

105

Rāj, l.

323

Rājagad, do.

55

Rājakesa, do.

71-72

Rājapur, dt.

31, 104, 106n, 197, 220, 263, 315

Rājapur, l.

263-64

rājadhirāja, lit.

334-35

Rājapur pl. of Mahāsudēvarāja.

314n

Rājachhīrāja, k.

101

Rājachhīrāja II, Chōḍa k.

223, 224 and n, 225

226, 270-72, 271

Rājagamhātra, s.n. Rājarāja II, do.

273

Rājakesāra, Chōḍa lt.

274n

Rājekumāra, ep.

25

Rājālakāsya, do.

75 and n, 78, 80

Rājamsikā, off.

280, 282, 287, 290, 294

Rājan, do.

123, 73, 171, 175n, 178 and n, 280, 282,

287, 298, 294

Rājānēka, do.

280, 282, 287, 290, 294

Rājānimitra, Mitra, k.

176

Rājaperamātāra, tit.

94, 97

Rājapurusha, off.

78, 80

Rājaputra, ep.

280, 282, 287, 289, 294, 319, 323, 324, 329,

332

Rājarāja, Pratikāra k.

310

Rājarāja I, Chōḍa k.

269n

Rājarāja I, E. Chōḍuka k.

102n

Rājarāja I, Ganga k.

225

Rājarāja II, Chōḍa k.

223-24, 227n, 228, 270,

272-73, 274 and n

Rājarāja II, Ganga k.

240, 258

Rājarāja III, Chōḍa k.

94-102, 227

Rājarāja III, Ganga k.

106 n, 249-50, 252, 265, 262

Rājarājadēvāna, ulā, vāk.

227n

Rājarājadēva, Chōḍa k.

226n, 227n

Rājarājadēva, E. Ganga k.

48, 49-49,

83-35, 191-92, 195n, 196

Rājasalki, s.n. Mallapa. E. Chōḍuka k.

39

Rājārāya, s a Mallapa, do.

39

Rajasthan.

35, 81, 85, 244, 310, 325

Rājāsākhyāsa, off.

280, 282, 287, 289, 294, 303

Rājāśāsta, tit.

175
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART VIII</th>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAGE</strong></td>
<td><strong>PAGE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāčandra II, Chātra k.,</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāčandra, Velādaṇṭi Chātra c.,</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāčandra, Chātra k.,</td>
<td>227n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāčandra, k.,</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā, rājā,</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā, s.,</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā, vī,</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā-mandhapāya, t.,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā-mandhapāya, t.,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājādudālā-mandhapāya, t.,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā, f., pl. of Tīravādēva,</td>
<td>219-220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā, on.,</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājagaha, pl. of V.S. 1016,</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājābhī, rā.</td>
<td>57, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāvala-Manjāgiri, vī,</td>
<td>211-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājīyanāga, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bālakīrīka, Bālakīrīka, do.,</td>
<td>169, 178-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma, vī.,</td>
<td>140, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma, on.,</td>
<td>163-64, 166 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaṇadhāra, Yadava k.,</td>
<td>264a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmacandraya, l.,</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmachandraya, l.,</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmacārvya, do.,</td>
<td>250, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmacārvya, do.,</td>
<td>250, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmacārvya, do.,</td>
<td>250, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāpurānī, vī,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāpurānī, vī,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāpurānī, vī,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāsāman, l.,</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmātirtha, pl. of Indravārman,</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmātirtha, l.,</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raśodhī, vī.,</td>
<td>20, 23-24, 323, 332, 332-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raśodhī, vī.,</td>
<td>20, 23-24, 323, 332, 332-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇadava, messenger,</td>
<td>244, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇakīrā, s. v. Bhavādeva, Prāgnāvatī pr.,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇapāla, Pratihāra k.,</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇarāja, E. Chātra k.,</td>
<td>75, 77, 80 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇakāvya-grāma, vī,</td>
<td>226, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇagāthā, t.,</td>
<td>101, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇgū, Vājēpānyā, f.,</td>
<td>112, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇod, l.,</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇapūrāna, v. c. 1496,</td>
<td>239, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇātrikōta, dy.,</td>
<td>37-40, 42-43, 234n, 239, 244n, 310-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇātrikōta, dy.,</td>
<td>37-40, 42-43, 234n, 239, 244n, 310-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, caste,</td>
<td>78, 80, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, l.,</td>
<td>2n, 14n, 8 and n, 9, 10 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, l.,</td>
<td>2n, 14n, 8 and n, 9, 10 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, l.,</td>
<td>2n, 14n, 8 and n, 9, 10 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, l.,</td>
<td>2n, 14n, 8 and n, 9, 10 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇābhakara, l.,</td>
<td>2n, 14n, 8 and n, 9, 10 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇāvīla, m.,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 n</td>
<td>94, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72, 310, 312</td>
<td>251, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302, 304</td>
<td>252, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>241-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235-36</td>
<td>314-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 106, 101</td>
<td>103 n, 105 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141 and n</td>
<td>314-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-62</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>252, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191, 220</td>
<td>251, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>84-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56, 27 and n</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33 and n, 35, 197-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 287, 289, 291, 294-95</td>
<td>334-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 21</td>
<td>111, 114, 127, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334-15</td>
<td>140, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269, 275-76</td>
<td>33, 35-6, 165-66, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163, 164 n, 165</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277, 279</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>299, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59, 62-63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>233-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33-36</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 104, 105 and n, 106, 314-15</td>
<td>133, 135-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212-20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278, 291, 293</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 22</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101, 227</td>
<td>140, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>47, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 13 n, 75, 90</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>EPIGRAPHIA INDICA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungabhadrā, rī.</td>
<td>140, 142, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungāditya, m.</td>
<td>222, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungaka, m.</td>
<td>291, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turu, people</td>
<td>71, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turashkas, s.a. Muslims</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tushārāra, Bhau-ma-Kara k., co.</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvarapati, Tuvarai, s.a. Devarasamudram</td>
<td>220, 222, and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyāgādhana, tit.</td>
<td>75 and n, 78, 80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.

- u, initial | 31, 37, 168, 222, 290 |
- u, medial | 31, 67, 206, 232 |
- ū, medial | 2, 57, 206, 312 n |
- Uchabhāpā, l. | 24, 23 |
- Uchachā, Pāndya, f. | 274 |
- Udaipur, ci. | 240, 244 |
- Udaipur State | 237-39 |
- Udārasamam, vi. | 91, 94 and n |
- Udāraśāstam, assembly | 223-24 |
- Udāraśāyana, Paramāra k. | 25, 26 and n, 28, 83, 35, 243 |
- Udāraśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 49, 319 n |
- Udāraśāyana, l. | 173 |
- Udāraśāyana ins. of Chandragupta II | 106 |
- Udāraśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 319 |
- Udāraśāyana, d. | 319 n |
- Udāraśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 220 |
- Udāraśāyana, prastāni | 25 |
- Udārasamam, dēśa, co. | 220-27, 229, 296 |
- Uṛjā, tribe | 280, 283, 287, 289, 294 |
- Udambara, dēśa | 311 n |
- Uṛjāśāyana, panthavārana, tit. | 227 a |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 319 and n |
- Chila, c. | 244, 248 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 25-28 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 26, 29 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, v. | 85 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Kadamba ch. | 285, 287, 289 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, s. | 63 |
- Umā, m. | 63 |
- Umāchārī, hil. | 67-68 |
- Umāchārī, l. | 167 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 90 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 25, 30 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 244, 247 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 139 |
- Un. ins. | 25 n, 29-30 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 64 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 27, 103, 290, 299 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 2 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 79-80 |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Panḍavamati k. | 280, 283, 287, 289, 2 n |
- Uṛjāśāyana, Paninthā, tit. | 289, 276-79 |

V.

- v, doubling of | 104 |
- v, doubled after r | 70, 133 |
- v, looking like k | 309 |
- v, indicated by the sign of b | 110 |
- v and ch with similar forms | 70 |
- v, subscript | 110 |
- v, undistinguishable from n | 110 |
- v, used for b | 197, 202, 205 |

W.

- Vacchhākāla, m. | 291, 295 |
- Vacchhākāla, m. | 291, 294 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 73 |
- Vājrapāṇi, vīhāra, d. | 79 n, 71-72 |
- Vājrapāṇi, vīhāra, d. | 298, 274, 278 |
- Vājrapāṇi, vīhāra, d. | 291, 295 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 291, 294 |
- Vājrapāṇi, vīhāra, d. | 4 |
- Vājrapāṇi, vīhāra, d. | 250, 259-60 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 14 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 334 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 334 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 18, 21 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 183, 193, 307 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 90, 93 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 19, 23 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 279 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 291, 294, 297 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 83 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 240-42, 243 n |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 242, 244 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 142 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 168, 171, 173-74, 176 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | and n, 185-88 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 3, 308 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 202-03, 254, 318-19 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 48, 194, 306 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 292, 307 |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 49, 53, and n, 55-58, 191 n |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | 182-93, 196 and n, 188 and |
- Vājrapāṇi, d. | n, 305, 307-08 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vajrabhata Anantavarman, E. Gałysa k.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrabhata III Anantavarman, do.</td>
<td>48 and n, 49, 53 and n, 54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrabhata Anuyatakabhis, do.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrabhata II Anuyatakabhis, do.</td>
<td>48-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrīn, do.</td>
<td>318-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vākākṣa, dvā</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valabhi, ci.</td>
<td>230 n, 269-300, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valravasālīk, l.</td>
<td>292, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbha, t.e. Gōvinda IV, Rasākhāja k.</td>
<td>38-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>327-28, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>327, 329, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>327, 329, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālabbhaśāchter, dvā</td>
<td>327-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinanditaśa vās-dhāmatās, Kalachari ep.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>87, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>235-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>112, 115, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>112, 115, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>328, 329 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>38, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>287, 288, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>281, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>281, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>281, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>282, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>12 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>319 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>92 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>6 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>32, 34-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>12, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>193-94, 196, 198-200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>78 and n, 78, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>38-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>91-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>110, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>185, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>27, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>25-26, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>291, 293, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>280, 282, 287, 289, 294, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>197 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇḍīchak, rī.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayasiddha, ep.</td>
<td>75 and n. 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishakha, m.</td>
<td>291, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya chakraveera, E. Chalukya k.</td>
<td>41-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya IV, do.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya V, do.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya VI, e. Anmaraja II, do.</td>
<td>37-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayasubhakarna, A. Datara</td>
<td>20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningambara, Chola k.</td>
<td>224, 224 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningambara, Mahoba k.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningambara, L.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningambara, ca.</td>
<td>141, 142 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningapala, Chandella k.</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningapardi, Udbhampuri Padga, ca.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningasati, Chandella k.</td>
<td>71-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningasati, GBhala k.</td>
<td>242-43, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningawara, dones :</td>
<td>285 and n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vininga, m.</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vininga, e. Tadla III, W. Chalukya k.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningakshita, k.</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningakshita, E. Chalukya k.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningakshita II, do.</td>
<td>38-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningakshita VI, W. Chalukya k.</td>
<td>274 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningakshita, ca.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viningambara, Chola k.</td>
<td>223, 224 and n, 225, 225 and n, and 227-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part VIII</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Years, cyclic—contd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, doubling before</td>
<td>Sarraji,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, subscript,</td>
<td>V[il]ambi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâdava, dy.,</td>
<td>Vîrôdhî,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâdava-Sâtvata-Vipishyâ clan,</td>
<td>Vîsha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâga, ceremony,</td>
<td>Vyâha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâgâvâra, n.,</td>
<td>Vîyaya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâtra-pÂjâ, m.,</td>
<td>Years, regnal—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâjñâvanâman, m.,</td>
<td>276, 278-79, 284-85, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâjñâvalla, om&amp;kt, uk.,</td>
<td>Yâgu, r.n. Ego, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâjñâvalla-sîtta, l.,</td>
<td>Yollamanachili, š.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâjñâvâla, dy.,</td>
<td>Ye-ha, Ye-tha-i-li-to, Epithalite, triê,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâkha Kimpurnâna, symbol of Sántinâtha,</td>
<td>Ye-tha-i-li-to, Epithalite, do.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yâkha-bhâstâna, l.,</td>
<td>Yoga-bhâdri, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamuna, r.n.</td>
<td>Yôga-Narasiâmha, do.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yama, vi.,</td>
<td>Yôgarâja, Gâhila pr.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamadâtya-râga, emr.,</td>
<td>Yogâtman, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaunâhâpâtigrâma, vi.,</td>
<td>Yôdâ, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaunâhâpâtigrâma, m.,</td>
<td>Yôyika-grâma, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaunâhâpâtigrâma, m.,</td>
<td>Yôyika-grâma, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yastôdâgadâgrah, sp.,</td>
<td>Yuddhamalla, F. Châkîkya k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yastôdâman, record-keeper,</td>
<td>Yuddhamalla I, do.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasâgupita, m.,</td>
<td>Yuddhamalla II, do.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasôvarman, Chândâla k.,</td>
<td>Yuga, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yudvishcaru, m.,</td>
<td>Yuka, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yashâraja, s.n. Vyâsadâsâra, saint,</td>
<td>Yuvârâjs, 'prince',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years—</td>
<td>Yuvârâja I, Kakâchuri k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atika,</td>
<td>Yuvârâja-avâ, do.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years, cyclic—</td>
<td>Zuddâl-ud-Tawârîkh, uk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khara,</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandana,</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pâhthira,</td>
<td>140, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhava,</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randri,</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>